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DR O.W. SAMSON

Mrs Elizabeth Samson has given the Society £10,000 to honour the memory of her late husband, Dr Otto William Samson, the eminent ethnographer and former Curator of the Horniman Museum. Dr Samson was a Fellow of the Society from 1949 until his death in 1976, and served on the Council from 1970 to 1974.

The sum is to be invested and the income used, at the discretion of the Council, either to support research in Asian anthropology or archaeology (no scholar being eligible for an award more than once), or to enable the Society to organise study groups or seminars in these subjects from time to time.

The Council wishes to express its warm gratitude to Mrs Samson for her generous gift.

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The manuscript should be typed in double spacing on sheets of A4 size, leaving a margin of at least 30mm on the left-hand side, and the sheets should be numbered consecutively at the top right-hand corner. Notes should be numbered consecutively throughout the article, and typed on a separate sheet or sheets at the end. Entries for the award should be submitted by 31 December 1987, and addressed to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 56 Queen Anne Street, London W1M 9LA, England.

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A PRE-ISLAMIC RITE IN SOUTH ARABIA

BY WERNER DAUM

82902



The two Yemens are still that part of the Middle East which most vividly retains the manners and customs of ancient Arabia. The majestic mountain ridges, the barrenness of the desert, the torrid shores of the Red Sea, the proud Yemeni tribesmen with their traditional janbiya, the picturesque palaces and houses pitched on towering peaks, the lone columns of the temples of Saba' (Sheba) in forgotten sands, all this cannot fail to convey the image of timelessness, and, indeed, of Arabia's yesterworld. It does seem to many that the highlands (the central mountain ridge stretching from about 50 miles north of Aden far into Saudi Arabia) are the most stubbornly traditional part of Yemen. Still, from an anthropological as well as from an ethnological point of view, many of the more ancient features can be traced only in the western part (the flat Tihāma coastal strip along the Red Sea), in the eastern desert and in South Yemen, especially in Ḥaḍramūt. I would suggest that this is not only because of the puritan Zaydīs who eradicated the worship of saints and other popular "superstitions", but that it may possibly go back to the immigration of North Arabian stock into this part of Yemen.

In the central Tihāma, some 70 km. north-east (by road) of (North-) Yemen's principal sea-port al-Ḥudayda, lies the town of Bājil on the road to Ṣan'ā'. Coming from Ṣan'ā', Bājil is the first large settlement in the Tihāma plain, just after leaving the mountains. About 4 km. south-west of Bājil lies a famous saint's tomb (a "wali"), near the hamlet Dayr al-Khadāma. The saint's name is "al-Shamsī", the Sun, or, more correctly, "the sunny-one". He is considered the saint of Bājil, and of the large al-Qaḥra tribal confederation. The annual pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) to this tomb was the great event of the year and is still considered so by many.

The rites connected with this *ziyāra*, are very strange. Under a thin formal layer of Islam they clearly point to the ancient religion superseded by the Prophet's teaching. This is of course not the only phenomenon of this kind in Yemen; Harold Ingrams, R.B. Serjeant and others have recorded such customs. What makes the al-Shamsī *ziyāra* truly unique is the story connected with it. This legend is indeed so detailed and precise that it affords us an exceptional insight into the material structure of the pre-Islamic religion of South Arabia. This is all the more welcome as there are no myths recorded of the ancient Sabaeans, the thousands of inscriptions being for the most part formal dedications mentioning the gods of the Pantheon without really elucidating the connections between them.

Before going into the rites and the legend of al-Shamsī, I am happy to acknowledge my double gratitude to Francine Stone's discussion of the *wali* and the *ziyāra* in her admirable *Studies on the Tihāmah* (1985). First, it was through the relevant chapter in her book that I became aware of the treasure to be searched for in Dayr al-Khadāma; second, it was the data she assembled which enabled me to put the

"right" questions to the local people who, out of religious fear, were so extremely reluctant to convey their beliefs to a stranger. Had I not come to the place with the information collected by Francine Stone in my mind I would not have been able to gather the full story as it will now be presented.

The saint's tomb lies in the centre of an extensive graveyard. The whole stretch of land is covered with large river stones; the lesser graves are assembled from these stones, and the walls of al-Shamsī's *walī* are built from them. The acacia trees and shrubs growing in this area are the ones so typical of the dried-up *wādī*-beds in South Arabia. The sanctity of the place and the local people's awe probably protected this vegetation. My inquiries if this had been an ancient watercourse were first answered in the negative, but later it was said that this was indeed true, that there had been "many centuries ago" a large *wādī*, (the bed is approx. 200m wide) which now runs several kms west and which came from the mountains south-east of Bājil, i.e. in the prolongation of a line from Dayr al-Khadāma to Bājil and into the mountains. Finally, the name of the watercourse was also brought forward: Shi'ba Jurayniya. Literally, *shi'b* means mountain-cleft and is used for a very similar phenomenon at the (pre-Islamic) tomb of the Prophet Hūd in Ḥadramūt. When I was at the al-Shamsī site in late May 1986, which is the period of the rainy season in the Tihāma, a side bed at the very edge of the former watercourse was wet from the rain water which had apparently flowed there a few days previously.

The first and surprising fact therefore is that the *walī* was erected in the middle of a large watercourse, and not in or near the hamlet Dayr al-Khadāma which lies approximately 100 metres outside the *wādī*, about 200 metres west of the *walī*. A sanctuary in the centre of a very strong and in former times obviously torrential *wādī* bed is a very strange thing, and it must have been placed in this location on purpose.

The construction is quadrangular, not the corners, but the walls being oriented to the four cardinal points. The *walī* consists of an outer wall surmounted with crenellations. Inside, in the centre, is a four-sided structure with a small cella in it. This structure which I will call now for convenience Ka'ba, also has crenellations and a central "tower". The outer wall of the *walī* has two entrances, one on the south, and one on the west side. On the inner side of the northern wall is a *qibla*, and, opposite the *qibla*, a small door-like opening leads into the Ka'ba. The room inside the Ka'ba is very narrow indeed. A niche in the south wall, all covered with wax, is said to bear candles during the *ziyāra*.

The ceremony of the *ziyāra* was said to be as follows. Pilgrims enter from the south, circumambulate the Ka'ba counterclockwise (as they do in Mecca), take a handful of dust from inside the Ka'ba (this dust is thrown back, or sometimes kept) and leave the place through the western entrance.

The two small domes outside the *walī* on its northern side are said to be the tombs of two of the saint's sons.

The small hamlet of Dayr al-Khadāma is the home of the "keeper" of the shrine

and of his extended family. The name of the place, Dayr al-Khadāma (place of service), expresses this connection. The keeper is called Qayyim. It may be mentioned that in the western part of South Yemen the word is *quyyūm*, elsewhere in the Tihāma, it is *manṣub* and in Ḥaḍramūt *manṣab*. The word *manṣab* was known to the actual Qayyim. His name is 'Uthmān Ibrāhīm Qayyim, his father's name was Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Sirayn, and in former generations, Sirayn used always to be the family name, so he said. We shall try to explain the word at the end of this paper.

The most interesting part of the *ziyāra* rites takes place in the hamlet, and not at the *walī* itself. The following description is based on the account of the Qayyim's family. He himself only confirmed from time to time, and very much against his liking, what his family said and that too was brought forward in bits and pieces, and very reluctantly. Had it not been for the sacred Arab hospitality, the Qayyim would certainly have had me thrown out. His family confided to me that he was in fear of the vengeance of the *walī*, should its secrets be disclosed to a stranger. I cannot but warn and implore that foreigners living in Yemen should not investigate there out of curiosity. This would certainly destroy this precious and rare flower which, as I sensed and heard, is viewed with much distrust by secular and religious authorities.

The central ceremony consists in the erection of two wooden poles, one longer, and one somewhat shorter (Francine Stone says 8 and 7 metres high). The preparation of the poles starts in the evening, after sunset. The poles are first washed with water, and then henna is applied. Each pole is called *sirū*, (and the above mentioned family name is clearly a dual, the two *sirū*). The longer represents al-Shamsī, the saint, as was said without hesitation when I asked, and the shorter is "female". I insisted on asking if this was al-Shamsī's wife, but the answer was that he never married. The two poles are decorated with a bundle of cloth. It was expressly said that this represented the clothes of al-Shamsī and that it also represented clothes in the case of the second pole. When the two poles are erected, boys climb up them, usually suspended from a rope fixed on top of the pole. They then slither down, go up again, and so on. I did not expect an answer when I asked what the significance of this "play" might be, but I was told that it was meant to ensure abundance of children. If the children played zealously, many boys would be born in the following year.

In former times, now rather seldom, the Qayyim offered meat, *dhabā'ih*, to the pilgrims; the pilgrims themselves brought bulls, sheep and goats. The animals were slaughtered "for the poor and for God". This communal banquet, *walīma*, was obviously an important part of the ritual.

I will now recount the story of al-Shamsī. There are two versions, which differ slightly, one as told by the Qayyim and his family, and the other by the Shaykh al-Mashā'ikh of the Qahra-tribe of Bājil and the notables of Bājil whom I met in his company.

Both versions were informally worded, and indeed their Arabic was rather down to earth, in remarkable contrast with my *Märchen aus dem Jemen*. I shall therefore limit myself to the contents of the story.

Both versions stated that the name of the hero was not al-Shamsī Ahdal (as it is related by Francine Stone) but simply al-Shamsī.

The legend as it was told by the Qayyim runs as follows. Al-Shamsī came from far away, from the west, from the other side of the Red Sea, from Ethiopia. He had only one eye, in the middle of his forehead, but this one eye was more powerful than your eye or my eye, more powerful than any human eye. He could see with it all over the mountains, right into Ḥadramūt and farther. Nothing could remain hidden from him. At that time a mighty demon lived in the mountains over there (pointing in the direction of Bājil and the mountains overlooking it, i.e. the direction of the watercourse), far away, six hours away by car, in the middle of the mountains. The Qayyim used for demon the words *jinnī*, *mārid*, *shayṭān*. When I asked if the name of the demon might have been 'afṛī, (I knew this word from my *Märchen*), the Qayyim denied this so furiously that it was perfectly clear what the real name of the demon was. Every year, the 'Afṛī demanded from the people in Dayr al-Khadāma village a virgin as a bride. Knowing from my *Märchen* that this was done in order to ensure water (the flood) in the *wādī*, I asked about the reason of this offering, whether it was because otherwise the demon would have held the waters back. But it was said that this was not so. He asked for the girl because he was evil. The virgin was dressed as a bride, put in a camel-litter (a *maḥmal*, it was said) and after sunset, the camel was sent to the mountain. The demon came from his abode to meet her, and killed the girl.

But in that particular year when al-Shamsī saw the distress of the people and the horrible deed of the demon, he went behind the girl; slightly outside the village (where the *walī* now stands), al-Shamsī met with the demon, cut off his head with his sword and thus liberated the village from this affliction. The corpse of the demon lay there and was thrown away. Al-Shamsī, for the rest of his life, lived in the village as an honoured guest, *jār*. In a reply to a question of mine, it was reiterated that he did not marry the liberated girl; he did not marry at all. He had three children. (How this happened without marrying was not explained.) The two small *walīs*, outside the north wall of the tomb are his two elder sons; the third, the youngest, is the ancestor of the Qayyim at the present day. The tomb and the festival came into existence in the following way: A certain time after his death, al-Shamsī appeared in a dream to a member of the learned Sayyid family of al-Ahdal and requested him to build the *walī*, and to establish the *ziyāra*. The Islamic layer of this explanation is all too obvious.

I will now come to what may be called the more profane version, told by the notables of the Shaykh's entourage, and by himself.

The saint came originally from al-Marāwī'a, a small town about 20 km south-west of Bājil; this is the seat of the al-Ahdal Sayyids; his name was 'Abdurrahmān b.

Abī Bakr, his surname, *laqab*, was al-Shamsī, and his other surname was "The one-eyed", *a'war*. He went to Dayr al-Khadāma where he settled as a *jār*, (protected stranger). The village, in those olden days, was a town, called al-Jitha. Every year, *fi ra's al-sana*, (in spite of the apparent identity with Hebrew *rosh ha-shana*, this means "at the end of the year") the people of al-Jitha prepared a bride for a demon (*mārid*; the word '*afrit*', was only known as a general term for Qur'anic *jinnī*). This demon lived in the well of the village which was outside the walls of the village, not very far away. The girl was dressed as a bride, *mulābisa al-'urs*, brought after sunset to the well and put on the edge of the well. In the night, the demon got out of the water, seized the girl and drew her down. In the first year when al-Shamsī saw this, he enquired about it. In the following year, he hid himself beside the well. When the demon emerged from the water and came out of the well, al-Shamsī received him and killed him with his spear, *ḥarba*.

He had several sons, but he never married. The eldest was Ḥasan b. 'Abdurrahmān with the surname *mufī al-diyār al-yamanīya*. The tribe of Awlād Ḥasan (al-Ḥasānīya) are his descendants (in the village of al-Qananīya). The two *qubbās*, behind the *wālī*, are his two younger sons.

In memory of this remarkable deed, a yearly feast is celebrated on the day on which this happened and on the spot where it happened. On the occasion of this *ziyāra*, the people of the village slaughter bulls for the guests, and the guests eat the meat, *yadhbuḥu ahl al-qarya athwār fa-aḍ-ḍuyūf ya'kulu minhum*.

At this stage, it seems useful to summarise the two stories and the ritual. It may be permissible to include some observations from my *Märchen*.

The 'Afrīt is a mighty water-demon. He lives in the mountains, in the direction from which the *wādī* comes, where the clouds of the monsoon unload themselves. Their water was the basis of the existence of the ancient civilizations of Yemen which lay in the eastern desert, outside the mountains, irrigating the fields with the *wādī*-waters streaming down from the uplands. In the Shaykh's version, the 'Afrīt is the "God" of the well, situated in the middle of the *wādī*. In my *Märchen*, the 'Afrīt is even more expressly qualified as a supernatural Lord of the dark clouds, the rain-storm and the *wādīs*: He is "more towering than a towering heaven", he will "come over the people like a black cloud"; the sun set and "a black cloud, black like smoke" appeared (= the 'Afrīt); he "is a giant, he comes like the all-covering black clouds, then he changes his appearance into human shape, as tall as ten men"; when he sleeps, "he emits a fart, so strong that the whole castle begins to shake and that it rocks the trees of the forest".

A bride is offered to this demon, once a year. Several of my *Märchen* say expressly what also underlies the al-Shamsī story, that this is done in order to ensure the arrival of the water of the *wādī*. If the girl was not offered, the 'Afrīt would hold back the water.

The killing of the dark old demon by the young luminous stranger secures the water (this is again said expressly in several of my *Märchen*). The young stranger

then marries the girl (who happens to be the daughter of the ruler of the village), thus establishes himself in the village, and, after the death of the Sultan, becomes the new ruler and the ancestor of the ruling dynasty.

This explains the ritual of al-Shamsī more fully than the words used by the Qayyim: after having killed the monster, al-Shamsī marries in the village (this is enacted with the al-Shamsī pole and the "female" pole). The treatment of the two poles corresponds exactly to the marriage-rites of Yemen: bathing with water and applying henna. Also, the important banquet (*walima*, always mentioned also in the *Märchen*) is not missing. This banquet is offered in the al-Shamsī ritual by the Qayyim and his family, in my *Märchen* it is the wedding-banquet offered by the ruler of the village on the occasion of the marriage of his liberated daughter. The purpose of the ritual is of course the fertility of the land (through the liberated waters) and of the family (the children climbing up the poles).

Before going on, I have now to explain the date *fi ra's al-sana*. As the meaning of this formula was not clear to me, I discussed it at length with the Shaykh and his retainers. It was first made clear that it signified indeed "the end of the year", but that it really meant the time immediately after the end of the year, "when the year was completed and the end was over". It was not admitted in so many words that this was the beginning of the new year, but that is what it is, translated into our way of thinking. I was then told that this was not the Muslim year, but the "agricultural year". The "end" was after the *mawsim al-kharif*, (the end of the main harvest with a subsequent rest-time). This was then exemplified as follows: the main rainy season is *ṣayf*, the two months season we were just halfway through (it was the end of May). The end of the year would be in approximately three to three and a half months. If I translate this in our calendar, it means "early to mid-September". It was then said that the killing of the demon had happened in the night of the full moon, and that the yearly festival of remembrance was therefore preferably celebrated on that night, i.e. the first one following the end of the year. "This was the rule and everybody knew it". But the actual *ziyāra* could be fixed according to any practical consideration, at any time during the idle and climatically pleasant winter time, but necessarily on a Thursday or Friday because this was a holiday; if possible at the full moon, but also at the quarter or three-quarter-moon.

This dating is another interesting point of the al-Shamsī ritual. It confirms what has been generally assumed, i.e. that the Sabaeen (or Himyaritic) calendar was solar and not lunar. I would not wish here to go into the problems of the Himyaritic calendar. Serjeant, to whom I am grateful for a comment on this point, would concur that the Himyaritic year commenced in October, while Beeston (*Arabian Studies* I, 1974, 1) says May, and Robin says April. I have quite a few notes on popular calendar-lore, and I would think that there were two New Years, in different regions of Yemen, but this cannot be elaborated here.

The strangest thing about this dating is at the same time the most important from a comparative point of view. We have seen that the wording "end of the year"

really means "beginning of the year", but that the real New Year's date is not the first day of the month, but the day of the full moon, i.e. the fifteenth. This is exactly what the Bible says, when it speaks of Tabernacles: "At the end of the year" (Exodus 23, 16), "on the fifteenth day of the seventh month" (Leviticus 23, 34 and 23, 39), "after the harvest" (Deuteronomy 16, 13), and "at the change of the year" (Exodus 34, 22). Libraries have been filled by the attempts of Biblical scholars to reconcile the two dates ("the change of the year", i.e. the first day of the month, and the fifteenth day of that month — the "seventh" month being easily explained as the first month of the second semester or with a shift in the New Year from autumn to spring). From the identical phenomenon here in South Arabia it becomes clear that there is no contradiction if we understand those formulae not with our mathematical approach but through the idea they are meant to convey.

It is now time to go back to Yemen and to mention briefly two other ethnological observations concerning the al-Shamsī ritual.

Serjeant has shown in his pioneering paper on the "Pre-Islamic prophets of Ḥadramawt" that the great annual pilgrimage of the Ḥadramūt, dedicated to the Prophet Hūd, is pre-Islamic in origin and that it consists in offering a bride to the Prophet. "To offer Hūd a bride and a marriage ceremony... is reminiscent of ancient Semitic religion, and probably points to ceremonies discontinued, the memory of which is enshrined in this strange verse", says Serjeant.

The other parallel was described by Myers in 1947, and he clearly sensed that there was more behind his observations. He describes the female demon "al-Ma'agiz", the most important *jinnīya* of the Little Aden region. A fisherman enshrined her in a tree. She had a husband, called "Mushaibah" (in the addenda, Myers mentions that it could also be am-Shaibah), also enshrined in a tree. On the occasion of the yearly *ziyāra*, two poles were erected in their memory, the clothing was said to be their turban and fūṭa. The *ziyāra* was on a full moon day in winter.

It should be noted that the definite article (Arabic "al") is *am*, in most parts of western South Yemen. *Am* is the common form in Ṣubayḥī country, to which Little Aden belongs. The *am* is often fully assimilated to the following noun. The two demons are therefore nothing but am-Ājiz and am-Shaiba, "the old woman" and her husband "the old man". The Little Aden ceremony is therefore basically identical with the al-Shamsī ritual.

I cannot, in the limited space of this paper, deal with the various arguments, brought forward in my *Ursemitische Religion*, for equating the three main figures of the "ethnological" ritual with the three central Gods of the ancient Sabaean pantheon, i.e. Almaqah (who should now definitely be transliterated 'Il muqahh(w) the God Il who abundantly waters'), 'Athtar and the female Shams (the sun). Il would be the old demon in the mountains, 'Athtar is the young hero, the Shams is the bride. We know the names of these divinities; we can now connect them with a myth. I was able to show that the original form of the myth ran as follows: Il

holds the waters back, unless a bride is offered to him. 'Athtar comes from afar (from the east), kills the II and marries Shams in a matrilocal way in her village. This happened on the night of the full moon in spring. At a later stage, the whole myth is shifted to the autumn equinox full moon, the emphasis is more upon securing rain, the young hero (who now comes from the west) takes up the characteristics of the girl (he becomes the sun), while she becomes much more of a real warlike partner, and indeed a female 'Athtar. The matrilocal marriage remains the same. It is this second (autumn) stage which we can still witness at the al-Shamsī festival.

One of the astonishing features of the al-Shamsī festival is the matrilocal marriage-system. This is of course not Arabic, but can still be traced, through careful ethnological observations, in Mahra country, in Ḥaḍramūt, in the North Yemeni Jawf, in our al-Shamsī story, and, it may be mentioned, in one of the central formulae of the ancient Sabaean religion. This formula, *dhat Ḥimyam 'Athtar yajūr*, (e.g. in Ja 618; the root is *jār*, the term which we saw applied to al-Shamsī!) exists also in Qatabānic, where the verb is *yaghūl*. The Sabaic as well as the Qatabānic formula could either mean "The hot-one (= the Sun) into which 'Athtar enters" or "the Sun whom 'Athtar attacks". The difficulty for the translation came from the unfortunate fact that we did not know what the mythological relationship of the two deities was. Maria Höfner had originally preferred the interpretation "attacks" (page 284) but now feels that it should be "enters". "To enter" (*dakhala*, Hebrew: *bo'a*) is a general Semitic expression for marrying. The formula therefore means "The sun whom 'Athtar marries in a matrilocal way". It may finally be noted that Beeston has very recently demonstrated that the uxorilocal marriage was at least fairly frequent, if not the usual structure, in Sabaean society. We can therefore say that matrilocal marriage was the custom among the ancient Sabaeans, that they imagined the marriage of their gods in that way, that they re-enacted it through a yearly matrilocal sacred marriage, and that we can still see this festival being performed in Dayr al-Khadāma.

The meaning of our ceremony in the Yemeni Tihāma is now clear: It is the yearly representation of the great event which had happened *in illo tempore*, securing the fertility of the land and of the dynasty. The two poles are al-Shamsī and his bride (contrary to the words used by the Qayyim); the bride had been offered for water (*wādī* water or well water); the washing and anointing of the poles corresponds to the marriage ceremony as it is still current in our day *yawm al-ghasl*, the day of washing; and *yawm al-hinnā*, the day of henna, the meal is the great banquet, *walīma*, of a marriage. But how is the killing of the God II represented?: in the word *sirū!* Sabaean *sirw* means "campaigning force", Arabic *sarā*, "to travel by night", "to detach a force against the enemy by night". The young hero in one of my *Märchen*, following the bride who is being brought to the old demon, is addressed as *yā sārī al-layl*.

|| If we were to translate this ritual into temple architecture, we should expect to

find, in Sabaeen temples, a water basin and two columns. If we read carefully the preliminary survey made by J. Schmidt in the Mārib région, we find that this is indeed the case (p. 75, p. 137, p. 154). This reminds us of course of the "sea of bronze" and the bronze pillars Yakin and Boaz (I Kings 7, 15–26) in Solomon's temple, whose significance has presented many a riddle to exegetes.

When I first heard about al-Shamsī, I felt sad that I had not known this before and been able to include it in my book *Ursemitische Religion*, the first part of which pretends to be "the ancient Sabaeen religion rediscovered". On the other hand, it seems not disappointing to unearth such a full proof of a thesis hitherto based on a combination of several conclusions. Finally it may be mentioned that the Sabaeen festival sheds new light on the two pre-Islamic feasts at Mecca, (the 'Umra in Mecca itself and the Ḥajj in 'Arafa). Scholars have long been wondering why the Ka'ba was built in the middle of Mecca's wādī, in the "batn Makka". The story of the Ka'ba is a story of devastating floods. We now know why. It is also clear that we are now able to understand the word 'Umra, which really means, in Mecca itself, what the dictionaries give as the general meaning of the word, namely "a matrilocal marriage" (in contrast to the patrilocal 'urs).

'Umra and Ḥajj are identical in so many aspects, including the date, and even the name, with the two ancient Hebrew feasts of Peṣaḥ and the Feast of Tabernacles (Ḥag). It seems fascinating that an answer to the age-old question of the explanation (not the origin, however, which rests in the North!) of the two central feasts of the Bible should be found in South Arabia, as well as the explanation of the feast of Mecca.

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Postscript:

I am grateful to Professor Serjeant for drawing my attention to a very important parallel which al-Azraqī records for the Church of San'a', built by the Abyssinian ruler Abraha. The text can

be conveniently consulted in Serjeant/Lewcock, *San'ā'*, London, 1983, page 46: "Abraham's church had two beams, one called Ku'ayb and the other Ku'ayb's wife, "from which they used to seek good fortune (*yatabarrakūna bi-himā*) in the Jāhiliyyah". They were 60 *dhirā'* long (understood as "high"?). When these were pulled down people were in great fear. This looks very much like the situation in Dayr al-Khadāmah, of al-Shamsī."

Indeed it does! This text should prove definitely that the rite is pre-Islamic in origin, and that being performed in the high place in the capital, it must have been one of the central rituals of the ancient religion. Should it also be a coincidence that the word Ku'ayb recalls the idea of fertility ("little breast"), the name of the sanctuary in Mecca, and finally the name of the *wādī shi'b al-Ka'āb* on Jabal al-Laudh which has been the great sanctuary of the mukarribs and kings of Saba' where they performed (in my opinion) their yearly *hieros gamos*, the word *mukarrib* being derived from *hakraba* = to marry a woman in a matrilocal way)?

Serjeant also suggests another etymology for the word *sirū* which seems to me at least as convincing as the one brought forward in this paper. He says: "The word *sirū* — the *ū* may be the final *ū* in the Tihamah-dialect as in, e.g. *am-baytū*, the house. It may only be coincidental, but *sāriyah* (*sawāri*) is a column and can also mean a mast (Lane)".

There is another parallel to which Professor Serjeant has drawn my attention. Ibn al-Kalbī, in his *Kitāb al-asnām*, mentions twice the two stone-idols Isāf and Nā'ila which were beside the Ka'ba. Isāf and Nā'ila, it is said, were two young people of the tribe of Jurhum; they lived in Yemen. On the occasion of a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, they had intercourse in the temple. They were instantly petrified. This happened during the night. The two stones were then erected outside by the people, and Khuza'a, Quraysh and the Arabs worshipped them. Ibn al-Kalbī also says that they were erected as a warning to the people. Animal sacrifices were immolated for them. If we leave the clearly posterior moralizing explanation aside, the facts fit perfectly into what has been said in this paper. The Ka'ba is one of the sanctuaries of the ancient Arabian water and fertility religion. The main act was a *hieros gamos* performed in the temple, at night. Glaser was, by the way, the first to explain Ptolemy's strange name for Mecca ("Makoraba") by Sabaic *makrab* or *mikrab*, temple. I would even go one step further and say that a *makrab* must be the place where a *mukarrib* performed his great yearly deed, i.e. the sacred marriage. It seems then no longer surprising that the cultic representation of it should have endured in Mecca, as it endured in the church of San'ā' and at Dayr al-Khadāma.

STATISTICAL PATTERNS IN HEBREW & ARABIC ROOTS

By MICHAEL WEITZMAN

In his pioneering article "The Patterning of Root Morphemes in Semitic" (1950), J. H. Greenberg tabulated the frequency of every possible pair of Arabic consonants in each possible position (I-II, I-III, II-III) over a total of 3775 trilateral verbal roots. alternative statistics, for positions I-II only, were presented by J. Kuryłowicz (1973), who, unlike Greenberg, excluded weak roots (i.e. those containing semi-vowels or geminated consonants) and admitted denominative verbs in the simple stem. Tabulations for Hebrew were prepared by K. Koskinen (1964), who included nominal roots, and excluded weak roots. The analyses by these three scholars have won deserved renown, but still more patterns can be detected in the rich data. Despite the differences of approach, the data are used here without modification¹, so that the results can be readily verified.

The total frequency of each consonant in each position is given by both Greenberg and Koskinen, without comment.² The three resulting series for each language, however, show striking differences, too great to be ascribed to chance.³ Let us first consider Hebrew:

	'	b	g	d	h	z	ḥ	ṭ	k	l	m	n	s	'	p	ṣ	q	r	š	ṣ	t	TOTAL
I	66	56	48	34	13	32	106	21	47	30	45	101	34	92	66	47	50	66	41	84	20	1099
II	42	89	47	39	40	26	57	34	31	91	77	35	23	65	68	47	45	136	18	45	44	1099
III	50	70	19	58	6	11	69	33	37	99	73	55	24	65	66	38	62	176	15	58	15	1099

The variation is greatest between the first and second positions; the correlation coefficient is just 0.22 between frequencies in positions I-II, as against 0.41 for positions I-III and 0.89 for positions II-III.⁴

The consonants 'gzhkns 'qšš are more frequent in first than in second position, and bdhṭlmpṛ are more frequent in second than in first position; ṣ is equally frequent in both. Now these classes display a phonetic pattern. The consonants preferring first to second position (these may be termed "Type I" consonants) are the sibilants, velars, gutturals (except *h*) and *n*. The "Type II" consonants (which prefer second to first position) are the labials, dentals, liquids (except *n*), and *h*. As a sibilant, ṣ is better assigned to Type I than to Type II. Note that frequency here means the number of different roots in which a given consonant appears in a given position; the frequencies of the roots themselves are not taken into account.

Another aspect of the phenomenon is that roots having a Type I consonant in first and a Type II consonant in second position (totalling 440) are more than 2.5 times as numerous as roots having a Type II consonant in first and a Type I consonant in second position (totalling 173). Now the first two consonants of a root often occur together, with no intervening vowel, in common forms both of verbs (outside the intensive conjugations) and of nouns (notably those with preformative *Mem*).

Samples show that such forms account for about half of all cases where two distinct consonants occur with no intervening vowel within a word⁵. (Of the remaining classes, the most numerous are suffixed singular segholate nouns, perfect tense verbs in the first or second person, Hitpael forms, and proper names.) Quite generally in the Semitic languages, as Greenberg observes (p. 179), the second and third radicals hardly ever occur with no intervening vowel. The Massoretic text underscores this by almost always spirantizing the third radical, if a member of the *bgdkpt* series, even when the second radical follows a short vowel (e.g. *ya'amēdū*, *kotēbēm*).

A hypothesis that could account for the differences in frequency between the first and second radicals, then, is that where two consonants stood with no intervening vowel, Hebrew preferred a movement from back to front position, and from fricative to instantaneous (plosive or liquid) articulation, rather than the reverse. It could be said that Type II consonants are more "clear" than those of Type I, and that Hebrew prefers an increase to a decrease in "clarity" at the syllable boundary. The metathesis in the Hitpael of verbs whose first radical is a sibilant seems part of the same phenomenon. Again, the rules that finally crystallized for the *bgdkpt* consonants follow the same principle: if either of two consonants in immediate sequence belongs to the *bgdkpt* series, that consonant will be fricative at the beginning of the sequence and plosive at the end.

The assignment of *n*, which is dental and liquid, to Type I seems to disturb the pattern. In fact, however, roots beginning in *n* do not generate consonantal clusters contradicting the tendency noted above, since the *n* would instead normally assimilate.⁶ The reason that *h*, while guttural and fricative, nevertheless joins Type II may be the physical difficulty of pronouncing *h* at the end of a syllable. In third position, where again it would often close a syllable (in the first and second person perfect forms), *h* is even less frequent. Similarly, the fact that *t* is rarer in third than in other positions suggests a tendency to avoid its coalescence with the *t* of suffixes; but it is then surprising that *t* and *d* (which would clash with the same suffixes) and *n* (which would coalesce with the suffix *-nu*) are not rarer in third than in other positions.

The frequencies for Arabic, in each of the three possible positions, were thus stated by Greenberg:

	h	ḥ	ʿ	ḡ	g	q	k	ḡ	r	l	n	š	ḍ	s	z	ṣ	
I	131	122	196	206	144	122	180	141	142	228	160	283	163	75	188	84	120
II	72	127	123	130	76	66	120	107	133	301	229	163	108	68	129	108	90
III	143	54	146	157	73	31	157	78	108	335	249	188	86	57	127	70	65
	t	d	ṭ	ṭ	ḍ	z	f	b	m	w	y	TOTAL					
I	50	123	90	50	54	15	181	152	171	188	16	3775					
II	99	156	97	60	64	25	170	239	201	291	223	3775					
III	100	196	91	86	33	25	185	240	243	220	232	3775					

These figures have much in common with the Hebrew data. Comparing the three series, we again observe the lowest correlation between the first and second (.49 if *w* and *y* are retained, .64 if they are discarded) and the highest between the second and third (.91 or .92). As before, the velars, pharyngals and laryngals (excluding *h*), most sibilants and *n* prefer first to second position, and the liquids (excluding *n*), the labials *bm*, and *h* prefer second to first position. In contrast to Hebrew, *z* joins Type II. Of the consonants that do not appear in Hebrew, *f* and the interdentals (under which heading *ḏ* may be classed — Moscati, p. 30) are at the same time front consonants and fricatives. On the pattern observed for Hebrew, they might have fallen into either type; it turns out that *ḏ* and *f* join Type I, the remaining interdentals Type II. Kuryłowicz's figures give the same classification, except that *f* joins Type II. Although the position is more complex than for Hebrew, consonantal clusters again exhibit a general preference for movement from back to front articulation.

* * *

The basic result of the studies by Greenberg and Koskinen is that identical or homorganic consonants are avoided in positions I–II, and that homorganic (but not identical) consonants are avoided in positions II–III. Greenberg found (p. 178) that both rules operated with “considerable rigor”. He also detected a less strict tendency to avoid identical or homorganic consonants in positions I–III. It is perhaps more economical to posit a tendency to avoid homorganic or identical consonants in the same root, its rigour being lessened the more often, and the more widely, these consonants are separated in actual forms. Thus there are very few exceptions in positions I–II, where the consonants often occur with no intervening vowel (especially, as Kuryłowicz noted [p. 16], in the imperative of the simple stem, where the two radicals might have coalesced and one radical would then have been lost, as no form can begin with gemination). As to positions II–III, where a vowel almost invariably intervenes, exceptions are provided firstly by the many roots with identical second and third radicals, and secondly by roots ending in two homorganic consonants (Koskinen, pp. 36, 49; Kuryłowicz, pp. 22–3). Between positions I–II, at least one consonant and one vowel intervene, and so many exceptions occur. To investigate the degree of phonetic dissimilarity between a given pair of consonants, one should therefore concentrate on the number of roots where the pair (in either order) appears in positions I–II, in which the rule applies most rigorously.

To illustrate how dissimilarity between two consonants can be measured, let us consider Hebrew ' and *b*. Table 1 is based on 1099 roots in all, of which 66 show ' in first position and 89 show *b* in second position. Hence one expects to find

$$1099 \times (66/1099) \times (89/1099) = (66 \times 89)/1099 = 5.344 \text{ roots}$$

showing ' in first position and *b* in second position; in fact there are 9, which is a

ratio of 1.684 of the expected value 5.344. Similarly, one expects $(56 \times 42)/1099 = 2.140$ roots showing *b* in first and ' in second position; in fact there are 3, which is 1.402 times the expected value. We may define as an index of dissimilarity the average of the two ratios of the actual to the expected total of roots. in this case $[1.684 + 1.402]/2 = 1.543$. It is essential to divide in this way by the number of roots expected on the basis of the overall frequencies of the consonants concerned; in itself, a high total of roots featuring a certain pair of consonants might mean simply that one or both of those consonants was very frequent overall.

These dissimilarity indexes may be subjected to an analysis termed multidimensional scaling (MDS), which has been increasingly applied (by computer) to archaeological and literary data (Orton [1980], pp. 46, 85; Weitzman [1985]). Given a map of a certain country, one can easily measure the distance between any pair of cities. MDS is the reverse process: from the distances it will recover the map. Any measures of dissimilarity, even if they are not geographical distances, can be processed in just the same way, to yield a map, in as many dimensions as the investigator cares to specify (in this case, two)⁷. It is usually necessary to distort the data distances somewhat, in order to obtain a map in the specified number of dimensions⁸. In general, however, the greater the dissimilarity between two given objects (in our case, the greater the actual number of roots in which two given consonants appear in first and second position, in relation to the number expected), the farther apart they stand on the map. The essential feature of the map is thus the relationship between the distances shown; the map could have been drawn to a different scale or rotated or even reflected in a mirror, without significant change.

The map of Hebrew consonants appears in Fig. 1. Five groups stand out: gutturals, velars, dentals interlacing with sibilants, liquids and bilabials. The consonants stand in a circle. If one begins in the "south-west" and moves anti-clockwise, the point of articulation tends to move forward, from guttural to bilabial. The proximity of those two extremes on the map perhaps means that if one tried to move the point of articulation too far back or too far forward, the result (no sound) would be the same.

The location of consonants within the groups deserves notice. For example, the emphatic *t* stands closer than its non-emphatic counterparts (*t*, *d*) to the velars. Similarly *ṣ* stands closer than *s* or *z* to the velars. This tends to confirm that these emphatic consonants were velarised. Again, the location of *š* between *s* and *ś* is consistent with J. Cantineau's hypothesis (1950, p. 89) that *š* was "une siffiante ou une chuintante latérale". A de-voiced *l* could well have been perceived as similar both to *s* (in English, for example, this sound is a common allophone of /s/) and to *ś* (the points of articulation being close). Koskinen noted (p. 46) that *l* and *ś*, in either order, occur together only rarely in roots. In fact they never occur together with no intervening vowel; the one root that could have produced such contact, name *slq*, never actually does so, the *l* always assimilating (Is. 44:15 *yaššiq*, and similarly Ezek. 39:9, Ps. 78:21).

These relationships among the consonants are obviously known, but only through transcriptions, tradition and comparative linguistics. The above analysis derives them solely from the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible, and is free from any distortion by post-biblical developments (apart from scribal errors) or foreign languages.

A somewhat similar diagram for the Hebrew consonants was obtained by J.-P. Benzécri (1981, p. 39), by another technique (factor analysis). Benzécri's diagram shows every Hebrew consonant twice, as if two maps had been drawn on a single sheet. The two maps are similar but not identical in shape; each looks rather like the other upside down. On both maps the point of articulation moves forward as one moves clockwise⁹ from the gutturals and velars. The gutturals and velars are unfortunately amalgamated on both maps, so that only four groups of consonants are distinguished. The maps include the semi-vowels: one map places *w* nearest to the gutturals and *y* to the labials, while the other places *w* nearest to the labials and *y* to the liquids. The location of the consonants *within* each of the four groups seems less significant than in the present study.

Fig. 2 gives an MDS map for Arabic consonants, on Greenberg's data. The same five groups appear as for Hebrew. Again they stand in a circle, in the same relative positions. The interdental joins the same group as the dentals and sibilants. Within that group, each of the emphatic consonants stands closer than the corresponding non-emphatic consonant to the velars; compare *ṭ* with *t* and *d*, *ṣ* with *s* and *z*, and *ḏ* with *ḏ* and *ḏ*. At the other end of the group, the consonant closest to *l* is *š*.

Many questions of course remain. The first concerns the basis on which statistics are best compiled — whether (and if so which) non-verbal roots should be included, whether (and if so which) weak roots should be excluded, and whether the frequencies of the roots in extant literature should be brought into account. Whatever basis emerges, the above figures for Hebrew and Arabic will probably need modification; and for other Semitic languages, statistics have yet to be drawn up. Different dissimilarity indexes also deserve trial.¹⁰ It is clear, however, that the patterns evident in Semitic roots reflect a system of collective preferences — which may have varied over time and between the different languages — in the sequence of consonants. The avoidance of similar consonants is well known; the tendency to increase "clarity" at syllable boundaries has been noted here; and no doubt further tendencies were present.¹¹ These preferences, which did not constitute absolute laws but nevertheless shaped the lexicon, are best investigated by quantitative methods.

NOTES

¹ Koskinen in fact excludes roots of type Ayin Waw/Yodh, Ayin Ayin, and Lamedh He, but admits those of type Pe Yodh, so that his tables show *y* for first position only. For consistency, Koskinen's 80 Pe Yodh verbs are omitted here.

² For statistics of the overall frequency of the consonants, regardless of position, in samples of text, see Cantineau (1950), pp. 96-99.

³ The chi-square test shows that the odds against chance producing such differences exceed a thousand to one.

⁴ The correlation coefficient between two series lies between +1 and -1. A positive value means that the two series tend to move up and down together; a negative value means that they tend to move in opposite directions. The closer the coefficient stands to 1 (or, if negative, to -1), the more precise the association.

⁵ The sample comprised pages 100, 200, ... 1300 of N. H. Snaith's edition of the Hebrew Bible.

⁶ This reasoning does not however hold for Arabic, where too *n* is more frequent in first than in second position.

⁷ The procedure here used, named 'Minissa', was developed by E. E. Roskam and J. C. Lingoes (1973). A computer programme is included in Edinburgh University's MDS (X) series.

⁸ Measures of this distortion are the stress (0.241 for Fig. 1 below, 0.226 for Fig. 2) and the coefficient of alienation (0.296 and 0.267 respectively).

⁹ In Fig. 1, the point of articulation advances as one proceeds *anti-clockwise*. The difference is of no significance: any map could be reflected in a mirror without becoming any less (or more) valid a representation of the similarities among the objects mapped.

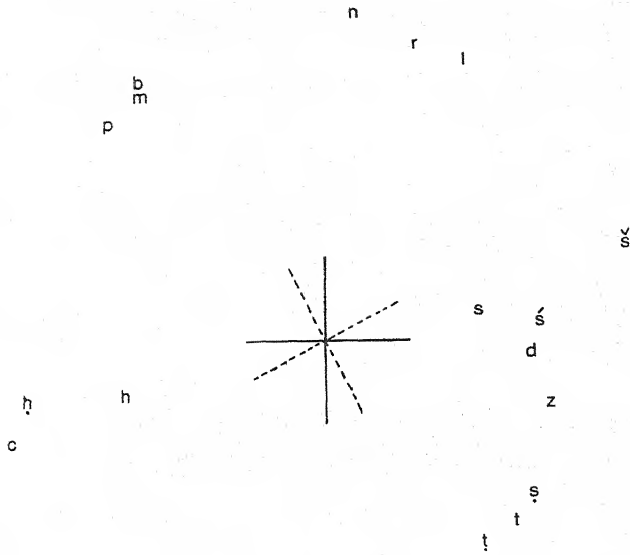
¹⁰ In a pilot study (forthcoming), the present writer used the ratio of actual to expected numbers of roots where the two relevant consonants in either order occupied the first and second positions. Thus for ' and *b*, this index is $(9+3)/(5.344+2.140) = 1.603$. The results were slightly less satisfactory; for Hebrew, *t* appeared closer than *ʔ* to the velars.

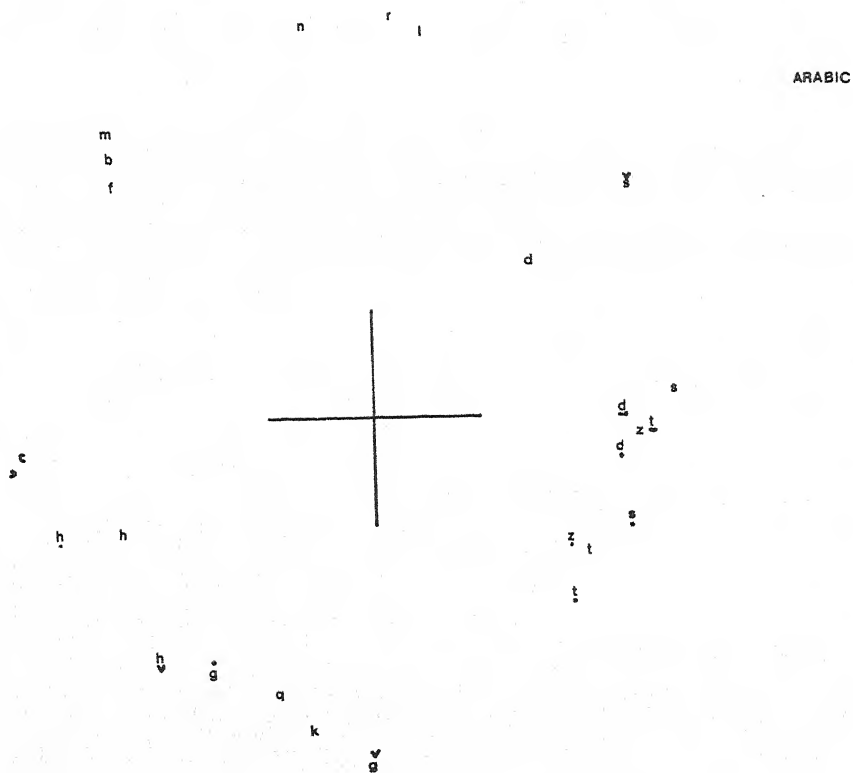
¹¹ Witness, for example, the fact that biblical Hebrew has three verbal roots beginning *tq* but none beginning *qt*, and three beginning *rt* but none beginning *tr*.

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HEBREW





THE LAST TWO LETTERS OF EMPEROR TEWODROS II OF ETHIOPIA (APRIL 11 and 12 1868)

By DAVID APPELYARD AND RICHARD PANKHURST

The last two letters of Emperor Tewodros II of Ethiopia, which were among the most important he ever wrote, have long been a subject of speculation. They were dictated at his mountain fortress of Mäqdäla (Magdala) on April 11 and 12 1868, and despatched to Sir Robert Napier, leader of a British expeditionary force, immediately prior to its capture of the citadel and the Emperor's dramatic suicide on April 13.

These two communications, which are of fundamental importance in understanding their author's state of mind in the last days of his life, as well as for the evaluation of his relations with the British, were duly received by Sir Robert who shortly afterwards made available rough English translations of them. These versions, which were produced on the eve of the battle, and had no claim to linguistic exactitude, found their way into most contemporary accounts of the expedition, but in the absence of the original Amharic texts could be treated only with the utmost caution. For years historians searched for the original letters in vain: there was no trace of them either among Napier's personal papers or in British state archives. The two letters were therefore not included with other Tewodros letters recently translated by D. A. and published by the British Academy.¹

The two letters were not, however, destroyed as some suspected, but passed (how it is not established) into the possession of Holland House Library, a private library in Holland Park, West London, owned by the Barons Holland and later by the Earls of Ilchester. The library was seriously damaged by enemy bombing during World War II, but Tewodros's letters survived, and were auctioned on July 10, 1947, together with other salvaged items, by Messrs. Hodgson and Co. of Chancery Lane. They then passed into the possession of a private collector, Herbert J. Elliott, whose executors subsequently sold them, in 1984, to another collector, James A. Mailor who entrusted them for auction to Sotheby's. There they were entirely fortuitously found by R. P. who arranged for their private purchase by the Ethiopian Ministry of Culture so that they could form part of Ethiopia's national archives.

TEWODROS AND THE BRITISH EXPEDITION

To explain the background of the letters it should be recalled that Tewodros, formerly a chieftain named Kasa, had fought his way to power, and had been crowned Emperor in 1855. He had chosen the name Tewodros, or Theodore, because an old legend, then widely accepted, prophesied that a ruler of that appellation would rule justly, eradicate Islam and capture Jerusalem.²

Tewodros, a visionary imbued with an almost Messianic faith in his destiny, was a brilliant warrior whose ambition was to unify, reform and modernise his ancient country which had been suffering from over a century of weak government and

civil war, as well as from encroachment by the Egyptians in the Sudan and Red Sea coastlands.

Hope of obtaining foreign help led the often tempestuous Emperor into a disastrous dispute with the British Government. Mortified by its failure to answer a letter which he had despatched in 1862 to Queen Victoria he imprisoned the British Consul, Captain Duncan Cameron, and a second British envoy, Hormuzd Rassam, who had been sent to secure the former's release, and two British officials attached to the latter, Lieutenant W. F. Prideaux and Dr. Henry Blanc. The Emperor also incarcerated two Protestant missionaries, Stern and Rosenthal, who had displeased him. The British Government, after much delay, responded by recruiting the artisans Tewodros wanted to supplement the foreign craftsmen, most of them missionaries from Germany or Switzerland, upon whom he relied for such work as road-building and the casting of cannons and mortars. The artisans were duly despatched to the Red Sea port of Massawa, but the British Government, angered by the continued imprisonment of the consul, envoy and missionaries, refused to send the craftsmen into the interior until the captives were released. Tewodros, on the other hand, was unwilling to part with the latter until the artisans' arrival. The British Government thereupon decided to break this deadlock by despatching an army of intervention.

The British expeditionary force reached the environs of Mäqdäla early in April 1868. Napier's force enjoyed overwhelming military superiority, for Tewodros's once great army had been seriously depleted as a result of previous provincial campaigning, and his locally-cast artillery was more or less untried. The British by contrast possessed breech-loading rifles, as well as rockets and first-rate artillery.

The first, all decisive, battle was fought on Good Friday, April 10, when Tewodros's warriors rushed down from the fortress to the neighbouring Aroge plain while the Emperor from the crest of nearby Fala supervised the firing of his artillery. The Ethiopian force was, predictably, defeated, and suffered heavy casualties. One of those falling in the engagement was Tewodros's life-long companion-in-arms, Fitawrari Gäbräyā³ who is mentioned in the second of the letters here translated. When the broken remnants of his army clambered back to the fort he called in vain for Fitawrari Gäbräyā and several other trusted followers. Understanding that his army had been largely destroyed he realised, Markham says, that "no hope was left but in concession to an irresistible enemy".⁴

Early on the following morning, Saturday, April 11, he despatched an embassy to the British with instructions to sue for peace. The envoys consisted of his son-in-law Däjazmač Aläme, and two foreigners: Lieutenant Prideaux, who had been his captive for several years, and Martin Flad, a German Protestant missionary craftsman who had earlier travelled to London on the Emperor's behalf in the unsuccessful attempt to enlist artisans.

Sir Robert Napier, after speaking with the three envoys, sent them back to Tewodros that same afternoon with an ultimatum. It revealed that its author's objective was not, as previously stated, merely the liberation of Consul Cameron,

Rassam and the other subjects of the Queen, but also the freeing of all the other Europeans, and what was presumably of even greater concern to Tewodros — his own unconditional surrender. This latter demand had not previously been formulated in writing, but was by now the policy of the British Commander-in-Chief who in a speech delivered at Welshpool four months later declared that his object, imparted to none but his Military and Political Secretaries, was "to receive no negotiations from Theodore," but "simply to take the prisoners, and then advance upon him and take himself".⁵ This policy found expression in Napier's ultimatum of April 11 which declared:

"Your Majesty has fought like a brave man, and has been overcome by the superior power of the British army.

"It is my desire that no more blood may be shed. If, therefore, your Majesty will submit to the Queen of England, and bring all the Europeans now in your Majesty's hands, and deliver them safely this day in the British camp, I guarantee honourable treatment for yourself and for all the members of your Majesty's family".⁶

In explaining this ultimatum Napier informed Däjazmač Aläme that "not only all Europeans must at once be sent to the camp, but the Emperor must come in also and submit to the Queen of England". He added that if Tewodros "complied he would be honourably treated, but that if any one of the Europeans in his hands were injured, he could expect no pity; and that had he [Sir Robert Napier] to remain for five years in the country, he would not leave until the last murderer was punished, had he even to buy him from his mother".⁷

To underline these threats Aläme was shown the Expedition's elephants, and mortars, and was informed that "the arms used in the action of the previous evening, in which he had been present, were but mere playthings in comparison to these destructive machines".⁸ The chief was duly impressed, and observed to Flad, "There is no escape for us . . . we must surrender, or we shall be killed". To this he added, prophetically as it turned out, "I am almost sure the King will send down the captives, but I fear he won't go down himself".⁹ Napier had originally demanded that Tewodros capitulate within 24 hours, but at Däjazmač Aläme's entreaty agreed to extend the period of grace to 48 hours.

Napier's ultimatum was duly taken to Tewodros, whom Prideaux and his companions found "overlooking the British camp, in anything but a pleasant humour". The envoys were joined by the Swiss Protestant missionary Theophilus Waldmeier, after which they presented themselves to the monarch, and delivered the letter into his hands. It was twice translated, by Flad with assistance from Waldmeier.¹⁰ At the conclusion of the reading Tewodros asked, "What do they mean by honourable treatment? Do they mean to treat me honourably as their prisoner, or do they intend to assist me in recovering my country from the rebels?"¹¹ He thereupon ordered the envoys to "go aside and take a seat, whilst he dictated to his Secretary".¹²

After dismissing the envoys Tewodros returned to the document he had been

dictating, which, as we now know, was to all intents and purposes his last testament. It had been begun, Dr. Blanc insists, before the arrival of the envoys.¹³ From this it follows, as Markham argued, that the document was "not intended as a reply" to Napier's ultimatum.¹⁴

The text, it should be noted, was composed at a critical juncture when Tewodros, faced with Napier's ultimatum, had finally to decide whether to surrender or face almost inevitable destruction. The envoys were scarcely less tense, for during the "short interval" in which the work was being dictated, Flad notes, "the whole army of the King, in full arms as if they were ready for battle, came up", and took possession of the spur on which Tewodros was sitting. Their arrival demonstrated that casualties had not been "so great," Waldmeier explained to his two companions, as reported on the previous day when it had been said that "no less than half of the King's army had been wounded and killed".¹⁵

TEWODROS'S TESTAMENT OF APRIL 11

Tewodros's testament, like many Ethiopian royal letters of this period, is in places both elliptical and ambiguous. The text is further complicated by the fact that the first part is explicitly addressed to Tewodros's own compatriots, whereas the latter speaks, at least by implication, to the British, whose emissaries, if we can believe Blanc and Markham, had actually arrived while it was being composed. Written by the Emperor's secretary as a single paragraph, and with only the briefest of punctuation, the document is neither signed, sealed, nor dated, and bears no indication as to whom it was addressed.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

The following fairly literal translation by D.A. seeks to preserve the flavour of the original:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, One God. Kasa, he who believes in the Three and in the One, in Christ. Well then, people of my country, will you not abandon your flight unless I, by the power of God, descend for you?¹⁶ As it seemed to me that I had sway over all Christians, I brought them into the land of heathens. There are young women who have no men [i.e. husbands]; there were young women who had no men [i.e. husbands]; and tomorrow there will be those whose [husbands] have died on them. Old men who have no children, old women who have no children, there are many in my town for whom I provide. Grant them out of what God has given you, for it is a land of heathens. When they said that I had said¹⁷ to the people of my country that they should submit to the discipline of taxes, they refused and quarrelled with me. But you people, who are governed by discipline, you conquered me.¹⁸ The men who loved me and followed me, fearing a single bullet, abandoned me and fled. When you attacked them, I was not with those men who ran away. As it seemed to me that I was master, when I strove with

inadequate artillery,¹⁹ alas for me! The people of my country would give me ten reasons, saying that I had adopted the faith of the Franks²⁰ and had become a Muslim. May God give them good out of what I have done wrong to them! May it be as He wills. I had the thought, if God granted it me, to rule all. If God removed it [i.e. the power] from me, I should die; this was my thought. From when I was born till now, no man has ever seized hold of my hand.²¹ Whenever my men fled, I arose and had the habit of reassuring them. Darkness prevented me. You men who dwelt in happiness yesterday,²² may God not make you like me. Let alone my Ethiopian enemies, it had seemed to me that I should march to Jerusalem and drive out the Turks. A man who has held other men, in his turn cannot be held.²³

The following commentary attempts to place the above sentences in their historical context:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

This opening formula was used by Tewodros in most of his letters.

Kasa, he who believes in the Three and in the One, in Christ.

The author, in what he must have regarded as his last testimony, has, remarkably, abandoned the use of his throne name, Tewodros, and title, *Nəgusä Nəgäst*, or King of Kings, let alone any pretence to the Solomonic descent he sometimes claimed.²⁴ Perhaps with a feeling that he had failed as an Emperor²⁵ he has returned to his original appellation Kasa by which he presumably wished his followers, and posterity, to remember him.

The statement that he believed in "the Three and in the One, in Christ" is not found in his other letters, and is intended perhaps as a last affirmation of his Christian faith, and all the more important as there were critics, as shown later in the document, who questioned his Orthodoxy.

Well then, people of my country, will you not abandon your flight unless I, by the power of God, descend for you?

Tewodros in the first phrase explicitly makes clear that he is addressing his compatriots.

The last phrase, *unless I . . . descend for you?* refers to the fact that being stationed, as we have seen, on the summit of the mountain he had not descended with the troops whom the British on the previous day had put to flight.

Tewodros, though he does not actually say so, may have felt a sense of remorse, perhaps even of guilt, at not having been with his men in the battle, the more so as earlier in his career he would, Markham observes, have "gone down to lead his soldiers and fight by their side".²⁶

As it seemed to me that I had sway over all Christians I brought them into the land of the heathens.

This passage, which seems to break away from the previous train of thought, may well have been the first written after Tewodros's dictation had been interrupted by the arrival of Napier's envoys.

The Emperor is perhaps referring to the control he had achieved over all Christian Ethiopia, as well as to the fact that after his capture of Mäqdäla in 1855 he had brought in priests and other settlers from many parts of the country. The town was later described by his chronicler, Wäldä Maryam, as a "place of exile for believers".²⁷

There are young women who have no men [i.e. husbands], there were young women who had no men [i.e. husbands]; and tomorrow there will be those whose [husbands] have died on them. Old men who have no children, old women who have no children, there are many in my town for whom I provide.

This alludes to social problems at Mäqdäla where Tewodros as a paternalistic monarch was responsible for the upkeep of innumerable persons lacking other means of support. They included young unmarried women, women widowed — or to be widowed in possible future fighting with the British? — besides old men and women without offspring to provide for them.

Tewodros in dictating these words would seem to be addressing the British, who, if victorious, might soon themselves be responsible for Mäqdäla and its many inhabitants.

Grant them out of what God has given to you, for it is a land of heathens.

The "you" in the first clause clearly refers to the British who are addressed throughout the remainder of the document.

The unspecified land referred to was that around Mäqdäla which was situated in territory inhabited by the Gallas, or Oromos, who had not been converted to Christianity.²⁸

When they said that I had said to the people of my country that they should submit to the discipline of taxes, they refused and quarrelled with me.

The phrase "people of my country" is here in the referent. This establishes that they are no longer being addressed directly, and confirms that Tewodros is now speaking to the British.

The collection of taxes, always a major problem in Ethiopia, was particularly serious towards the end of Tewodros's reign when the country was ravaged by civil war.²⁹

But you people, who are governed by discipline, you conquered me.

Tewodros, who is again obviously addressing the British, had been impressed by what he had been told, largely by Rassam, about the administrative system in Britain, and especially by what he considered the British public's willingness to pay their taxes.³⁰

The men who loved me and followed me, fearing a single bullet, abandoned me and fled. When you attacked them, I was not with those men who ran away.

Here, continuing to address the British who had "attacked" on the previous day, Tewodros reverts to the defeat which he had already mentioned in an earlier sentence directed to his own compatriots. He once more insists that his devoted followers had been routed by the enemy's fire-power, which he seeks to minimise by the

reference to "a single bullet", but reiterates that he had not been among those who fled.

As it seemed to me that I was master, when I strove with inadequate artillery, alas for me!

Tewodros, who had at first believed that he would be victorious, here refers to the inadequacy of his locally-made cannons and mortars which had been cast for the most part by unskilled missionary craftsmen. Though he had deployed no fewer than 24 brass guns and 9 brass mortars his men, as Markham notes, "did not understand their use", and one of the largest cannon when fired in the battle had actually burst.³¹

The people of my country would give me ten reasons, saying that I had adopted the faith of the Franks and become a Muslim.

Tewodros, whose attempts to unify the country had encountered strong provincial opposition, particularly from the nobility, was also in conflict with the Ethiopian Church whose landed property he had sought to curtail.³² Many of the clergy were among his most bitter critics. Only a week or so earlier, on March 27, he had tried two priests for publicly addressing him as a "Frank", i.e. Catholic, on the grounds that he had failed to keep the Lenten fast and had granted a similar dispensation to his soldiers. Both offenders were banished from his camp and he had threatened if they returned that he would have them flogged.³³ Because of the XVIIth century religious conflicts, which had culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits, the accusation of being a *färänj*,³⁴ or Frank, was one of the most serious that could be made and was particularly damaging for an emperor who was expected to be the protector of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith.

May God give them good out of what I have done wrong to them.

Despite the calumnies mentioned in the previous sentence Tewodros here expresses his undying love for his compatriots and prays that good may come to them even out of the unspecified wrongs, or hardships, for which he recognises responsibility.

May it be as He wills.

These words symbolise their author's deep religious conviction which in 1860 had received warm praise from Consul Plowden who had reported, "His faith is signal".³⁵ Almost a decade later he had declared to Rassam, on April 2, 1868, his readiness to "resign myself to the protection of my Creator".³⁶

I had thought, if God granted it to me, to rule all. If God removed it [the power] from me I should die; this was my thought.

This was a further expression of the Emperor's almost Messianic faith in himself which had caused him to observe to Plowden over a decade earlier, "Without Christ I am nothing".³⁷ Implicit in this passage is also an element of fatalism which was engrained in traditional Ethiopian thought. The Emperor's attitude is reminiscent of the Ethiopic romance of Alexander the Great, in which the hero, after declaring that God "raiseth up Kings" and "maketh Kings rule," declares that he will leave the power and riches of the world "to whomsoever cometh after me, even as

have received them from him that was before me".³⁸ Tewodros had spoken about Alexander to Rassam,³⁹ and may have been familiar with the romance at least two copies of which were in his library at Mäqdäla.⁴⁰

From when I was born till now, no man has ever seized hold of my hand.

Tewodros no doubt is here alluding to the almost unbroken series of military triumphs which he had enjoyed, both in the first part of his career as a rebel, and later after his accession as Emperor in 1855.

Whenever my men fled I arose and had the habit of reassuring them. Darkness prevented me.

The suggestion here is that in earlier campaigns he had always been able to encourage his men, but that he had been prevented from doing so on the previous day because of the darkness. The British assault had in fact begun on a cloudy day at four-forty in the afternoon, and at the height of the battle "night was coming on" as is confirmed by Markham.⁴¹

You men who dwell in happiness yesterday, may God not make you like me.

Still addressing the British, whose victory the day before had given them "happiness", Tewodros here prays forgivingly that they may not suffer a fate such as had befallen him.

Let alone my Ethiopian enemies, it had seemed to me that I should march to Jerusalem and drive out the Turks.

Tewodros, a passionate enemy of the Turks against whom he had fought in the Sudan early in his career, had hoped, like the Crusaders of old, to drive the infidels from Jerusalem, and dreamt, as Plowden had reported in 1860, of "a triumphant march to the Holy Sepulchre".⁴²

A man who has held other men, in his turn cannot be held.

The word *aqqäfü*, literally "embraced", has the sense of holding in order to protect. Tewodros, as Plowden had long since noted, was "peculiarly jealous . . . of his sovereign rights".⁴³ Having been responsible, as he had noted earlier in the letter, for the upkeep of innumerable dependants he is saying that he is unwilling thus to become the responsibility of others. He had, it may be recalled, earlier captured, and imprisoned, such great chiefs as Däjazmač Wəbe of Təgre and Ras Ali of Bägemdər as well as young prince Mənilək of Šäwa,⁴⁴ and, as Däjazmač Aläme had earlier prophesied to Napier, could not reconcile himself to being a prisoner of the British.

TEWODROS'S ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT SUICIDE

On its completion Tewodros's testament was folded into the cover of Napier's ultimatum which was then handed to Prideaux and Flad to take back to the British camp. The Emperor insisted that they should return at once.⁴⁵

After their departure the Emperor sat for a long time, in the open air, without speaking. He then told his followers to remove themselves to a distance, after which he said a prayer, bowed three times with his face to the ground, crossed

himself, and drank some water. Then suddenly he pulled a double-barrelled pistol from his belt, put it to his mouth, and pulled the trigger. The weapon, however, failed to fire. Ras Ängäda, one of his most trusted chiefs, thereupon rushed up with a number of soldiers who wrested the gun from his mouth. The pistol then went off, grazing the Emperor's ear. Tewodros struggled, and for a minute or two he and his men were rolling on the ground. However, he speedily freed himself, and, becoming more composed, declared that it was not God's wish for him to die at that time.⁴⁶

Having resolved to live he held a council with his chiefs at which, Blanc states, he became "so excited, so mad, that it was with difficulty he was restrained from committing suicide".⁴⁷ In the discussions which followed all but one of his chiefs advised him "to kill the prisoners", but he rejected this counsel, and sent a message to Rassam for the captives, saying, "Go at once to your people: you can send for your property tomorrow". Those freed included Consul Cameron, Rassam and Blanc, and the missionaries Stern and Rosenthal, all of whom left for the British camp. The wives and children were to remain that night at Mäqdäla, and be collected by the husbands on the morrow.⁴⁸

Prideaux and Flad meanwhile had taken the envelope containing the Emperor's testament and Napier's ultimatum down to the British camp. The Commander-in-Chief, deeply angered at the return of his own communication, took little interest in the one which Tewodros had dictated. In an account penned three days later he dismissed it as an unsealed "paper" which was "not in the form of a letter", and later spoke of it as a "rambling letter", which Tewodros had refrained from signing because he "believed it beneath his dignity to hold such correspondence with me".⁴⁹

Napier, who was thus in a bellicose frame of mind, and felt that "the honour of England stood before all", immediately ordered Prideaux and Flad back to Mäqdäla to inform the Emperor that "no terms would be accepted" but those which he had at first demanded.⁵⁰

TEWODROS'S LETTER OF APRIL 12

Tewodros was by now desperately anxious to make peace. Convinced that the moment was ripe for a new initiative he swallowed his pride, and decided to send the British a more conciliatory message which was destined to be his last. It was written in the early hours of Easter Sunday, a time when it was customary for Ethiopian Christians, as Waldmeier recalls, to slaughter cattle for the great post-Lenten feast,⁵¹ and this had a direct bearing on the message. This letter, which is again at times obscure and thus difficult to translate, was formally addressed to the Queen of England, but actually intended for her Commander-in-Chief, whose name however the Emperor again fails to mention.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

The text as translated by D.A. reads as follows:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, One God.

በሰሙ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመሳፊ፡ ቀዳሱ፡ ፊክሃሳክ፡ ገዢ፡ ገላሥቱ፡
 ቴዎድሮስ፡ ደድረሰ፡ ከተላቲቱ፡ ከገገላሳክ፡ ገላሥቱ፡ ወዳጅ፡ ከሉሴዎ፡ ል
 ኪብሙ፡ አለሁ፡ ከምዎን፡ አክሊ፡ ብዮ፡ አገዳልጥ፡ ብላህብሁት፡ ጉዳይ፡ ድገገ
 ት፡ ተገግኜ፡ ትላገት፡ ለገገ፡ ፍላገ፡ ይሰደድሁት፡ ይብዳህ፡ ከገገት፡ ከወዳ
 ጆቶ፡ ጋራ፡ በመላላቲ፡ ይሰታ፡ የወገኑት፡ ደግራቸዋል፡ ለሠራት፡ በማ
 የቲ፡ ደግረ፡ ሰው፡ ከተዛዘ፡ መጣቱን፡ አይቸ፡ ብላሁ፡ ብቀጣው፡ አልመ
 ሰሰልኝ፡ ቢል፡ ቢ፡ ይገኝ፡ ብቃት፡ በገዛ፡ በሰገጃዬ፡ አሞተላሁ፡ ብዮ፡ ሰደጣን፡ ስ
 ሳህብ፡ አባይ፡ ለብኝ፡ አይ፡ ይህን፡ ይሁ፡ ሠራዊት፡ ሞቢ፡ አልቦ፡ ትቸው፡ አ
 ልህድ፡ አገዛ፡ አብሐር፡ ይጣላኛል፡ ብዮ፡ አጣይ፡ ከሰሙ፡ ሠደድሁት፡ እኔ
 በሞት፡ ሲደብሰሰል፡ ቃሉ፡ ሳይደርስልኝ፡ ይቀራል፡ ብዮ፡ ከሰደድሁት፡
 በሕላ፡ ገንዘብ፡ ይገኝ፡ ቃት፡ ከገገ፡ ካራ፡ አገር፡ ብዮ፡ ከሰሙ፡ ብሰሙ
 አሞቢ፡ አለኝ፡ ሰዎች፡ ራብው፡ መጥታው፡ ካራ፡ ሲሰሙ፡ ትተኩሰ፡ አ
 ገዛ፡ አብሐር፡ አትሙት፡ ካልኝ፡ ገን፡ ብታር፡ ልብሙ፡ ይህቀላል፡ ብዮ፡
 ከቶ፡ ርሳም፡ ሰድረው፡ አደርሁ፡ ይገ፡ ዘረ፡ ተገላሊ፡ ነው፡ ፍሪዳ፡ እን
 ይሰድልኝ፡ ይቀዳልኝ፡ ይብዳህ፡ መልሼ፡ የሰደድሁት፡ በሰማይ
 አገዳ፡ በምድር፡ አገገኛኛልኝ፡ አሳልሁም፡ ነበር፡

ፊታውረረ፡ ባብርኤን፡ የደን፡ ወዳጅ፡ ሣሳስሳሣው፡ ይደርሁ፡ ከሞትሁ
 ገ፡ ሁሉንም፡ አብረው፡ ይቀበሩን፡ ብዮ፡ ነበር፡ ቼ፡ ወግ፡ ከሞትሁ፡ ገን፡ ል
 ቅበረው፡ ይቀዳልኝ፡

ፈረገኞች፡ ሁሉ፡ ይሞቡ፡ ይሉኝንም፡ እገዛን፡ ሲሰው፡ እነሱ፡ ወልድ፡ ማየ
 ሮም፡ ወዳጆች፡ ከወደዱ፡ እኔ፡ ይሞቡ፡ ደሩ፡ ገን፡ እኔ፡ ወዳጅም፡ ሠራ፡ ወዳጅ
 ነኝ፡ እገዳ፡ ይሁ፡ እገዳ፡ ቀርብኝ፡ ደርጉ



King of Kings Tewodros. May it reach the great Queen of the English. As a friend⁵² have I sent to you through your servant, Preventing me from writing your name as "such-and-such",⁵³ we met unexpectedly over a matter that I had not foreseen. With regard to the letter that I sent yesterday to Mr. Flad and his companions, I saw that the people of my country had departed from [my] command on account of my quarrel with you, my friends, and secondly as I had seen the discipline of your attack [and] of your men,⁵⁴ and so when they annoyed me by saying they would not return to me,⁵⁵ though I killed them⁵⁶ and punished them, when I was full of resentment, Satan placed in me the thought that I should die by my own gun.⁵⁷ Oh! realising that I should not go and abandon this whole army without a provider,⁵⁸ and that God would abominate me, hurriedly I sent [the letter], thinking that when I was dead, when there would be confusion, my words would fail to reach you. But after I had sent it to you, when I cocked the hammer⁵⁹ of my gun and put it into my mouth, though I kept on pulling [the trigger], it refused [to fire]. When people came running and pulled it out of my mouth, it fired. But as I have survived since God has told me that I should not die, thinking that your heart would yearn [for him], I sent Mr. Rassam away and then passed the night. Today is Easter Sunday and so permit me to send heifers⁶⁰ for you. In sending your letter back,⁶¹ I had not thought that we should meet on earth, but rather in heaven.

As for the fact that I passed the night without having Fitawrari Gäbräyā taken up, I had said that if I were to die they should bury us all⁶² together, but since I have risen and passed the day, permit me to bury him.

As regards those [who have said to me] [of whom you have told me] that all foreigners should come,⁶³ let alone the others, if Mr. Waldmeier and his companions,⁶⁴ my friends, want it, all right, let them come. However, I am your friend, a lover of artifacts,⁶⁵ so see to it that I am not lost to you⁶⁶ for nought.

The following commentary may be made:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, One God. King of Kings Tewodros.

Though the opening phrase was identical to that in the earlier testament the communication differs from it in being written, not as from Kasa, but once more from Tewodros, whose title is given as King of Kings.

May it reach the great Queen of the English.

The letter here differs from the testament in that it is not addressed partly to the Ethiopian people and partly to the British, but only to the latter. There is nevertheless still some ambiguity as to its addressee. This is stated as being "the great Queen of the English", i.e. the far-off Queen Victoria, but the message was in fact clearly for Sir Robert Napier, the commander in the field. Perhaps for this latter reason the English translation published at the time stated, quite incorrectly, that it was

addressed to the Queen's "beloved servant".⁶⁷ In fact Napier's name was once again not mentioned at all.

As a friend have I sent to you through your servant.

This sentence is intended to indicate that Tewodros wished to be considered as a "friend" of the British. It is, however, left unclear whether the word "you" is still meant to apply to the Queen, or, as in view of the next clause would seem more probable, the British Commander-in-Chief. The servant referred to could similarly be either the Queen's servant Napier, or, more likely, Napier's servant Lieutenant Prideaux.

Preventing me from writing your name as "such-and-such" we met unexpectedly over a matter that I had not foreseen.

In this passage, the Emperor, who is now clearly addressing Napier, excuses himself for not having mentioned the latter's name when sending him the testament. By way of justification he observes that contact between them — on the field of battle? — had been "not foreseen," or as a contemporary English translation puts it, had "arisen so unexpectedly".⁶⁸

With regard to the letter that I sent yesterday to Mr. Flad and his companions. . .

The epistle referred to was of course Tewodros's testament which had been handed to Martin Flad, the Emperor's missionary artisan and sometime envoy to England, and to one of the former captives, Lieutenant Prideaux. It is noteworthy that though the latter was regarded by Napier as the principal emissary it is the former alone whom the Emperor mentions by name.

I saw that the people of my country had departed from [my] command on account of my quarrel with you, my friends, and secondly as I had seen the discipline of your attack [and] of your men, and so when they annoyed me by saying that they would not return to me, though I killed them and punished them. . .

In this passage Tewodros, who here again insists that the British are his "friends," reverts to matters he had already spoken of in his testament, namely the failings of his men in the engagement on April 10, and the discipline of the British. After the battle there were, it may be noted, "many desertions" among the Ethiopian troops,⁶⁹ who, as the author says, "annoyed me by saying that they would not return to me". This was no doubt the cause of the punishments and executions referred to in the final phrase.

The phrase "you, my friends" (which is in the second person plural) presumably refers to the British troops. Any earlier intention of addressing the letter to the Queen of England, as later passages make increasingly clear, has by now been abandoned.

When I was full of resentment Satan placed in me the thought that I should die by my own gun.

This refers of course to the Emperor's abortive attempt at suicide on the previous day. Since self-slaughter was forbidden by the Church, Tewodros seeks to exonerate himself by saying the idea came from Satan.

Oh! realising that I should not go and abandon this whole army without a provider, and that God would abominate me. . .

Having spoken in his testament of women and elderly persons who were in need of support, Tewodros here insists that the soldiers too required a leader to provide for them.

Hurriedly I sent [the letter], thinking that when I was dead, when there would be confusion, my words would fail to reach you.

In this passage the Emperor explains his reasons for sending his testament on the previous day. He declares that he had been obliged to despatch it without delay, while he was still alive, and before the confusion which would have inevitably followed his death.

But after I had sent it to you, when I cocked the hammer of my gun and put it into my mouth, though I kept on pulling [the trigger], it refused [to fire]. When people came running and pulled it out of my mouth, it fired.

This account of the Emperor's attempted suicide is fully consonant with other contemporary reports of Tewodros's attempted suicide.

But as I have survived since God has told me that I should not die, thinking that your heart would yearn [for him], I sent Mr. Rassam away and then passed the night.

It is interesting to note that in this account of the freeing of the captives Tewodros mentions only the release of Rassam, to whom, it will be recalled, he had earlier sent a message freeing the prisoners, and whom he seems to consider his principal captive. Consul Cameron, though virtually of equal status, is not mentioned. The Emperor, according to the prisoners, consistently overestimated the importance of Rassam⁷⁰ and laboured under the misapprehension that the latter was in a position to arrange a compromise peace.

Today is Easter Sunday and so permit me to send heifers for you.

This passage, which was to be of crucial importance, fails, it should be noted, to give any indication of the actual number of cattle Tewodros proposed to despatch. Two alternative English translations, both faulty, were shortly afterwards published. The most favoured, which suggested a small gift, read, "Today is Easter: be pleased to let me send a few cows to you." The other version, which inserted the number of beasts the Emperor was later supposed to have sent, read, even more inaccurately: "This being the Easter festival, I hope I may send 1,000 cows and 500 sheep, as a breakfast for the troops".⁷¹

The celebration of Easter was a custom commanded in the Ethiopian legal code, the *Fethä Nägäst*, or "Law of the Kings",⁷² and the making gifts of cattle to friends, relatives and chiefs, was deeply engrained in Ethiopian culture.⁷³

In sending your letter back, I had not thought that we should meet on earth, but rather in heaven.

This passage, which refers to the return of Napier's ultimatum, harks back to the suicide Tewodros had just attempted, and provides an excuse for his discourtesy to the British Commander-in-Chief.

As for the fact that I passed the night without having Fitawrari Gäbräyā taken up, I had said that if I were to die they should bury us all together, but since I have risen and passed the day, permit me to bury him.

Gäbräyā, who held the rank of Fitawrari, i.e. Commander of the Advance-guard, had been killed, it will be recalled, in the fighting two days earlier. The Emperor, expressing a characteristically Ethiopian sentiment, had declared before the engagement that if they both fell he would like them to be buried together. He had, however, survived, or as he says, "risen and passed the day" whereas his friend had perished. He therefore begs the British to return his friend's body for burial.⁷⁴

Funerals were of major importance in Ethiopian social life, and the burying of a friend or relative was a duty that no self-respecting Ethiopian could ignore.

As regards those who have said to me that all foreigners should come, let alone the others, if Mr. Waldmeier and his companions, my friends, want it, all right, let them come.

In this sentence Tewodros refers to Napier's demand for the captives' liberation — but he does so somewhat obliquely, and avoids mentioning the British Commander-in-Chief by name. The Emperor declares his willingness to release "all the foreigners" at his camp, without exception, and adds that this can apply also to "Mr. Waldmeier and his companions". This is a reference to the Protestant missionary craftsmen in his service who had in fact never been imprisoned, and whom he specifies, perhaps for that reason, as his "friends".

Tewodros in using the phrase *yəmtu*, or "let them come", is using the presumed words of the British. It is usual in Amharic to quote direct speech.

However, I am your friend, a lover of artifacts, so see to it that I am not lost to you for nought.

In this last dramatic sentence Tewodros reiterates that, despite all, he is the "friend" of the British, and a "lover of artifacts", or, as it might now be said, a supporter of technological progress. He therefore prays, in effect, that the British should make peace, so that he should not be "lost to you for nought" — or, as one might say, needlessly lost to the cause of progress.

The letter, unlike the testimony, bears Tewodros's seal.

REACTION TO THE LETTER

This letter was duly sealed and entrusted by Tewodros to his secretary, Aläqa Ḥngada, and a German missionary craftsman, Mr. Bender, who brought it down to the British camp soon after dawn. The text was at once translated in Napier's tent. Aläqa Ḥngada began by reading a passage in Amharic, which the Emperor's interpreter Samuel rendered into Arabic, whereupon Rassam translated it into English. Also present were Flad, and two British officers, Colonel Merewether who took a political interest in the proceedings, and Lieutenant Tweedie who transcribed the English translation which was later published.⁷⁵

The main thrust of the message, Napier at once saw, was an attempt to make peace. Describing the letter as "an apology for the rude missive of the previous

day", he observed that it showed that the monarch "desired friendship" and was "prepared to send down . . . every European, along with an offering of a few cows as it was the Easter feast".⁷⁶ The significance of this proposed gift was also spelt out by Blanc who states that "according to Abyssinian custom", it implied "a peace-offering, which once accepted, removed all apprehension of hostilities."⁷⁷

Napier, however, had no wish for reconciliation, for he was intent on the Emperor's unconditional surrender. Explaining this two days later he wrote:

"The conditions which, with the lives of so many of our countrymen in our hands, had impelled me to impose this condition upon him [Tewodros], had lost none of their force now. It was essential for the vindication of our national honour, which he has so grossly insulted, that he should be removed for ever from his place".⁷⁸

He therefore dismissed Tewodros's letter, without entering into the question of the cattle. He ordered the two envoys to return to Mäqdäla, with Däjazmač Aläme and Samuel, and, sending only a verbal reply, told them to refer the Emperor again to his ultimatum of the previous day, and demanded that he send down the "remainder of the Europeans" without delay. Samuel, however, took it on himself to ask Rassam to enquire what answer they should carry back respecting the cattle.⁷⁹

There was much controversy about the conversation which followed. The recollection of Rassam, from which he never departed, was that when he asked about the cattle Napier replied, "I accept them", and that was the answer which he accordingly gave to Samuel.⁸⁰ Merewether, who sought to exonerate the Commander-in-Chief from any suggestion of acting in bad faith, claimed on the other hand that "no words were uttered", and that Napier, "without apparently giving" the matter "any particular thought", "simply bowed his head".⁸¹ Napier for his part was perhaps deliberately vague on the issue, and, without subscribing to either version, subsequently claimed that at that time he had no idea of the size of the proposed gift, and that: "Any assent, given by me to the offer of cattle, was under the impression that the question referred to a present of 'a few cows and sheep' ".⁸² The paucity of the present as imagined by Napier also found expression in the subsequently published English translation which spoke of "a few cows" (as opposed to the "few cows and sheep" mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief). The actual Amharic as shown in D. A.'s translation was in fact much less specific, for it referred simply to "heifers", without any quantification.

Däjazmač Aläme, Samuel and the missionaries duly made their way up to the fortress to arrange for the evacuation of the craftsmen's wives and children, as well as of a few other artisans still for one reason or another at the Emperor's camp, and took with them the remains of Fitawrari Gäbräyā which were returned in response to the Emperor's letter.⁸³ On reaching the summit the missionaries found Tewodros, Waldmeier reports, "in a tolerably good mood".⁸⁴ As soon as they arrived he "turned eagerly to Samuel", Markham writes, and asked whether the present mentioned in his letter had been accepted. The courtier bowed respectfully, and

replied, "the English Râs says to you, 'I have accepted your present may God give it back to you' ", the latter phrase being a customary Amharic expression of thanks.⁸⁵ Tewodros, on hearing this, drew "a long breath, as if relieved of a deep anxiety", for he believed, as Markham puts it, that "peace was granted without further concessions, that the deadly peril was over, and that he was safe". Turning to the artisans, he said, "Take your families and go", adding that "now he was friends with the English" he could "get as good workmen as they were". Tewodros thus "bade them farewell in good spirits", for he was "cheerful", Markham says, "and under the belief that peace was established, Never", he adds, "was a surrender, when once resolved upon, so freely and unreservedly made. Not a hostage, not a child, not a box was kept back. It was the act of a King, an act without cunning or treachery, how slight soever, to mar its fulness".⁸⁶

Meanwhile, on hearing of the acceptance of the gift of cattle referred to in his letter, Tewodros ordered that they should immediately be taken down to Napier's camp. The present consisted, according to British accounts, of 1,000 cattle and 500 sheep, which are said to have constituted all the livestock in his possession.⁸⁷ The craftsmen and their families duly left Mäqdäla, and arrived at the British camp before sunset. Tewodros for his part remained "quite cheerful" throughout the day, for he believed that as a result of his letter "peace had been initiated".⁸⁸

In Napier's camp, however, misgivings had begun to be felt about the question of the cattle. Rassam questioned the morality of accepting a gift if it had been decided to attack its donor on the morrow.⁸⁹ Werner Munzinger, a Swiss expert on Ethiopian affairs who served as Napier's interpreter, took a similar view, and was quoted as declaring that if the present was accepted "the English name" would be "a bye-word" — presumably for deceit — "in Abyssinia". Colonel Fred Thesiger, a British officer who overheard these words, at once reported them to Napier, who, referring to the cattle, immediately declared, "Do not allow them to come within our lines".⁹⁰ He accordingly ordered that the beasts should not be admitted until Tewodros's "full acceptance" of his conditions should enable him "to receive them or assume towards him any friendly bearing whatsoever".⁹¹

News of Napier's refusal of the cattle reached Tewodros that evening, shortly after the craftsmen's departure, when one of the Emperor's officials reported that the livestock had been stopped at the first piquet guarding the British camp.⁹² By the end of that day, April 12, 1868, Tewodros was thus aware that the peace initiative embodied in his letter had failed. Perhaps he found solace in the thought that on the previous day he had written his last testament which was in the possession of his enemies who with the order and discipline he so much respected would preserve it for his own beloved people — and for posterity.

NOTES

¹ Girma-Selassie Asfaw and D. L. Appleyard in collaboration with E. Ullendorff, *The Amharic letters of Emperor Theodore to Queen Victoria and her special envoy*, Oxford, 1979. For other letters

of Tewodros, see R. Pankhurst and Germa-Selassie Asfaw, *Tax records and inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1855-1868)*, London 1978, pp. 151-9 and D. L. Appleyard, A. K. Irvine and R. Pankhurst, *Letters from Ethiopian rulers (early and mid-nineteenth century)*, London, 1985, pp. 135-46, 161-83.

² On this legend see R. Pankhurst, "Tewodros: the question of a Greco-Romanian or Russian hermit or adventurer in nineteenth century Ethiopia", *Abba Salama*, 1974, vol. 5, pp. 136-42.

³ On this chief, who is also known in the Amharicized version of his name, i.e. Gäbräye, see Clements Markham, *A history of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London, 1869, p. 328.

⁴ Ibid p. 325.

⁵ Anon, *Theodore's cattle*, Poona, 1869, p. 1.

⁶ T. J. Holland and H. M. Hozier, *Record of the expedition to Abyssinia*, London, 1870, vol. 2, p. 40.

⁷ H. Blanc, *Narrative of captivity in Abyssinia*, London, 1868, p. 396.

⁸ Holland and Hozier, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 40.

⁹ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 41.

¹⁰ Blanc, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-7.

¹¹ Holland and Hozier, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 41.

¹² Ibid, vol. 2, p. 46.

¹³ Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

¹⁴ Markham, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-9.

¹⁵ Holland and Hozier, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 46.

¹⁶ i.e. "to aid you." (*kalwärrädhullaččəhu*)

¹⁷ *bəyyäbäläw* written as one word.

¹⁸ *aččännäfaččəhuñ*; the form *aččännäfä* is Gojjam dialect, corresponding to Shoan *aššännäfä*.

¹⁹ *balsälla mädaḥ*, lit. "with an unsuccessful cannon", *mädaḥ* here must be understood in a collective sense.

²⁰ *yäfaränj haymanot*, "the faith of the Frank", i.e. Catholics, or by extension Europeans.

²¹ *əjjän čäbbətoṭ ayawqəm näbbärä*, i.e. "no one has ever captured me".

²² the placement of *təlantanna* "yesterday" is problematical. In the text it is preceded by the punctuation :: which normally marks the end of a sentence or phrase group before a pause in speech, and begins the sentence *bädässəta yaddäraččəhu*. . . "you who dwell in happiness. . .". Yet the translation in Markham takes it with the preceding sentence: "Last night the darkness hindered me from doing so".

²³ i.e. "a man has been responsible for and protected others cannot himself be subject to the protection of others when the circumstances are reversed".

²⁴ Girma-Selassie and Appleyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 25, 26, 33.

²⁵ For perceptive comment by contemporaries on Tewodros's possible sense of failure see R. Acton, *The Abyssinian Expedition*, London, 1868, p. 69 and Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 329, and more recently, S. Rubenson, *King of Kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 1968, p. 92.

²⁶ Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

²⁷ C. Mondon-Vidailhet, *Chronique de Théodorus II roi des rois d'Ethiopie*, Paris, 1905, p. 22.

²⁸ R. Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian towns from the mid-nineteenth century to 1935*, Wiesbaden, 1985, p. 80.

²⁹ Idem, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 1968, pp. 523-4, 566-8.

³⁰ H. Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore*, London, 1969, vol. 2, pp. 131-2.

³¹ Holland and Hozier, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 59.

³² R. Pankhurst, *State and land in Ethiopian history*, Addis Ababa, 1967, p. 96.

³³ Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 280.

³⁴ R. Pankhurst, "Some names for foreigners in Menilek's Ethiopia" in S. Sergert and A. J. E. Bodrogliegeti, *Ethiopian studies dedicated to Wolf Leslau*, Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 480-5.

³⁵ House of Commons, *Correspondence respecting Abyssinia 1846-1868*, London 1868, p. 150.

³⁶ Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 305.

³⁷ *Correspondence respecting Abyssinia*, p. 150.

³⁸ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The life and exploits of Alexander the Great*, London, 1896, p. 424.

³⁹ Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 137.

⁴⁰ W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1877, pp. 204-5.

⁴¹ Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 320-1. See also S. Chojnacki and I. Marshall, "Colonel Milward's Abyssinian journal 2 December 1867 to 13 June 1868", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 1969, vol. 7, no. 1, p. 106.

⁴² *Correspondence respecting Abyssinia*, p. 151.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 151.

⁴⁴ For an outline of Tewodros's earlier victories see Rubenson, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Holland and Hozier, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 41.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 43; Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁴⁷ Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

⁴⁸ Markham, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-4.

⁴⁹ Houses of Parliament, *Further papers connected with the Abyssinian expedition*, 1868, p. 5; *Theodore's cattle*, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Theodore's cattle*, p. 2; Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

⁵¹ T. Waldmeier, *The autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier*, London, 1887, p. 115.

⁵² i.e. taking *wädaj* as subject of *lakkebb woallähu*, and not as appositional to *nəgəst*, there being no punctuation between the sentences here.

⁵³ *əkäle*, i.e. "preventing me from writing your name in full".

⁵⁴ the two dependent clauses ending in (i) *bämättalate*, lit. "at my quarrelling", and (ii) *bämayäte*, lit. "at my seeing", each of which is closed by the punctuation ::, thus identifying each within the structure of this unusually complex sentence, are conjoined by the word *hulättäñña* "second(ly)" which would thus seem to indicate that both Tewodros' quarrel with the British and the fact that he had realised the superiority of the British forces were seen by him as reasons for his people's defection from his cause.

⁵⁵ *aləmmälläsalləñ bil*, lit. "when he/they said, 'I shall not return to/for me' " — the prepositional pronoun suffix of the beneficiary *-lləñ* "to/for me" is attached to the supposed quoted words of the defectors, "I shall not return", though of course the referents of the two 1st persons are different.

⁵⁶ *bəgälläw*, note the assimilation from *bəgädläw*.

⁵⁷ *tämänja*.

⁵⁸ *wabi albo*, lit. "not having a donor/provider".

⁵⁹ *qatta*, i.e. that part of a gun which holds the flint, or which strikes the percussion cap; Fr. "chien de fusil" Baeteman, col. 369.

⁶⁰ *fərīda*, in the singular, but obviously used in a collective sense.

⁶¹ *mälläšše yäsäddädhut*, lit. "that I sent, having returned/replied".

⁶² i.e. "us both".

⁶³ *yəmtu* in both cases is of course literally "let them come", but the viewpoint must be that of the British and so, as in the translation in Markham, both are better rendered as "let them go" (i.e. "come to you").

⁶⁴ *ənnä'ato wäld mayär*; note the interesting writing of Waldmeier's name, reminiscent of an Ethiopian name *wäldä*. . .

⁶⁵ *səra wädaj*, i.e. taking *səra* "work, artifact" as object of the verbal idea in the agent noun *wädaj*.

⁶⁶ *əndalqärəbbə wo*, lit. "so that I may not remain behind to your disadvantage". It is difficult to see how the translation in Markham, "you must not leave me without artisans", is derived from the Amharic.

⁶⁷ Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 322.

⁷⁰ T. Waldmeier, *Erlebnisse in Abessinien*, Basel, 1869, p. 105.

⁷¹ Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

⁷² Paulos Tzadua, *The Fetha Nagast. The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa, 1968, p. 115.

⁷³ M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, London, 1853, vol. 2, pp. 74-5; C. H. Walker, *The Abyssinian at home*, London, 1933, p. 193.

⁷⁴ Ras Wäldä Səllase of Tagre, who died in 1816, was for example buried with the bones of a

brother who had predeceased him. N. Pearce, *Life and adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, London, 1831, vol. 2, p. 84.

⁷⁵ Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 326; Holland and Hozier, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 44.

⁷⁶ *Further papers connected with the Abyssinian expedition*, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

⁷⁸ *Further papers connected with the Abyssinian expedition*, p. 6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 326-7.

⁸¹ *Theodore's cattle*, p. 27.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸³ Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Blanc, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-6.

⁸⁴ Waldmeier, *Autobiography*, p. 116.

⁸⁵ Markham, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-40.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 340-1.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 340; Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 330.

⁸⁸ Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 330.

⁸⁹ *Theodore's cattle*, pp. 30, 34-5.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹¹ *Further papers connected with the Abyssinian expedition*, p. 6.

⁹² Markham, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-2. See also Rassam, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 330; Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

SYRIAC FRAGMENTS IN THE WELLCOME INSTITUTE LIBRARY

By NIGEL ALLAN

The collections of oriental material in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine have been described in a previous issue of this journal.¹ They include, among the Semitic language material, a few Syriac manuscript fragments which comprise nine leaves from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates and a XIXth century letter.

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates commences with the accession of Constantine in 306, following the cessation of Diocletian's persecution of Christians, and traces the history of the church through the reigns of the seven following eastern emperors, the seventh and final book covering the years of Theodosius the Younger (408–450) between his accession and his 17th consulate (439).² Socrates is the first known layman in the field of ecclesiastical historiography being by profession a lawyer, hence his cognomen *Scholasticus*, and his work is a direct continuation of Eusebius' celebrated *Ecclesiastical History*. At the beginning of the IVth century Eusebius wrote his pioneer work, an account of the life of the church from its beginnings to his own day, and because this work was the first of its kind, Eusebius has been known as the Father of Church History. His work was regarded without question as the sole authority on its subject. This is witnessed by the fact that no contemporary or immediate successor attempted to imitate or improve upon it. As early as 462 Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* was translated into Syriac; this version survives in a manuscript of that date preserved in the Leningrad Public Library³ while another manuscript dated 411, which is preserved in the British Library, contains the Syriac translations of Eusebius' *Theophania* and *Martyrs of Palestine*.⁴ Later writers, especially those in the period immediately following Eusebius, were inspired to model their work on his in extending it to record later events. A school of these developed comprising six continuations that are known to have existed⁵, one of which was written by Socrates.

Only one manuscript of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* in Syriac translation has been recorded and described. It was mentioned by Baumstark⁶ and described by the Assemanis in their catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in the Vatican library.⁷ Yet although Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* in Syriac translation is so rare today the work was well known among Syriac-speaking Christians and was used along with the church history of Theodoret by an unknown Nestorian church historian to record events during the IVth and Vth centuries in a work that survives only in fragments.⁸ This widespread knowledge and use of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* is further witnessed by repeated reference to it in other Syriac manuscripts.⁹ Abd-īšō'bar Brīkā, who lived in the late XIIIth and early XIVth centuries and was the last Nestorian of any literary merit to write in the Syriac language, left among other writings a *Catalogus librorum* which has been translated into English.¹⁰ The third

of the four parts is devoted to the Greek Fathers in Syriac translation and here it is stated that "Socrates wrote two volumes of history and an account of the Emperors Constantine and Jovian".

The Wellcome Institute holds another copy of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* which is a fragment of what would have been the whole of the first book since it is prefaced by a complete index to this section. It comprises nine vellum folios measuring 25×16 cm. which, apart from the first folio recto, is written in two columns of 33–38 lines each in the *estrangelā* script. The leaves are ancient but the date difficult to determine. From the style of the calligraphy a possible date of transcription could be some time during the VIIth or VIIIth centuries. The folios are much damaged about the edges but, although unbound, form a continuous narrative without any leaves missing. The ink has become so faint as to render the text illegible in several places especially in the final lines of f. 9^v.

Below a line of illegible Syriac writing, f. 1^r bears three lines in Latin which read *Pervetusta* (line 1), *Socratis historie fragmenta* (line 2), *Chaldaice . . . conscriptae* (line 3). Following *Chaldaice* on the third line some words in brackets have been rendered illegible by scoring out. At the head of f. 1^r the title is written in a darker ink than the rest of the text corresponding to the numerals in the margin. It reads, *šarbā qadmāyā dsōqraṭīs ḥakīmā*, "The first history of Socrates the wise". This is followed by an index to the forty chapters contained in the first book of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* and begins:- 'ālah. *šarbā qadmāyā 'aleyh dtaš'itā. bēi. dab'aynā znā malkā qōštanīnōs lakrīstīyānūtā 'etā*. The index continues through ff. 1^v, 2^r finishing in line thirty-one of the first column in f. 2^v and follows that of the original Greek. It is, however, absent from the Vatican manuscript, the text of which divides the first five books of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* into thirty-seven chapters but contains a number of lacunae and omits the last sections from Book 5, chapter 11, to the end of this book.

The main text then follows on f. 2^v, col. 1, line 32, and commences with the title, *mi'mrā qadmāyā d'eqlīsiyastīqā dsōqraṭīs* followed by the beginning of the text:- 'ewsebīs pampuliyā kād bšārbe kūlhōn 'esra taš'ta d'eqlīsiyastīqā sām zabnawy dqōštanīnōs malkā . . . The title of the Vatican manuscript rendered in English is simply "Useful discourses from the ecclesiastical history of Socrates" which may explain the absence from this manuscript of some sections regarded as unnecessary by the translator. In f. 3^r, col. 1, lines 30–33, it is stated that Constantine was declared Emperor in Italy, the word *malkā* being used for Emperor. In the corresponding passage in the Vatican manuscript the copyist either failed to understand properly or made a careless mistake by inserting a *rēš* between the 'ālah and yūd, which can almost be read as a *nūn*, of 'italiya. The original Greek text of Socrates states that Constantine was proclaimed Emperor in Britain on the 25 July 306 in place of his father Constantius who had died there. This is widely reported in other accounts of the event.¹¹ A later tradition preserved by Zosimus, who was writing in the second half of the Vth century, states however that, having fled to his dying

father, Constantine, on the death of Constantius was accorded by the soldiers the rank of Caesar¹² and only following the battle of Milvian Bridge in 312 declared Emperor in Rome. The later Syriac translator, possibly aware of this divergence, may have altered the original to read Italy.

The text from f. 4^v col. 1 line 6 to f. 5^r col. 1 line 33 is omitted from the Vatican manuscript which closes with the death of Diocletian and resumes with Constantine's capture of his defeated rival Licinius, and his lenient treatment of him. This lacuna comprising chapters 3 and most of 4 can only be accounted for by a careless scribal omission or by translating from a defective original that was not fully understood. The Assemanis however in their description of the Vatican manuscript claim that it contains chapters 2, 3 and 4 of Book One of the original Greek.¹³ The account of Licinius' subsequent rebellion, death and ensuing peace which completes chapter 4 and runs from f. 5^r col. 2 line 5 (end) to line 34 is missing from the Vatican manuscript apart from line 14 rendered in English "and he commanded he (i.e. Licinius) should be slain" which occurs in both the Vatican and Wellcome manuscripts. Ff. 8^v col. 1 line 16 until the end of the Wellcome fragment comprising the latter part of Chapter 6 and beginning of Chapter 7 is absent from the Vatican manuscript which does not resume until the beginning of chapter 8 of the Greek text.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that in f. 9^v col. 2 line 12, Cordova, the city of Bishop Hosius, is described as being in Italy instead of Spain.

The fragment ends on f. 9^v at the beginning of the letter from Constantine to Alexander and Arius which is at the beginning of Chapter 7 of the Greek text. The Syriac text is practically illegible having completely faded away in some places or is missing where the leaf is damaged. What is legible reads as follows: . . . 'egartā kūlāh [] baktābaw d'ew [] d'al dūbāreh d[] qōstāntīnōs h[] wamrahmānā[] l'aleksandrōs w'ar [] nā . . .

The second Syriac manuscript comprises a letter written on a single sheet of paper measuring 30×31 cm.: 36 horizontal lines are transcribed in ink on the recto, 5 vertical on the verso, all in the Nestorian script with a few marginal remarks in Arabic. The letter bears the seal of the Metropolitan Joseph and the date 1845 beside which is written in Arabic the "eleventh day of the month Kānūn al-thānī" which is the first month, i.e. January, of the Ottoman solar calendar. Marginal jottings in Arabic indicate that another copy of the letter had been written, possibly in Arabic. The letter is addressed in both Syriac and Arabic on the verso to Thomas al-Qōšāyā, a Chaldaean deacon residing in Rome. The letter itself contains the metropolitan's greeting and acknowledgement of previous correspondence. The loss in transit of some items destined for the sender is noted and the deacon is requested to raise certain matters and make known Joseph's views concerning the appointment of a Patriarch with the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, known as the Propaganda, which was concerned with missionary activities of the Roman Catholic church in the area.¹⁵

In 1846, the year after this letter was written, Mar Joseph himself was elevated

to patriarchal office.¹⁶ He resided at al-Qōš and at Mosul, the former, according to the letter, being the home town of Thomas. Al-Qōš, now in northern Iraq, was not only distinguished as the alleged burial place of the prophet Nahum but was also the seat of the Nestorian Patriarch. When George Percy Badger, chaplain to the East India Company, who had been sent by the Church of England authorities as a missionary to the area, visited the village in 1843, he found the Metropolitan absent in the valley of the Supna proselytizing many to Rome.

When in residence the Metropolitan stayed with his brother who was the village doctor and surgeon.¹⁷ In 1850 Badger once again visited al-Qōš and resided at the old residence of the Nestorian patriarchs but he found the entire village very dilapidated and the inhabitants in a miserable state.

The letter was written at a time of great ferment in the Chaldaean community as those Nestorians who accepted papal authority were called. This was a result of the interference of Rome especially following the resignation of Mar Zeyya and the assumption of patriarchal authority by the Vicar Apostolic early in 1846. Although Joseph's subsequent appointment was not without opposition and his long period of office was not entirely calm, he proved an energetic and ambitious prelate.¹⁸

NOTES

¹ N. Allan, "The oriental collections in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London", *JRAS*, 1981, pp. 10-25.

² Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII, 48.

³ For a description of this codex see W. Wright and N. McLean, *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac*, Cambridge, 1898, pp. vf.

⁴ See W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1870-72, Pt. II, pp. 631 ff. (no. DCCXXVI). The date is incorrectly given here as 412 A.D. but corrected to 411 A.D. on p. 1236 of Pt. III.

⁵ The ecclesiastical histories written by Philippus Sidetes, Philostorgius and Hesychius are either in part or wholly lost. The remaining three are the histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret.

⁶ A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn, 1922, p. 107.

⁷ S.E. & J.S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus in tres partes distributus . . . partis primae, tomus tertius*, Rome, 1759. (Reprint Paris 1926), pp. 255-257 (no. 145ii).

⁸ See A. Baumstark, *ibid.*, and p. 274 as a source of the so-called pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē. See also W. Wright, *A short history of Syriac literature*, London, 1894, p. 202, and R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Amsterdam, 1970, pp. 187f & 195.

⁹ See for example, W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, op. cit., pp. 333 C. 2 (no. 421. 23. d.); 439 C. 2 (no. 561. 28); 442 C. 2f (no. 563); 553 C. 2 (no. 688); 714 C. 2 (no. 754. 42); 937 C. 1 (no. 857 vii, 5); 987 C. 2 (no. 860. 35. d).

¹⁰ By G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals with the narrative of a mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842 and 1844*, London, 1852, vol. 2, especially p. 360. Badger ascribes the work to the year 1298, probably on the authority of his manuscript.

¹¹ See Eusebius, *De vita Constantini Imperatoris*, I. 21; Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 25.

¹² Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 2. 9. See also Paulys *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1958, Bd. IV; pp. 1014f.

¹³ Assemani, op. cit., p. 256.

¹⁴ Assemani, *ibid.*, concerning the Synod of Nicaea.

¹⁵ See M. Combaluzier, "Les missions des Balkans et du proche orient", *Histoire universelle des Missions Catholiques*, in Vol. 1: *Les Missions Contemporaines (1880-1957)*, pp. 386-397, published under the direction of S. Delacroix, Paris, 1957.

¹⁶ See Badger, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 172. However. J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne: contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du nord de l'Iraq*, Beyrouth, 1965, gives the dates of Joseph's patriarchate as 1848-1878 although on p. 549 of vol. 2 he states "Il fut patriarche de 1847 à 1878".

¹⁷ See G. P. Badger, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 104 who states that although the Metropolitan Joseph resided at al-Qōṣ it was not under his jurisdiction but together with Mosul and the surrounding villages formed part of the diocese of the Nestorian Patriarch. For further information on Joseph see D. Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East*, vol. 1, *Churches in Communion with Rome*, London, 1961, p. 191.

¹⁸ The various appellations and their significance with reference to the East Syrian Church are explained by J. Joseph, *The Nestorians and their Muslim neighbours*, Princeton, N. J., 1961, pp. 3-21.

A PĀLU KURUMBA MANTRA FOR CURING HEAD-ACHE

By DIETER B. KAPP

1. INTRODUCTION

While I was conducting linguistic and ethnographic field research among the Pālu Kurumbas of the Nilgiri Hills, South India, in the spring of 1976,¹ I managed — but not without some difficulty — to obtain a single mantra from one of my main informants. In general, the *manduraga:ra-s*² or “black magicians”,³ the only persons in the tribe who know mantras and use them ritually, are extremely reluctant to reveal even a particle of their secret knowledge to outsiders. They fear that a magic formula or ritual loses its potency as soon as it is divulged to another person. Nevertheless, I pressed my informant Giddanu (born c. 1946), son of the headman of Todiki, who held the office of black magician, to communicate at least *one* mantra to me. It was only after long deliberation and hesitation that he finally consented to comply with my request.

As Giddanu assumed that I, being a brainworker, might sometimes be suffering from head-ache, he selected a mantra for curing this bothersome ailment. But only after I agreed not to switch on my tape-recorder, was he disposed to recite the mantra to me. However, the speediness of his recitation was such that I was unable to grasp even a single word. So I asked him for another, slower recitation, to which he fortunately consented. After he had dictated the mantra to me, I requested him to recite it once more so that I might be enabled to check what I had written down. But he declined saying: “This mantra must not be recited three times”.

According to Giddanu, the black magician when called in recites this mantra in a murmurous voice twice in all, while he rubs coconut oil and ground-nut oil with his right and left thumbs onto the patient's forehead. The head-ache is then said “to fade away”.

2. MANTRA: TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

(Recorded on March 26, 1976)

- 1 *peru maṇḍe-bēttu peru male po:*
- 2 *cīru maṇḍe-bēttu cīru male po:*
- 3 *atti-pu: karagunatte karagi*
- 4 *a:la-pu: karagunatte karagi*
- 5 *e:la-pu: karagunatte karagi*
- 6 *inji-pu: karagunatte karagi*
- 7 *iṭṭi-pu: karagunatte karagi*
- 8 *ko:gaṇḍe-pu: karagunatte karagi*
- 9 *uppu-kallu karagunatte karagi*
- 10 *aḍuku-pu: karagunatte karagi*
- 11 *tirugu-pu: karagunatte karagi*

- 12 *civa-bombe karagunatte karagi*
- 13 *cē:rande karagunatte karagi*
- 14 *cē:ru-barati barandatte barandu*
- 15 *cimma:du curundatte curundu*
- 16 *a:me curundatte curundu*
- 17 *karia-na:yi ba:lu curundatte curundu*
- 18 *civan-a:ne guru-v-a:ne*
- 19 *civan(u) pa:datuku viṭṭuṅṅira gi po:*

- 1 Big head-ache, go away to the big mountain!
- 2 Little head-ache, go away to the little mountain!
- 3 As the blossoms of the fig-trees have withered away, thus wither away!
- 4 As the blossoms of the banyan trees have withered away, thus wither away!
- 5 As the blossoms of the cardamom plants have withered away, thus wither away!
- 6 As the blossoms of the ginger plants have withered away, thus wither away!
- 7 As the blossoms of the *ṛiti* trees have withered away, thus wither away!
- 8 As the blossoms of the *ko:gaṇḍe* creepers have withered away, thus wither away!
- 9 As a lump of salt has melted away, thus melt away!
- 10 As the blossoms of the *aḍuku* flowers have withered away, thus wither away!
- 11 As the blossoms of the sunflowers have withered away, thus wither away!
- 12 As the *civa-bombe* mushrooms have withered away, thus wither away!
- 13 As the *cē:rande* plants have withered away, thus wither away!
- 14 As fresh cow-dung has dried up and become dried cow-dung, thus dry up!
- 15 As a piece of cloth has been rolled up so as to form a load pad for the head, thus roll up!
- 16 As a tortoise has retreated into its shell, thus retreat!
- 17 As the tail of Yama's black dog[†] has rolled up, thus roll up!
- 18 On the order of Śiva, on the order of the master,
- 19 Leave [the patient] and go down under the foot of Śiva!

The arrangement of the mantra is lucid: while lines 3–17 constitute the main section, lines 1–2 may be regarded as the opening and lines 18–19 as the concluding sections. Thereby, both the first and third sections seem to bear a rather formulaic character. In its contents, the mantra is transparent and easily intelligible; it does not contain any dubious words or phrases. Grammatically, the text of the mantra likewise does not present any particular difficulties. So, only four grammatical forms occur: imperative mood, second person singular, *i.e.*, *po:* (lines 1, 2 and 19); adverbial participle, past tense, *i.e.*, *karagi* (lines 3–13), *barandu* (line 14), *curundu* (lines 15–17), *viṭṭu* and *irangi* (line 19); comparative verbal participle, past tense (which is formed by adding the adverb *atte* “in that way, thus” to the relative participle, past tense), *i.e.*, *karagunatte* (*karaguna* + *atte*) (lines 3–13), *barandatte* (*baranda* + *atte*) (line 14) and *curundatte* (*curunda* + *atte*) (lines 15–17); and once,

a dative case, singular, i.e., *pa:datuku* (line 19) — cases otherwise being expressed by the stem form of the respective noun. The last-mentioned form, however, is pure Tamil for Pālu Kuṛumba *pa:daku*. Another three forms appear in a Tamilized shape : *a:me* (Tamil *(y)āmai*) for *e:me* (line 16), *viṭṭu* (Tamil *viṭṭu*) for *biṭṭu* (line 19) and *irangi* (Tamil *irāṅki*) for *iragi* (line 19). Apart from these conspicuous Tamil influences, the mantra text also shows some Ālu Kuṛumba⁵ influence; this becomes most obvious in the case of the nominal compound *maṇḍe-bēṭṭu* (lines 1-2) which, in Pālu Kuṛumba, is represented by *tale-bija(mu)* (although the word *bēṭṭu* is not used in the meaning of "pain" in Ālu Kuṛumba). Considering the distinct Tamil influence in the last mantra line, and bearing in mind that the Pālu Kuṛumbas are non-Hindus, professing a form of ancestor cult (whence follows that Śiva does not originally figure in their ancestral religion), we might be entitled to proceed on the assumption that the third formulaic section of the mantra (lines 18-19) constitutes a (more recent) borrowing from relevant Tamil mantras.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that I have a suspicion that Giddanu deliberately changed or misplaced a word (or a line) in the mantra⁶ since he did not recite it on a "proper" occasion, i.e., in the presence of a head-ache patient with the purpose of curing him of his ailment. But if he did so, which word (or line) did he alter? Did he, for instance, substitute *uppu-kallu* for another kind of blossom in line 9, since this nominal compound does not seem to fit in here? Or did he misplace line 9 which, "originally", might have occupied another place, perhaps, after line 13? However, since we are not in a position to find any answer to questions of this kind, we have no other alternative but to accept the text of the mantra as it was told by Giddanu.

3. WORD INDEX

aḷuku-pu: kind of forest flower. *DEDR* 80. Cf. *pu*.

*anti-mara(mu)*⁷ fig-tree, *Ficus glomerata*. *DEDR* 144. Cf. *mara(mu)*.

atte in that way, thus. *DEDR* 1.

a:ṇe command, order. *DBIA* 32.

a:me (loan-word Tamil, otherwise: *c:me*) tortoise, turtle. *DEDR* 5155.

a:la-mara(mu) banyan tree, *Ficus indica*. *DEDR* 382. Cf. *mara(mu)*.

inji ginger. *DEDR* 429.

ṭṭi-mara(mu) blackwood, *Dalbergia latifolia*. *DEDR* 483. Cf. *mara(mu)*.

irang- (*irangund-*, *iranguv-*, *irangun-*)⁸ (loan-word Tamil, otherwise: *irag-* etc.) to descend, go down. *DEDR* 516.

uppu salt. *DEDR* 2674 (a).

uppu-kallu lump of salt. Cf. *uppu*, *kallu*.

e:me tortoise, turtle. *DEDR* 5155.

e:la(mu) cardamom(s), *Elettaria cardamomum*. *DEDR* 907.

karag- (*karagund-*, *karaguv-*, *karagun-*) to melt away, fade away, wither (away). *DEDR* 1292.

karia-na:yi Yama's black dog. *DEDR* 1278 (a). Cf. *na:yi*.

kallu stone, rock. *DEDR* 1298.

ko:gaṇḍe kind of creeper. Cf. Ālu Kuṛumba *koḷogonḍe* id. No etymology.

guru teacher, master. Loan-word. Cf. Tamil *kuru* spiritual preceptor, teacher, etc. (*TL*). Kannada

guru a religious teacher, etc. (*KKED*). / Sanskrit *guru-* any venerable or respectable person; spiritual parent or preceptor (MW). *DBIA* 4.

- civa(nu)*⁹ Śiva. Loanword. Cf. Tamil *civaṇ* (TL). Kannada *śiva*, *śivu*, *śiva* (KKED). / Sanskrit *śiva*- auspicious; a name of Rudra. Pali, Prakrit *śiva*- Śiva (CDIAL). DBIA Φ.
civa-bombe "Śiva's effigy", kind of mushroom (?*Phallus impudicus*). Cf. *civa(nu)*, *bombe*.
cimma:ḍu load pad for the head (= ring of rolled-up cloth). DEDR 2677.
cīru small, little. DEDR 1594.
curuḷ- (*curuḷund-*, *curuḷuv-*, *curuḷd-*) to become rolled up, coiled up, roll up, coil up (itr.). DEDR 2687.
cē:rande kind of plant. No etymology.
cē:ru fresh cow-dung. DEDR 2020.
cē:ru-baraṭi dried cow-dung. Cf. *cē* : *ru*, *baraṭi*.
tale head, top. DEDR 3103.
tale-bija(mu) head-ache. Cf. *tale*, *bija(mu)*.
tirugu-pu: sun-flower. DEDR 3246. Cf. *pu*:
na:yi dog. DEDR 3650.
pa:da(mu) foot. Loan-word. Cf. Tamil *pātam* foot, as of a person or animal; leg, etc. (TL).
 Kannada *pāda* a foot, etc. (KKED). / Sanskrit *pāda*- foot, or leg of inanimate object, etc. Pali *pāda*- foot. Prakrit *pāda*-, *pā(ya)*- id. (CDIAL). DBIA Φ.
pu: blossom, flower. DEDR 4345.
peru great, big, large. DEDR 4411.
po:- (*po:nd-*, *po: v-*, *po: n-*) to go, proceed, go away. DEDR 4572.
baraṭi dried cow-dung. DEDR 5321.
baraḷ- (*baraḷund-*, *baraḷuv-*, *baraḷd-*) to become dry, dry up. DEDR 5320.
ba:lu tail. DEDR 5365/Appendix 57.
bija(mu) poison; pain. Loan-word. Cf. Tamil *viṭam*, *viṣam* poison; mineral poison, etc. (TL).
 Kannada *isa*, *bisa*, *visa*, *viṣa* poison, venom, etc. (KKED). / Sanskrit *viṣa*- poison. Pali, Prakrit *visa*- id. (CDIAL). DBIA Φ.
biḍ- (*biḍund-*, *biḍuv-*, *biḍt-*) to leave, quit, abandon, release. DEDR 5393.
bēṭṭu cut, wound; pain. DEDR 5478.
bombe puppet, doll, effigy. DEDR 4530.
maṇḍe head. DEDR 4682.
maṇḍe-bēṭṭu head-ache. Cf. *maṇḍe*, *bēṭṭu*.
mand(u)ra magic formula, mantra. Loan-word. Cf. Tamil *mantiram* vēdic hymn, sacrificial formula, etc.; magical formula, incantation, charm, spell (TL). Kannada *mantara*, *mantura*, *manra* a vedic verse or text of prayer or adoration addressed to a deity or deities, etc.; magical formula, incantation, charm, spell, etc. (KKED). / Sanskrit *mantra*- thought, prayer, spell, counsel. Pali *manta*- spell, advice. Prakrit *maṇṭa*- (CDIAL). DBIA Φ.
mand(u)raga:ra(nu) sorcerer, (black) magician. Loan-word. Cf. *mand(u)ra*. Cf. Tamil *-kāraṇ*.
 Kannada *-kāra*, *-kāra*, *-gāra*, *-gāra*. / Sanskrit *kāra*- making, doing, action. Pali, Prakrit *kāra*- doing, way of doing (CDIAL). DBIA Φ.
male mountain. DEDR 4742.

NOTES

¹ The Pālu Kurumbas formed the third tribe on whose language and culture I carried out field work during the period of May, 1974, to April, 1976; the other two tribes are the Ālu Kurumbas and the Muḍugas of the Nilgiri Hills, South India. The field stay was made possible by a grant from the German Research Association (DFG). — For other specimens of the language of the Pālu Kurumbas, see Kapp 1978: (a grammar with texts and a vocabulary is in preparation); for a brief survey of their culture, see Mathur 1977: 43–61 (= chapter 2: The Kurumbas [= Pālu Kurumbas] of Attappady).

² See Word Index for all Pālu Kurumba words that are mentioned in the text or occur in the mantra.

³ Throughout the Nilgiri Hills, the Pālu (and Ālu) Kurumbas are feared greatly by the neighbouring tribes and the Tamil population as well, on account of their practising black magic. See Kapp 1983: 716 for relevant references in earlier ethnographic accounts.



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The main material examined derives from the traditional narratives of Gurung shamans from Siklis, a village on the Mādi River in the Nepalese District of Kaski (see Plates I and II). Texts were recorded by two methods in the course of eighteen months' residence between 1979 and 1981: the leading shaman, Padam Sing Gurung, dictated texts to the author and subsequently explicated their sense phrase by phrase. The author also tape-recorded a number of "live" performances by Padam Sing together with one or more assistants. All examples used in this paper are taken from the tape-recordings. The quantity of recitations, *pe*,³ known by this leading shaman is considerable (probably over 45,000 words); and this study will concentrate on examples drawn from the corpus collected from him. His understanding is therefore used as a basis for interpretations.

After some background notes on the classification of the Gurung language, the paper discusses (a) aspects of the lexical composition of the shamanic recitations; (b) some specific examples from *pe*; (c) paired forms in relation to parallelism in *pe*; and (d) aspects of the cosmology and geography presumed in *pe* in relation to the paired forms on the one hand, and on the other to certain narrative themes.

LANGUAGE TAXONOMY AND FRAMEWORK FOR COMPARISON

The Gurung language is classified by Shafer⁴ as a part of the Gurung Branch of the Bodish Section of the Bodic; and this Branch (with Murmi (Tamang) and Thakshya (Thakali)) is set at the same taxonomic level as Rgyarong, Tsangla, and Bodish (the Tibetan languages). The main sources for this classification have been criticized by Burton-Page;⁵ though it has recently received some support from Glover's lexicostatistical study.⁶ In contrast, Benedict has placed Gurung and Tamang on the same taxonomic level as Tsangla, Takpa, Gyarung and Tibetan, all of which fall into the Bodish part of his Tibeto-Kanauri grouping.⁷

But the idea of a clear, genetic "tree structure" relating "Tibeto-Burman" languages has itself been questioned in this case. Thus, a "wave model of mutual influence in which word families (rather than individual lexical items) play the leading role", has advantages illustrated in a recent comparative study of anatomical terms.⁸

Thus, if comparative mythology were to be restricted to languages of which the grounds for genetic classification were strong and unambiguous, there would be problems in the present case.⁹ Moreover, the ethnonyms themselves pose numerous difficulties: "Gurung" is not an indigenous name and may, as Hooker perhaps implied, have merely meant "shepherd" until relatively recently.¹⁰ Furthermore, the local ethnonyms (*tamu*, *se*) are close to those of Tamang and Thakali and do not necessarily denote linguistically discrete populations.¹¹

Hence it has been suggested that, instead of trying to follow language family trees closely, comparative analysis of oral traditions in this area could reasonably attempt to use a broad series of categories: 1. cultural Tibetans; 2. partially Tibetanized peoples (Lepchas and many Gurung); and 3. non-Tibetanized, tradition-

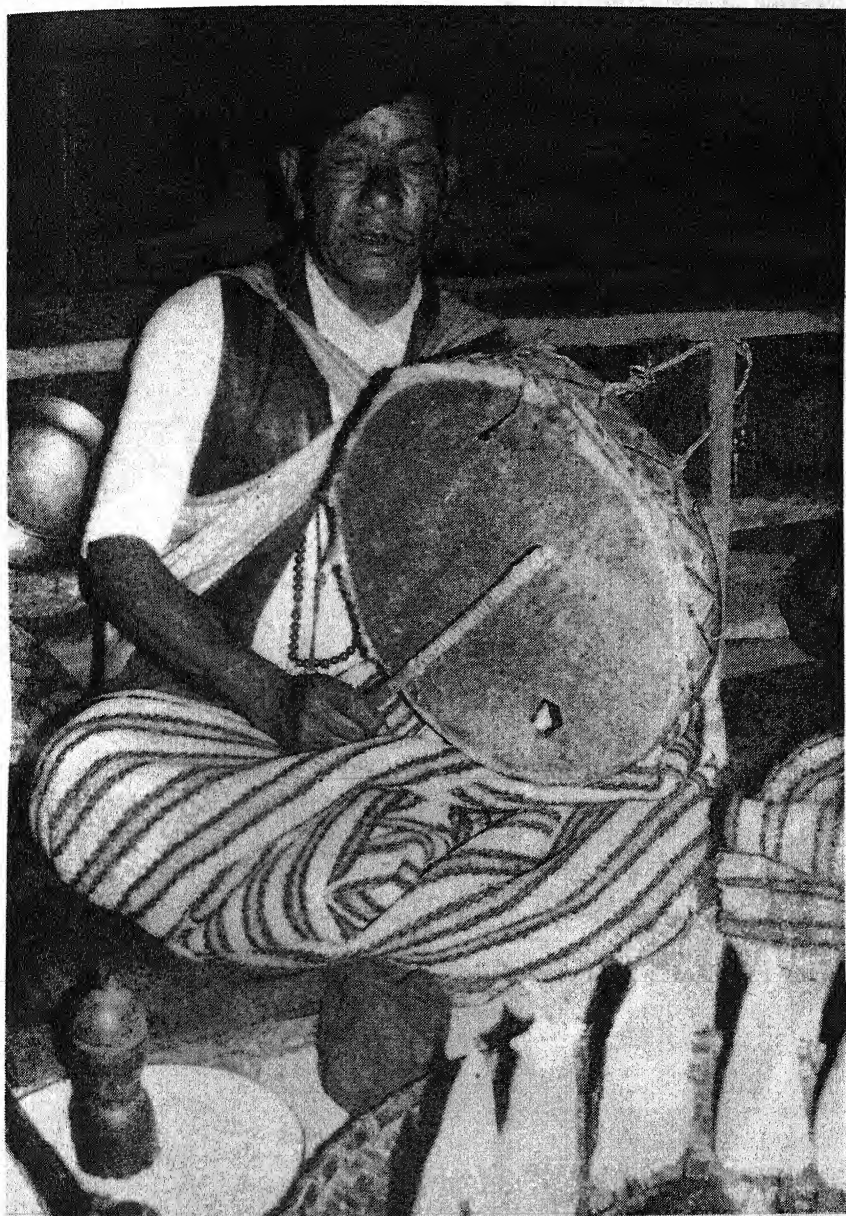


Plate I: A shaman reciting *pe* as he drums his tambourine (*nga*). On the tray stand rice figures (*kəydu*) of a hunting god named Pore-more-toye-krō-riye-rō-madu-krō-mari-rō, of the shaman's spiritual master (*le*, named Cop or Pwhel), and of the stars (*sara cyō*). In the centre of the tray are millet figurines of zoomorphic and other malevolent spirits.



Plate II: A young shaman wearing a headdress of pheasant feathers (*kra-dze-po ma-dze-po*) and a woman's gown (*porko*) while dancing at a shaman's funeral.

ally non-literate peoples (Thulung, Byansi).¹² On this basis, a genetic linguistic view would be supplemented (but not displaced) by a diffusionary one in which innovations spread from category 1 to 3. Furthermore, general typological resemblances could be argued between traditional category 3 culture and that of category 1 before changes led to the emergence of the latter as a centre of diffusionary innovation.

Although diffusion is not presumed to be solely a one-way process, Gurung material provides a test case for some proposed "typological resemblances". For though more closely related to Tibetan than to Thulung, Gurung seems to have separated from earlier Tibetan forms well before the advent of literate Buddhism to the Tibetan-speaking peoples.¹³ Though this paper will not properly venture beyond Gurung material, it points to potentially fruitful problems for research.

LANGUAGE OF TSÖ

A comprehensive account of the linguistic competence of Gurung speakers would require assessment of their (variable) knowledge of Nepali, and of other languages learned abroad such as Malay, Cantonese, and English; and it would consider discourse level stylistic features within Gurung itself. It could include two kinds of "secret language" spoken by youths and girls;¹⁴ and it would appropriately compare spoken language syntax with that of a sign language, used by deaf mutes, which also plays a part in gestures accompanying dance.

The language used in *pe* is also a recognisable category distinct from the kinds just listed and is considered so esoteric as to be largely unintelligible to the uninitiated. It is named *tsö kywi*, the language of Tsö. The place so named is presumed to be a locus of origin from which ancestral Gurung came when they moved down from the high Himalaya to their present region on the southern slopes. It is the location of some narratives set in the mythical past; and it may be the same place as *Cangi* or *Tsang*, a province in south Tibet.¹⁵

Taken apart from colloquial Gurung, Tsö language contains forms which can be discussed under several headings: forms current in other dialects than that of Siklis, the village of collection; loans from Nepali, Tibetan and other "foreign" tongues; and a class of binomial or polynomial forms some of which are current colloquially and in *pe*, others appearing only in the latter.

DIALECTISMS

Though it is clear that the subject requires treatment in depth, some preliminary comments are appropriate. Thus, in a survey of Gurung dialects, Glover and Landon have concentrated on twelve villages considered to represent the major dialect variations encountered, Siklis being included as representing the Central dialect.¹⁶

Of the 108 semantic items for which lists were compiled in each dialect,¹⁷ 18 are not represented in the corpus of *pe* collected from Siklis, 56 are represented as identical both in the colloquial speech of Siklis and in *pe*, 13 are represented in *pe*

as items which can fairly clearly be regarded as dialectisms absent from Siklis colloquial speech; and a residual category of 21 covers items that are not clearly explicable from the data given in the survey, although 5 of these do appear related to terms given in a dictionary based on Ghacok speech.¹⁸

The dialectisms do not form a neat semantic class but include items as diverse as *kyō* "you", *su* "which, who?", *cyo-wa* "looking", *mo* "cloud", all of which are Eastern dialect terms and occur in the survey's lists exclusively as such.¹⁹ The Swadesh list used in the survey, however, does not test semantic domains or particular classes of words; and an attempt following Matisoff's system of identifying cognates might show more interesting results.²⁰

The other possible dialectisms show certain features which make definite dialectal ascription difficult. This is not surprising. Glover and Landon plot isoglosses which define areas differing in some linguistic feature; and they state:²¹

"The result was rather bewildering. There was evident no sharp divide between dialects marked by a large number of isoglosses between any two adjacent villages — large, that is, in comparison with the number of isoglosses falling between other pairs of adjacent villages. . . . [The] counting of isoglosses confirms the impression that the East dialect is more diverse than the West, and that the West and South are less sharply divided than the West and East."

Furthermore, analysis of sound shifts suggested that:²²

"The Gurung evidence here of irregular distribution of innovated forms points to a lexical and geographical diffusion of changes in individual words, not to regular sound changes throughout the language."

It is likely that some variants in the language of Tsō are deliberate sound changes marking off the *pe* from colloquial speech and this may therefore be a source of differentiation within Gurung as a whole. For example, the verb stem for "walking" in *pe* is *pre-* or *pri-*, exhibiting an alternation in vowel which is noted by Glover and Landon to vary by dialect without any apparent pattern. But the stem for the verb given colloquially for all dialects contains the form *pra-*.²³ Alternatively, a hypothesis reconstructing earlier forms of the language would be expected to account for such variations; but the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali proto-form given in the dictionary is *praq*.²⁴

SOME LOAN WORDS

The class of loan words from Nepali seems limited and clearly identifiable. Those occurring in the corpus of *pe* are: *nāg* "snake deity", *rājā* "king", *rāni* "queen", *sarāp* "curse", *mahādeu* "the god Mahādeu", *karda* "small knife", *cyolo* (N *chelo*?) "shot-put", *pāc angala* "five fingers, the hand", *thar* "clan", *thān* "shrine".

Apart from these there appeared to be no other Nepali loans in the *pe* as collected, though there were occasions when an invocation consisted solely of Nepali ("so that people could understand"). Four of the above items occurred in one cycle of alternating songs performed by a circulating group of men at funerals (Plate III).

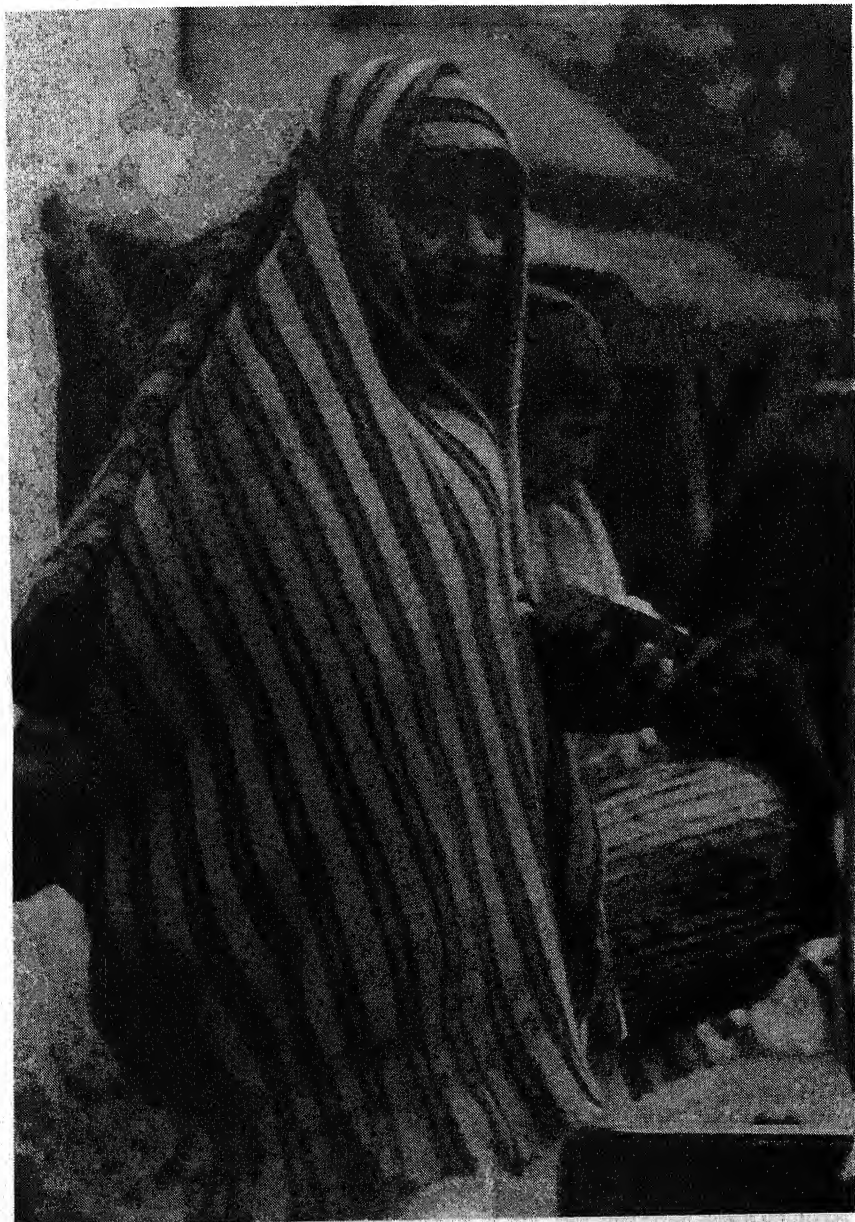


Plate III: Part of a group of shamans performing a funeral song of which each phrase is sung by one half of the group in response to the other.

This performance is popular with those older laymen who know some of the language of Tsö and enjoy participating; thus the potential for introducing new terms is raised in this context.

If loans from Nepali are clear, those from other sources are more difficult to discriminate from internally generated forms. It is likely that some terms are explicit borrowings from Tibetan dialects spoken in the vicinity of Gurung inhabited areas. For example, animals are listed using the vocabulary of the twelve year calendrical cycle;²⁵ and other identifications could be argued.

But it would be parochial to treat the data synchronically in this way alone; and in the absence of a historical and comparative linguistic view from other parts of the region, which might enable analysis along lines suggested by Emeneau, the observations to be made here are necessarily incomplete.²⁶

SOME TYPES OF PAIRED TERMS

One way of approaching features of ritual language in this case is to examine certain kinds of paired terms which occur both colloquially and in *pe*. For the purposes of exposition, these can be treated as a class containing distinct kinds of binomial or polynomial forms. Some of these constitute a group of "expressives" possessing semantic symbolism and distinctive morphosyntactic properties. "Ideophones" are a subclass of these, and of the ideophones, "onomatopoeic" forms are a subset.²⁷ Others are compound forms with complex semantic properties. All seem to be a means of stylistic enrichment through diversification of lexical meaning. Considerable work on such forms has been attempted in Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Dravidian and I-A languages of South and South East Asia, but little has appeared for languages grouped as Tibeto-Burman.²⁸

REDUPLICATIVE INTENSIFIERS

The class of reduplicative intensifiers includes examples of the kind: *pli-pli la-wa* "mixing by turning over and over" (~*pli-wa* "folding"); *bi-bi la-wa* "being about to say" (~*bi-wa* "saying"); *li-li (kha-wa)* "(coming) behind"; *ngini-ngini* "very much"; *ngara-ngara* "beside, near to". These occur in colloquial speech but are rare in the *pe* and few examples from Tsö language spring to mind. One exception is a defining verb *ngi-wa*,²⁹ of which the characteristic form in *pe* is the reduplicated *ngye-ngye* (see below Example (5)).

ECHO FORMS

'Echo forms' have identical or partially identical limbs that are morphologically or semantically inseparable. The distinctive feature of this class is that items cannot be broken down into semantically independent elements; and they cannot be separated by suffixes or other intervening syllables.

Thus in order of complexity:

ngyāū-ngyāū "miaowing"

tē-tē "sticky"
khworde-khworde "ingrained"
tsi-tsi-ri "hissing"
ngu-ngu-ru "hissing"
ndu-lu-lu (ya-wa) "being ('going') flimsy"
yema-yeku "miaowing"
cishi-mishi "jumbled up in a mixture"
khalu-turulu "crying (infant)"
pru-ru kha-ga so-sō "humming (bees)"

As ideophones exploiting phonological symbolism of both acoustic and other kinds (referring to internal feelings or external perceptions), most of these terms occur usually followed by a verb in quotative form (*ngye-wa* "making a noise, noising" or *bi-wa* "saying", or *ra-wa* "sounding (of a musical instrument)").

There are more complex ideophonic forms: *hunu-gi pe-gi cya-gi cyu-gi* "babble, gibberish (of tongues [-gi]~ kywi)"; *kā-yera-yera-na/isa-yera-yera-na* "swooping (in the sky)"; *yere-kā-kō-dze/yuru-kā-kō-dze* "returning; tumbling downwards; rising upwards"; *yere-plā-plē-dze/yuru-plā-plē-dze* "returning"; *yere-na-lere-na/yuru-na-lere-na* "walking on"; *shyenmāy-shyinmāy* "broken"; *rālmāy-rilmāy* "disordered".

Whereas there are examples in which reduplication involves no change in vowel nuclei between limbs, there are instances that seem to fall into systematic patterns in which mid and low front vowels are usually raised, whether or not they are also backed. Thus, $e \rightarrow i$ or u ; $a \rightarrow e, i, u$, or o , in the more complex forms enumerated here. In some instances the verb ending each phrase will remain essentially identical but exploit minor vocalic change, as in the second two lines of Example (1).

(1) *nga-i yere-kā-kō-dze no-d o tiyekrēwayetiye*

Carry me back, Bird of Prey!

yuru-kā-kō-dze no-d o tiyekrēwayetiye

Carry back, Bird of Prey!

khi kara-ba-rē-na tiyekrēwati-di yere-kā-kō-dze no-pa-yu-dze

Bird of Prey brought-down-carrying him Kara-ba-rē returning back

yuru-kā-kō-dze no-po-yu-dze

Brought-down-carrying returning back

It would be interesting to see comparative analysis of these ideophones in several T-B, Austroasiatic, and I-A languages along lines suggested by Emeneau's analysis of onomatopoeic forms in the linguistic area of Dravidian and I-A, and particularly in an attempt to discriminate evolutionary and diffusionary changes.³⁰

EXPRESSIVE REDUPLICATIVES

This class is distinguished from the former in that one limb of a given complex will have a proper origin in colloquial speech. But the paired limb may not stand alone, separated from the other. English examples given in Malkiel's interesting study of "irreversible binomials" include *splish-splash* and *criss-cross*.³¹ From *pe* can

be extracted *yeda-yeji* or *yadō-yeje* (colloquially, *yedo*) for an institution of "priestly livings" (in which a specialist has exclusive rights to perform for specified villages at the inhabitants' invitation). This appears to have a disyllabic root term, which is unusual in Gurung. An example with monosyllabic root could be *cyēu-myēu* "smoke", colloquially *myu*, though it may be that the second limb derives from a disyllabic term.³²

IRREVERSIBLE BINOMIALS

This class has been characterised by Malkiel as:³⁴

"the sequence of two words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link."

There is varying strength of attachment between the items linked in this way, ranging between "definitive coalescence (entailing irreversibility)" and "unimpaired freedom of variation".³⁵ English examples given include *cat and mouse* or *sun and moon*. Phonological characteristics of assonance and morphological parallelism occur in these forms and Malkiel argues that they are somehow strengthened as a result.³⁶ Each limb tends to contribute something to the global sense. It is characteristic of members of this class that their limbs are separable by other linguistic items, ranging from the conjunctive suffix (*-ne*) to the full clause.

Examples from Gurung are: *pha-ne mri la-wa* "doing husband and wife, copulating"; *kya-i-lu ma-i-lu la-wa* "making along and down, mixing by pouring to and fro between two vessels", where the syllable *-lu* may have an origin in the nasalised verb *lū-wa* "churning"; *khe-ne ma* or *khe-ma* "grandfathers and grandmothers, ancestors"; *lē-ne ti* "moon and sun"; *sa-ne mu* "earth and sky"; *ri-ne-myū* "sister and brother".

More complex compounds include: *shi-mi wa-mi* "dead man discarded man, dead person"; *pe-da lu-da* "example word principle word, narratives of shamans and priests". In the first of these, the pairing *shi* with *wa* is related to the verbs *shi-ye-wa* "dying" and *wa-wa* "discarding"; and the paired stems qualify the noun *mi* "person". In the second, the noun *da*, glossed colloquially *tā* "speech, the spoken word", is qualified by the pair *pe* and *lu*, here loosely translated "example" and "principle".

Formally similar is a cluster of compounds of which the precise analysis is, however, obscure. Three terms concerned with death and destruction possess the final syllable *sō* "three": *para-sō ngoro-sō* "carcase" (colloquially, *shudu*); *shi-sō pa-sō* "wine given at funerals" (*pa* "wine"); *eye-sō cyu-sō* "debris left after a brush fire"; and the complex *mara-sō hlo-lo no-no/mri-sō hlo-lo no-no* "dead". There is an element of numerical symbolism here, "three" playing a role in the range of numbers with metaphysical significance.

Also comparable are names in which the final syllable of each limb of the compound is *shi* "wood", each binomial naming a distinct variety of tree (as yet botanically unidentified): *yekara-shi pekara-shi*; *yako-shi tuni-shi*; *tiwa-shi tisa-shi*; *hlaiye-shi*

puri-shi. Likewise the term *ku-ru-cu ku-mbera-cu* "ninefold grain offerings at a rite" (colloquially, *cu*); *pa-na tsa-na* "woollen long-haired cap" (colloquially, *ralpo*; ?~*na* "ear"); and a term of which the motivating sense is unclear: *kay-suru may-suru* "water" (?~**su-wa* "drinking, eating" in *pe*).³³

In these compounds, the general semantic principle at work is that of "opposing entities which, according to some taxonomic arrangement or other, are most similar, i.e., in formal terms, entities which are immediately dominated by the same node in a taxonomic tree."³⁷

Thus, the pairings can be read with greater or less attention to the composing elements. Most of these instances consist of two limbs or entities and the global sense may or may not equal the sum of the elements. The more complex compounds show a doubling so that each limb is itself a pairing; and the overall meaning of each is unpredictable. These forms play a significant part in the parallelisms of Gurung *pe*; and in this respect, Tsö language compares with other ritual languages from the Himalyan area and further afield.³⁸

PAIRED TERMS AND PARALLELISM IN PE

Gurung *pe*, like other instances of oral literature, are parallelistic in form. Discussing this phenomenon, Roman Jakobson has remarked that:³⁹

"Any form of parallelism is an apportionment of invariants and variables. The stricter the distribution of the former, the greater the discernibility and effectiveness of the variations."

When the invariant parts of parallel lines are excluded, then it is often (but not inevitably) the paired terms remaining which constitute the only variation. Thus each limb corresponds to the other within the invariant frame, which itself points to them as forming a pair.

SOME EXAMPLES

(2) *kwodze karata tälä-tēneli pya-shi*⁴⁰

Having inserted the broad knife small knife

morogyō puruba tälä-tēneli kyo-shi

Having pushed in the bamboo pole wooden stake

In this example, the invariant part *tälä-tēneli* is itself a paired form of the "echo" kind discriminated earlier; and its sense is something akin to the motion of "sticking in" but (being untranslatable) it is left untranslated here. The correspondences are clear: broad knife:small knife; bamboo pole:wooden stake; or alternatively, broad knife:bamboo pole; small knife:wooden stake. The two verbs are rich in sense: *pya-wa* colloquially "copulating", *kyo-wa* perhaps aptly glossed "furrowing" used metaphorically, here in a story which turns on infringement of the rule against incest. In this example, the verbs are seemingly innocent as "pushing in".

Semantic relationships between paired terms can be characterised with varying degrees of precision. Malkiel suggests the following possible relations between the

two limbs of a binomial A+B: near synonymy; mutual complementarity (where the notion is bipartite but lacking definite cleavage — *fish and chips*?); antonymy; hierarchical inclusion (*genus and species*); and inevitable or possible consequence (*shoot and kill*).⁴¹

Broadly speaking, these modes of similarity and contrast follow patterns used elsewhere⁴² and derive from Lowth's XVIIIth century work on Hebrew poetics.⁴³ But the distinctions are relative, not absolute. In Example (2), the two kinds of knife can be treated as antithetical on grounds of size or near synonymous on grounds of belonging to the single class of cutting instruments; and similarly for the other parallel terms according to the perspective and criteria chosen.

The juxtaposition of terms in binomials in this way permits one to assert a composite meaning A+B, but can also allow for a global sense distinct from the individual meanings of the components. When the invariant parts of a parallel phrase isolate variables, then they compel the interpreter to look for some quality which unites the disparate categories of the paired terms and which gives them sense in context. This is a technique of metaphor which has been noted in some other cases; but the device of pairing in this way does not exactly determine global meanings. It invites the interpreter's speculation.⁴⁴

(3) *ta mari piri no-ra tsō-tē-dze*

Put (them) up there inside a golden box

mwiyē piri no-ra tsō-tē-dze

Put (them) inside a silver box

In this example, the pairing "gold-silver" occurs to qualify a box, but in other cases it is used to suggest the quality of a wide range of items: water, honey, ears, a rock, a bed, and so forth. Pignède's MSS contain a similar variety (thread, bird droppings, arrows, hearthplace, a spring). A latitude in interpretation, underdetermined by lexical sense, permits us to translate such pairings as "precious" or "wondrous".

Pairings of this kind are not restricted to qualifiers which are easily translated into felicitous English.

(4) *ki-e la so kya-n o tiyekrēwayetiye*

Have your moon reward, Bird of Prey!

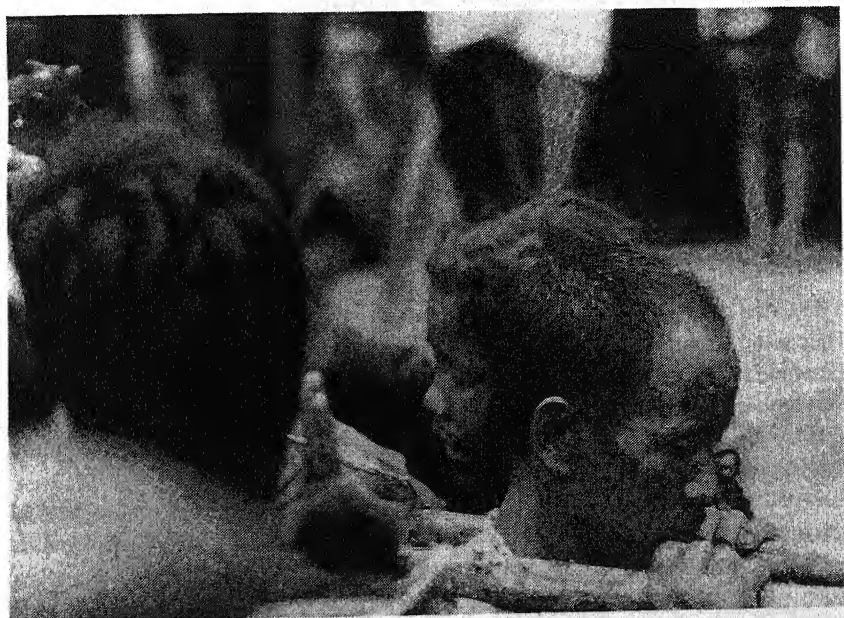
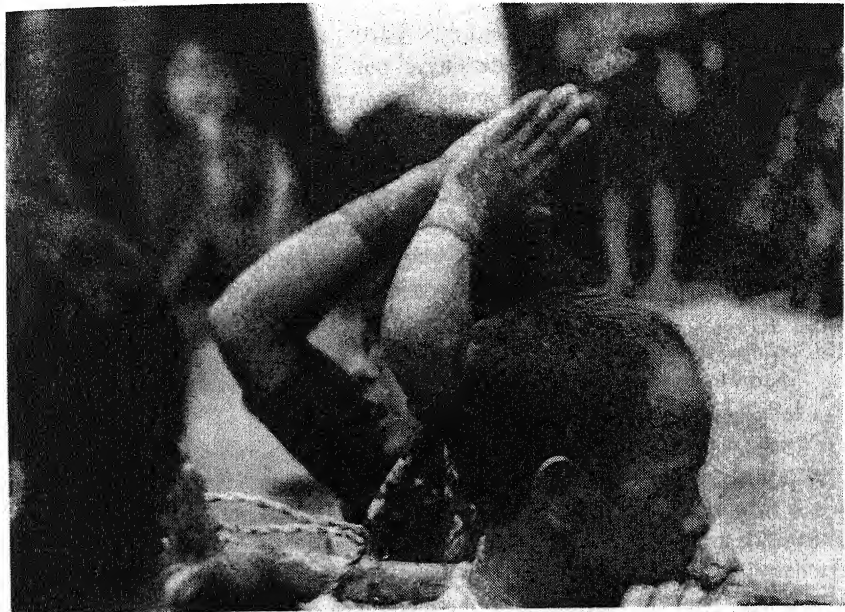
ngi so kya-n o tiyekrēwayetiye

Have the sun reward, Bird of Prey!

In this example, the pairing moon-sun is used to qualify *so* "reward, boon", presumably as an expression of the magnificence of the gift (a pair of golden and silver ears given to the Bird for having rescued the "hero").

The Example (4) illustrates the observation made earlier that some irreversible binomials occur both colloquially and, paired together, in *pe*. This is the case with some other instances which will be given here before examining aspects of the cultural context of pairings.

(5) *sa-dze su-we sa kara-ba nga ngye-ngye*



Plates IV-V: A woman grieving over the corpse on a bier raises her hands to the sky and down earthwards (*sa-ra-ka mu-ra-ka ta-wa*).

I am Earth Kara-ba who moves in the Earth

*mu-dze su-we mu kara-ba nga ngye-ngye*⁴⁵

I am Sky Kara-ba who moves in the Sky

In this instance, the central character is one Kara-ba-rê who calls himself "Earth Kara-ba Sky Kara-ba" in a context in which he claims superhuman powers among which appears to be immortality.⁴⁶ There are other pairings of earth with sky: and in colloquial Gurung one instance is *sa-ra-ka mu-ra-ka ta-wa* "to be grasping (*ka-wa*) at earth at sky", which refers to those who are distraught and mindless in frenzy (*sê a-ci-wa*). It is reminiscent of the way women grieve at funerals, raising their hands to the sky and lowering them over the corpse or its substitute (Plates IV and V).

(6) *hadama ləydama tō-ne nga*

(there) by the village

hadama ləydama shyō-ne nga

(there) by the stream

In a final example here, the pairing of village with stream is used to refer to the whole village, i.e. the dwelling area which is often bisected or bounded by a stream. The invariant *hadama ləydama* is a meaningless phrase here used to give rhythm to the narrative of progressive steps in a journey, each step indicated by the variable item line by line. The elucidation of the pair village-stream is complex but will be considered in part in a later section of this analysis.

PAIRED TERMS AND PARALLEL FORM

The earlier examples have mostly concerned pairings between parallel phrases of *pe* which amount to instances of canonical parallelism. But it is characteristic of *pe* that there are frequently pairings within metrical phrases.

(7) *tsu-mi kara-ba-rê-ye mara ca mwî ca-ka mu-ngoba*

This indeed is Kara-ba-rê's golden ring silver ring

(8) *ta mu-ru-bwe tō-ne mu-ru-bweye shyō-ra*

Up in the village of the sky stream of the sky

The two examples given here possess paired phrases within the metrical phrase. They stand unparallelled by adjacent lines in the recitations from which they derive. Example (8) also illustrates the syntactic status of the compound in that, while the first limb is suffixed with the conjunction *-ne*, the final limb alone carries the locative suffix *-ra* "at, in". Thus, it testifies to the intermediate character of the parallelism in this case.

In that *pe* contain both strict canonical parallelisms and partial parallelisms of the kinds illustrated, they arguably fall between "poetry" and "prose". This feature seems to be shared with Tamang and Thulung ritual performances.⁴⁷ It is unclear whether this formal characteristic, together with the metrical irregularity with which it is involved here, would allow such oral traditions to exemplify "l'originale forme poétique haute-asiatique" to which Poucha has referred in a discussion of Tibetan verse forms.⁴⁸ But this is a first question for further inquiry in the area.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND TO PAIRINGS

Certain of the pairings presented so far, and others from the corpus, can be discussed in greater depth by bringing in contextual material.⁴⁹ In particular, it seems that some human characteristics and features of society provide principles of order which can be applied to or read into parts of the cosmos, while relative spatial orientation provides concepts which can also be applied in a variety of linguistic and metaphysical contexts. The pairing of forms thus provides a criterion of what, within a given speech community, acts as a correspondence; though whether it is "objective" in this, as Jakobson would have it,⁵⁰ is an altogether more complex question. Furthermore, "correspondences" are not expected to be consistent across space and time.

PROPER AND IMPROPER ORDERS

A useful starting point is a short recitation which occurs in a final part of the Gurung funeral *pwe*. This stage is an expulsory incantation "casting away the evil" (*tha wa-wa*). The particular passage is discrete and although a transcribed performance cannot be presented here a translation from dictated text is given:⁵¹

- Womb preceding Wood is proper
- Wood preceding Womb is improper
- Earth preceding Sky is proper
- Sky preceding Earth is improper
- 5 Moon preceding Sun is proper
- Sun preceding Moon is improper
- East preceding South is proper
- South preceding East is improper
- West preceding North is proper
- 10 North preceding West is improper
- Husband preceding Wife is proper
- Wife preceding Husband is improper
- Father preceding Son is proper
- Son preceding Father is improper
- 15 Grandfather preceding Grandson is proper
- Grandson preceding Grandfather is improper

The ordering of sequences was interpreted by the *poju* Padam Sing in ethical terms in the sense that it is proper for a man to hit his son but not vice versa. Thus he drew a parallel between the ordering of items in a list of cosmographical features and traditional ethical norms. The prior evaluation of ordered terms permits comparison to be extended. The cosmos is not, it seems, being conceptualized anthropocentrically, since reasons given for orderings were various: a father properly dies before his son; the East is better than the South because the sun rises in the East; the North is better than the West because the Gurungs originated from the North and because rivers flow down from that direction; the moon should precede

sun because full moon nights are good while moonless nights are bad.⁵² This suggests not that the universe of moral principle is conceived to be identical with a presumed natural order of things, but that the two are comparable through the evaluations applied in each case. Indeed, the *pe* narrate examples of human behaviour illustrating, usually without explicit moral judgement, the dispositions of man.

Consistently with the scheme set out in this list, the pairing of items that are literally or ascriptively husband and wife always occurs in that order. This is the case with the names of couples in stories (*khe-da-po ma-da-po*, *tudu pa-ne tudu ma*, *tōguru pa-ne tōguru ma*, *khe-lu ma-lu*) some of which seem to denote beings that are not clearly discrete pairs but are single and therefore in some respect ambiguous.⁵³

Consistently with this scheme, Moon and Sun are husband and wife respectively; and the precedence of husband over wife is a principle which many women acknowledge at present, saying (with Nepali loan words) that one must "respect [a husband's] commands" (*hukum mādi-l-tu-m*). This is barely the picture in reality or in myths, in which women characteristically outwit their husbands or are depicted as being more intelligent and knowledgeable than men; and in practice there is more a rough equality between the partners to a marriage than a subservience of women to husbands.

But there may ideally be some political precedence of husbands over wives that would be consistent with the ordering of the paired terms given so far. There are, however, exceptions.

One such apparent exception is the ordering *sa-mu* "earth — sky". According to a myth of the origin of the world, these are (respectively) the mother and father of the Gurungs. They derive from a primordial chaos of water in which, as it dries out to leave Earth and Sky, fishes and frogs play.

The relation of earth — sky to the cosmos as represented in the first four lines of the text can be elucidated and provides an entry into the broader field of cosmology and geography.

COSMOLOGICAL FORM

The first four items listed in the passage above are: Womb, Wood, Earth, and Sky. This order is that of levels of the cosmos enumerated from the lowest rising upwards vertically. Consistently with this scheme, all things of which the origins from birth are recounted in *pe* follow the same order: they are said to "come up into existence from below" (*ma-i-le kye-kha-wa*) rather as a plant from the soil, with a gesture of the hand rising palm-upwards. As things originate, they pass from the Womb through each subsequent stage.⁵⁴

In some *pe*, the matrilineal ancestry of significant figures is narrated in this way, each level of the cosmos being the mother of the next ascending level. But this is not always interpreted literally by those who understand *pe*; and in the case of an account of a chicken's egg passing through all levels of the world (including the

heavenly bodies), it was suggested that this was a figurative account of the egg emerging from the mother hen.

Though this is the case, the cosmic scheme compares with those in other parts of the traditionally non-literate Himalayan cultural area and possibly elsewhere. Thus, it is interesting to note some consistencies between this form and features of Thulung origin stories.⁵⁵

Furthermore, in these accounts, there is a tendency to switch between the vertical arrangement of the cosmos and the cardinal directions of the plane. This approaches an equation of the vertically orientated levels with the order E-S-W-N, though without complete circularity. This tendency provides a second fruitful area of inquiry in the region.

Accompanying this apparent substitutability of directions and levels there is a tendency to link specific creatures or activities with particular realms: ploughing with the Underworld Womb and with China; the Cut Worm as guardian of the way into Earth, the Cicada that of the entry into Wood, and the Freshwater Crab that of the entrance into the Underworld Womb.⁵⁶

Depending on presumed orientation, the subterranean region could be interpreted as towards the Indian plains or towards China; and this orientation can be imagined to change over time. Stein notes that in Tibetan geographical terminology China was "below", India "above";⁵⁷ while the assimilation of North to the lowlands and South to the heights, or of North as Nadir and South as Zenith, has also been recorded for classical Chinese literature.⁵⁸

The reverse seems to be the case for contemporary Gurung and Thulung. However, this need not always have been true. In a Gurung myth in which ploughing occurs in China in one version,⁵⁹ there is another version in which the corresponding motif is placed in the Underworld with no explicit geographical placing. Taken together with Höfer's observation that the Tamang term *gyagar den* was given the meanings "India" and "womb", this suggests, what seems clear from other features, that the Gurung Branch of Shafer's Bodish has in some ways been changing from an orientation towards the cultures and civilizations of the major Sino-Tibetan languages to one more in keeping with present day political and social realities on the south-facing slopes of the Himalaya. But these perspectives need not be consistently exclusive.⁶⁰

At this point, it can be argued that there is a further twist to the correspondence of vertical level with cardinal direction. This seems to work at the level of the village; and the suggestion is that the pairing of village with stream is related to that of Sky with Earth in at least one respect connected with fertility deriving from water.⁶¹

VILLAGE AND STREAM

The pairing of *tō* with *shyō* is complex in its ramifications and little can be attempted here other than to gesture in some directions that seem fruitful from a comparative point of view.

The first point to be made is that the term *tō* applies both to the village as a whole bounded entity, and to the guardian deity of the village. The deity's name consists of the village name plus another element (e.g. *khyolō thanku* where the first item is the name of the village and of its founder *khyolō-rō*). The deity's name is also the ritual name for a village. Thus, in the shamanic narrative of ritual journeys, the enumeration of place names honours each territorial deity in turn.

Secondly, the deity's shrine is a rock set in a forested grove overlooking the main settlement, a feature found widely in the region. The deities of the villages studied were thought to influence the weather and so the general prosperity of the villagers, who are dependent on wet rice agriculture (which prosperity was sometimes conceived just to be the absence of misfortunes such as hail and landslides). But in *pe*, these deities are cast additionally as *shin mru*, Kings of the Dead (*yama rāj*) to whom an aspect of the composite soul of humans is translated in the course of the final funerary rite *pwe*.

The aspect of the soul that is treated in this way is termed *mō* and is distinct from the personality of the deceased.⁶² It is also in various ways demonic. The *mō* are cast in myths as demons who steal the souls of men: and it is the shaman's task to negotiate the return of the souls by showing these spirits that he is wise and knowledgeable. The *mō* in popular or non-shamanic conception are rather more shadowy; but both are characteristically, though again not inevitably, placed in streams or are given watery associations in narrative. This watery aspect is a feature shared by the conception of an Underworld Womb examined earlier, by women as they are depicted in many myths, and by the term *shyō* "stream" as the second limb of the compound.

Thus, on the one hand, the deity can be linked by name to the founder of the village; through control over weather and fortune to the well-being of his descendants; and through association with *mō* to the villagers' existence after death. On the other hand, pairing of *tō* with *shyō* suggests the close relation presumed between village territory and stream, whether construed in terms of physical resources or metaphysically.

The elucidation of the terms in this way poses a range of problems connected with religion and features of kin terminology which cannot be discussed in this article but which seem to lie behind much of the thematic comparability of myths in the area. Here, then, is a third subject where further inquiry is expected to be fruitful.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing examples and commentary point to some specific characteristics which might guide a search for a proto-Bodic cultural substratum. These features were restricted to the formal characteristics of verse, the switching between cosmic levels and orientations on the plane, and the close linking of territory with water physically or spiritually construed.

But historical claims made on comparative grounds need to be tied into work on evolutionary versus diffusionary characteristics of the Himalayan languages. Linguistic research of this kind has recently attended to problems of tonogenesis and the development of morphological peculiarities such as pronominalization.⁶³ It could well also consider the use of numeral classifiers or quantifiers, found in Gurung as well as in I-A in the eastern Ganges valley (Bengali, Assamese), and in several Dravidian and Munda languages of the area,⁶⁴ and further afield in South East Asia.⁶⁵ But the main thrust of this argument has been to suggest that greater attention be paid to classes of word forms of the kinds discussed above, particularly the terms paired in compounds; and that such analysis proceed together with the comparative study of religion if the latter is to make historical judgements.

NOTES

¹ *On the Aborigines of India. Essay the First; on the Kocch, Bódo and Dhimal Tribes, in Three Parts* Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press 1847

² *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects* London, 1880. I, pp. 403, 406

³ *pe* or *pe-da lu-da*, the narratives, could be glossed "principle" or "example" or, crudely, "principle word example word". For alternative terms discussed in relation to Gurung material: B. Pignède *Les Gurungs: une population himalayenne du Népal*, Paris, 1966, pp. 323–24; A. Höfer *Tamang Ritual Texts I*, Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 69; A. W. Macdonald *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia*, Kathmandu, 1975, pp. 130, 147 fn. 21, 150–151 fn. 35; D. L. Snellgrove *The Nine Ways of Bon Boulder*, Colorado, 1967, pp. 20, 256 fn. 9; R. A. Stein *Tibetan Civilization* London, 1972, p. 198 s.v. *gam-dpe*; "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang" *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris, 1971, p. 504; G. Tucci *The Religion of Tibet* London, 1980, pp. 210, 232, 273 fn. 21; N. J. Allen *Studies in the Myths and Oral Traditions of the Thulung Rai of East Nepal*, unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1976, pp. 137 fn. 1, 256–60; Tekan Si Gurung *Buddha Dharma: Tamu Guru Kyêrlô Butwal*, 1980, II, p. 23 s.v. *pyêälbūtā*; S. S. Strickland *Beliefs, Practices, and Legends*, unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1982, chapter 5.

The orthography adopted in this paper is based on the broad reading conventions used by Burton-Page "Two Studies in Gurungkura" *BSOAS* 1955, 17, pp. 111–19, 112 fn. 2, and is therefore provisional. Insufficient material on the phonology of Gurung dialects prevents a systematic comparison with Glover's *Gurung Phonemic Summary*, Kathmandu, 1969. At the level of the initial syllable of the "phonological word", Gurung is reported to show two phonemically recognised pitches, a level/contour contrast, and a breathy/clear contrast on forms in the high tone class, at least for the villages Ghandrung (Burton-Page "Two Studies", p. 114 fn.1 and p. 116 fn. 3), and Ghacok (Glover "Gurung Tone and Higher Levels", Kathmandu, 1970, p. 65). But the pitch and melody of suffixes are conditioned by the lexical item to which they are added, an observation applied to all the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali languages by Mazaudon ("Consonantal Mutation and the Tonal Split in the Tamang Sub-Family of Nepal" *Kailash* 1978, pp. 161–163). Although this is the case, little attempt has been made systematically to approach the relationship between the tone of the monosyllabic morpheme and prosodic features of larger phonological units. Until this is attempted, it would seem premature to represent tonal characteristics of phrases from dictated *pe* and to assume a direct relationship to the melody of performances, a subject requiring extended linguistic and musicological treatment in its own right. For these reasons, neither tone marks nor musical transcriptions nor the breathy/clear contrast on terms in the higher tone class, are given here. For clarity of presentation, reduplicated forms, and root terms and their suffixes have been hyphenated. "Filler syllables", usually [-ye(-)], are represented but are not hyphenated. Paired limbs of binomials and polynomials are underlined.

⁴ "Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Languages" *Word* 1955, pp. 11, 100–01

⁵ "Two Studies", p. 119 fn. 1. Mazaudon notes that languages spoken in Nyi-shang (Manang)

and the Nar Valley should also be included within this Branch ("Consonantal Mutation", p. 158).

⁶ "Cognate Counts via the Swadesh List in Some Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal" *Tone Systems of Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal*, III, pp. 23-107, edited by F. K. Lehman, Illinois, 1970, pp. 24-5. In Glover's scheme, East Himalayish is raised to form a subdivision paralleling a Bodic subdivision within Bodic.

⁷ P. K. Benedict *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus* Cambridge, 1972, pp. 5-7

⁸ E. A. Hale *Research on Tibeto-Burman Languages* The Hague, 1982, pp. 13-5; and J. A. Matisoff *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman*, Philadelphia, 1978, pp. 4-5, 91-106ff.

⁹ E. A. Hale, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6

¹⁰ J. D. Hooker *Himalayan Journals. Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains, &c.* Revised edition, London, 1855, I, p. 261; but also p. 160, where "Geroongs" are noted as "shepherds". For comparison, Malla has proposed an argument relating the term *Newar* to T-B roots **nghe* 'cattle' and *pa* 'man' i.e. "herdsman" ("Linguistic Archaeology of the Nepal Valley: A Preliminary Report", *Kailash* VIII (1-2), 1981, p. 19).

¹¹ See Francis Hamilton *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, and of the territories annexed to this dominion by the House of Gorkha*, Edinburgh, 1819, p. 243 s.v. *Sesham*; Hodgson, *Essays*, II, p. 30 fn. s.v. *sen* D. L. Snellgrove "Expériences népalaises" *Objets et Mondes* VI, 1966, 2, p. 108 s.v. *sem*; Höfer *Tamang Ritual Texts*, pp. 6-7 s.v. *sem* or *sē*; N. J. Allen "Fourfold Classification of Society in the Himalayas" *Himalayan Anthropology* edited by J. D. Fisher, The Hague, 1978, p. 11 fn. 2; A. W. Macdonald *Essays*, 1975, p. 129 & fn. 9; D. P. Jackson "Notes on the History of *Se-rib*, and Nearby Places in the Upper Kali Gandaki Valley", *Kailash*, VI, 3, pp. 195-228 *passim*. *Se* is the only term for "Gurung" to occur in the *pe* recorded, *tamu* being the name in colloquial use. The *se* are divided into two groups of clans: the *sō-bu se* "Three Se" and the *ku-bu se* "Nine Se", which correspond to the contemporary *kro-məy* and *pwē-məy* or (in Nepali) *cār jā* "Four People" and *sora jā* "Sixteen People". It is artificial to discuss the name *Se* apart from Tibetan traditions considered by R. A. Stein in *Les Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines: légendes, classifications et histoire* (Paris, 1961, pp. 3 ff.), and from the place occupied by "Gurung" in the Nepalese caste order (A. Höfer, *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal, a Study of the Muluki Ain of 1854*, Innsbruck, 1979); but these two subjects lie outside the scope of this study.

¹² N. J. Allen "Tibet and the Thulung Rai: Towards a Comparative Mythology of Bodic" *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson* edited by M. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 1-2.

¹³ Glover's lexicostatistical approach, using Swadesh 100-word lists, suggests that Gurung Branch and Tibetan languages of Bodish share about 23% cognates, diverging around 2,900 BC; while the Bodic Subdivision shares with East Himalayish some 13% cognates, diverging about 5,000 BC ("Cognate Counts", p. 25). More eloquently, Hodgson's judgement was that.

"It must suffice at present to observe that the legends of the dominant races indicate a transit of the Himalaya from thirty-five to forty-five generations back — say 1,000 to 1,300 years, and that I prefer the remoter period because the transit was certainly made before the Tibetans had adopted from India the religion and literature of Buddhism, in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. This fact is as clearly impressed upon the crude dialects and cruder tenets of the sub-Himalayans as their northern origin is upon their peculiar forms and features, provided these points be investigated with the requisite care: for superficial attention is apt to rest solely upon the Lamaism recently as imperfectly imported among them, and upon the merely exceptional traits of their mixed and varying physiognomy." (*Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, II, p. 31).

¹⁴ In one secret language, *pharsyo kywi*; spoken by girls in the now old-fashioned village "dormitory" (*radi*), the form of modification of words is as follows: 1. for any monosyllabic term CV, read *mVCVrka*; 2. for any disyllabic term $C^1V^1C^2V^2$, read *mVC^2V^2C^1V^1rka*; 3. for any polysyllabic term, the initial monosyllable alone is relocated and receives the suffix *-rka*. The term *pharsyo* was glossed *a-mildi-wa* meaning "discordant, unharmonious" (from Nepali *milnu*, and therefore a loan word). None of these secret speech forms, nor even the *Tsō kywi*, was studied by Glover. Although he states that he "did not locate a recognized story-teller" (*Sememic and Grammatical Structures in Gurung (Nepal)*, Kathmandu, 1974, p. 185), he nonetheless includes in the *Dictionary* a table of shamanic or priestly ceremonies which, had they been studied linguistically, would have provided him with valuable information (W. W. Glover, J. R. Glover, D. B. Gurung *Gurung*

Nepali-English Dictionary, Canberra 1977, pp. 311–13).

¹⁵ A. W. Macdonald, *Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia*, Kathmandu, 1975, pp. 145–46 fn. 13, citing Roerich ("Osnovnye problemy tibetskogo yazykoznanija" in *Sovetskoe Voskovedenie*, Moscow, 1958 (4), p. 104) and Das (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, London 1904, pp. 4–5, fn.) who link this province to several Nepalese populations, particularly the Limbu. Indeed, it is sometimes said that Tsö language is partially Tibetan in vocabulary. The place named *widzu tsö-ru* is the "highest" spot to which the shaman travels in his search for lost souls, and is also the home of a great mythical shaman whose name (*cyö poju tida poju*) carries the sense of a northern origin; cf. Höfer *Tamang Ritual Texts*, p. 19, s.v. Uiseme.

¹⁶ "Gurung Dialects" *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics* No. 7 edited by R. L. Trill et al., Canberra, 1980, pp. 34, 48.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–65.

¹⁸ W. W. Glover, J. R. Glover, and D. B. Gurung *Gurung-Nepali-English Dictionary*, Canberra, 1977; but Gurung dialects need attention beyond the level of Swadesh lists.

¹⁹ "Gurung Dialects", p. 35 Table 3, and pp. 58–64 columns 2, 6, 57b, and 80.

²⁰ Cf. Matisoff, *Variational Semantics*, pp. 19–21, 113–40, 147 ff.; Hale, *Research*, p. 58.

²¹ "Gurung Dialects", pp. 35–6.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 63 column 65.

²⁴ *Gurung-Nepali-English Dictionary*, 89b; and Matisoff *Variational Semantics*, p. 36, on primary and secondary alternation of nuclear vowels.

²⁵ Burton-Page, 1955, p. 119 fn. 2, suggests that most of these animal terms are "old borrowings".

²⁶ Thus, discussing onomatopoeic forms, Emeneau (*Language and Linguistic Area: Essays by Murray B. Emeneau* edited by A. S. Dil, Oxford, 1980, p. 75) has attempted to differentiate between evolutionary and diffusionary aspects of language. Thus, he argues that,

"when for the same phoneme of the proto-language, in the same phonemic context, two different phonemes are found in language A corresponding to one phoneme in language B (or two phonemes whose distribution is explainable by contextual conditioning), then that phoneme of A which is the more dissimilar to the phoneme of B is the straight-line development, i.e. the continuant, from the proto-language and the other is found in borrowings from B. In general, this applies to languages which are in such a situation that contact of some sort allows or allowed borrowing at a postulated period. It is notable that relative numbers of examples do not enter in consideration at all."

But in T-B monosyllabic and tonal languages this is easier said than done as Hale points out (*Research*, pp. 55–6) and as recent work on tonogenesis would suggest (Mazaudon "Consonantal Mutation", and "Tibeto-Burman Tonogenesis", *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 1977, III, 2, pp. 1–123).

²⁷ G. Diffloth "Expressives in Semai" *Austroasiatic Studies*, Canberra, 1976, pp. 263–64 fn. 2.

²⁸ Emeneau *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8, 114; K. Nacaskul "Types of Elaboration in Some Southeast Asian Languages" *Austroasiatic Studies*, Canberra, 1976, pp. 873–89; and Matisoff *Variational Semantics*, pp. 58–72. J. Hoffmann and A. van Emelen's exposition of parallelism in Munda verse, and particularly its use of jingle words and compound forms, is a useful source of comparison with the present analysis (*Encyclopaedia Mundarica* Patna, 1930–41, Vol. IV (D-D), pp. 1116–54, esp. pp. 1136–45). Compare also G. M. Hopkins' comment cited by Jakobson in "Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet", *Language* 1966, pp. 42, 313. Vitebsky's analysis of Sora poetics ("Sora Poetics: the creation of metaphor in Sora ritual through grammatically parallel verse forms" *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Austro-Asiatic Linguistics*, Mysore, 1978, in press) first drew the author's attention to Jakobson's survey and prompted this study.

²⁹ On Gurung verbs "to be", see Glover "Three Gurung equivalents of English *Be*" *Journal of Tribhuvan University, Special Linguistic Number* 1969, pp. 36–56.

³⁰ *Language and Linguistic Area*, pp. 264–65; Matisoff comments on primary and secondary vowel alternation phenomena from some Tibeto-Burman languages and suggests the possibility of sound symbolism in this (*Variational Semantics*, pp. 36–9). There are slight traces of medial -w- with the mid-back vowel o in the syllables [-kō-dze] or more narrowly [-kwō-dze], exhibiting an alternation the reverse of that noted by Matisoff in modern Lahü (*ibid.*, pp. 38–9).

³¹ Y. Malkiel "Studies in Irreversible Binomials" *Lingua* 1959, VII, pp. 140–41.

³² See Benedict *Conspectus*, article 256: Tsangla *mu-gu*. Thabor and Bunan *khu*, Vayu *ku-lu*, Bahing *ku-ni*, Limbu *me-ku*, T-B **kuw*. There is also the form *ked-keba* "bamboo" (T-B **g-pal-g-pwa* *ibid.*, 210, & article 44 for *Tspalsba*), though it seems to have no colloquial source in contemporary Siklis speech (which gives *mo*). Hale notes that Sino-Tibetan languages have shown a tendency to develop polysyllabic words, occasionally through suffixation but more usually prefixation and compounding. He states: "These two processes have worked together in various ways so that in any given language we can find large assortments of variant morphemes which have descended from much smaller sets of protoforms. Variants which show both phonological and semantic resemblance can be viewed as members of a single word family" (*Research*, p. 57). Cf. also Matisoff, *Variational Semantics*, pp. 13–14, 19–21. The complex vocabulary of ritual language forms suggests that some such polysyllabic forms might be innovated within this style of speech, without implying that this would explain any general tendency within the language as a whole.

³³ Cf. Benedict's **s-kyur!* *su.r* "sour", *Conspectus*, article 42.

³⁴ "Studies", p. 113.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 124–25.

³⁷ K. Hale "A Note on a Walbiri Tradition of Antonymy", *Semantics* edited by D. D. Steinberg and L. A. Jakobovits, Cambridge: University Press, 1971, p. 476.

³⁸ As apparently for the Thulung in N. J. Allen's "Sewala Puja Bintila Puja: Notes on Thulung Ritual Language" *Kailash* VI, p. 4, p. 251. See also Vitebsky *op. cit.* for the Sora; and for the Munda, Hoffmann & Emelen's *Encyclopaedia* Vol. IV, pp. 1140–45. Compare Matisoff's general comments in *Variational Semantics*, pp. 58–9, though the comparative study of these forms poses interesting problems (*ibid.* pp. 130–33).

³⁹ "Grammatical Parallelism", p. 423.

⁴⁰ The verb *pya-shi*, ~*pya-wa* "inserting", was in a dictated version: on tape it was heard to be *khyā-shi*, ~**khyā-wa* presumably with the same meaning.

⁴¹ "Studies", pp. 126–29.

⁴² E.g. by Nacaskul "Types of Elaboration", p. 884; and J. R. Hightower "Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose" *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren* edited by S. Egerod and E. Glahn, Copenhagen, 1959, pp. 60–91.

⁴³ Robert Lowth *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum*, Oxford, 1753; revised edition translated by G. Gregory as *Lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews*, London, 1787; see Lectures III–VI.

⁴⁴ Compare Höfer's interesting discussions of Tamang shamanic language forms in "Is the *bonbo* an Ecstasiac? Some ritual techniques of Tamang shamanism" *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal*, edited by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Warminster, 1974, pp. 168–82; and his "Tamang Ritual Texts. Notes on the Interpretation of an Oral Tradition of Nepal", *JRAS*, 1985, 1, p. 27.

⁴⁵ In the performance from which this example was transcribed, there was an erroneous phrase by the leading shaman's pupil who gave *ki ngye-nyge* "you are" instead of the form given here to which he was immediately corrected by the master.

⁴⁶ The character Kara-ba-rē was equated by Padam Sing with Mahādeu. The *pe* of Kara-ba-rē, named *kara da*, narrates his marriage to his two sisters. One sister bears him nine sons, the other seven daughters. The nine sons try to kill their father by cutting away a rope ladder from which he gathers wild honey on a cliff. Thinking their father has fallen to his death, the nine sons compete at archery for the prize of their mother's sister. Kara-ba-rē's other wife, Kara-ba-rē is rescued from the cliff by a bird of prey (*tikrēwati*, ~*kwre* "bird of prey"), and defeats the nine sons by striking the target of their competition with his own arrow. The phrase in example 5 comes at a point when Kara-ba-rē, having failed to persuade his nine sons to descend the ladder on the honey-yielding cliff, declares his power in these terms, and himself determines to climb down. A transcribed text, translation and commentary are given in Strickland, *Beliefs*, pp. 152–93; Strickland "Honey hunting by the Gurungs of Nepal", *Bee World*, 1982, 63 (4), pp. 157–58 contains a summary of the tale and illustrations of current honey collecting practice.

⁴⁷ András Höfer *Tamang Ritual Texts*, p. 40; Allen "Sewala Puja Bintila Puja", p. 251.

⁴⁸ P. Poucha "Le vers tibétain" *Archiv orientální* 1954, XXII, p. 585.

⁴⁹ Malkiel has suggested that pairs of words may be "ordered in accordance with a hierarchy of values inherent in the structure of a given society" ("Studies", p. 145); while in an interesting account of Australian Walbiri aborigines' "antonymous" speech, K. Hale has suggested that many

paired oppositions can be "fully understood only in reference to other aspects of Walbiri culture" ("Note", p. 481). The latter phrasing could be questioned on the grounds that the idea of "full understanding" is unspecific, indeed inoperable: while the "sociological" idea of "inherent" values expressed by Malkiel appears somewhat schematic. It could be argued that collateral information can help to elucidate presumptions of native interpreters, but the process of selecting this material seems intuitive and arbitrary. Thus, this account does not claim to be exclusive.

⁵⁰ "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances", *Fundamentals of Language*, The Hague and Paris, 1956, II, p. 91.

⁵¹ The single performance tape-recorded was much abbreviated and partially obscured by incidental noise. The complex terms translated "proper" and "improper" here are *kyawe tēngē* and *rime khakyura*.

⁵² It will be noted that the ordering of the cardinal points E-S-W-N overrides the evaluations given by Padam Sing here, since the West precedes North in this list but not in value. But he did not think that this was important. Pignède cites a comparable enumeration from Mohoriya (*Les Gurungs*, p. 350 s.v. *rimai khagyura prahwai teñai*) of which the manuscript translation is given and discussed elsewhere (Strickland, *Beliefs*, p. 82 f.).

⁵³ Paired spirit names have been noted in ethnological accounts of other parts of the Himalayas and further afield; and the formal character of the names testifies to their metaphysical status. For the Thulung see N. J. Allen "The Ritual Journey" *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal* edited by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Warminster, 1974, pp. 8-9; and "Approaches to Illness in the Nepalese Hills" *Social Anthropology and Medicine* edited by J. B. Loudon, London, 1976, pp. 532-33; for the Limbu see P. Sagant "Tāmpuñmā, divinité limbu de la forêt" *Objets et Mondes* 1969, IX, 1, p. 114 and fn. 12; for the Sherpa see S. Ortner "The White-Black Ones", *Himalayan Anthropology* edited by J. L. Fisher, The Hague, 1978, p. 279; for the Nagas of Assam see C. von Fürer-Haimendorf *Return to the Naked Nagas*, London, 1976, p. 224; for Hodgson's Bodo and Dhimel see his *Aborigines*, pp. 166-67. Comparison between Gurung myths from Siklis and Mohoriya suggests that the names can be interpreted to refer to single or dual numbers of beings: the Bird of Prey in example 3 becomes a male and female couple in a text collected by Pignède, though it is not clear in which direction change would most likely have occurred.

⁵⁴ It is for this reason that, since Kara-ba-rē claims the ability to travel throughout the cosmos, as noted above, he might also be interpreted to make a claim to immortality.

⁵⁵ Compare the cosmic schemes given for Thakali by S. Gauchan and M. Vinding "The History of the Thakali according to the Thakali Tradition", *Kailash*, 1977, V, 2, p. 163 and fn. 46; for Tibetan material. Stein *Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 203-04; and E. Haahr *The Yarlung Dynasty*, Stockholm, 1969, pp. 135-36; for the Lepchas, G. Gorer *Himalayan Village*, London, 1938, p. 223; and C. de Beauvoir Stocks "Folk-lore and Customs of the Lap-chas" *JASB*, 1925, XXI, pp. 336-37.

For Thulung, Allen gives a brief account of an ancestral migration narrative as follows ("Libet and the Thulung Rai" pp. 3-4):

"The Place of Origin is associated with a Primal Lake located to the South, perhaps at Bara Chatra in the Terai, but in some versions it is subterranean. The exit from it is barred by a 'door' which is opened by the sacrifice of a human or a bird. The four brothers who come forth are ancestors of the Rai subtribes, the Thulung being the youngest. The brothers disperse, the Thulung residing temporarily in various places including the Central Valley and Tarangan in Khumbu. They are finally led to the fertile site of their first permanent village (Mukli) by a wild boar; Ramli, the Founding Ancestor, ties a packet of ash to its tail and is thereby enabled to follow its trail."

It should be added that, though Thulung seem to associate "down" with "South", they do not attach great significance to the cardinal directions and differ in this respect from the Gurung: N. J. Allen "The Vertical Dimension in Thulung Classification" *Jnl Anthropological Society of Oxford* 1972, 3, pp. 82-3.

⁵⁶ Thus, compare also Macdonald's report of an interesting Gurung myth in which the spirit or double of a shepherdess, becoming the aid of *jhākri* healers, takes on the form of a vulture when in Lhasa, a falcon in Nepal, a fish in the plains, and a wild duck elsewhere (*Essays* pp. 123-24).

⁵⁷ R. A. Stein *Tibetan Civilisation*, London: Faber, 1972, pp. 43-4.

⁵⁸ R. A. Stein "L'habitat, le monde et le corps humain en Extrême-Orient et en Haute-Asie" *Journal Asiatique* 1957, pp. 245, 47-8.

⁵⁹ A. D. J. Macfarlane *Resources and Population: A Study of the Gurungs of Nepal*. Cambridge, 1976, p. 25.

⁶⁰ Höfer notes for *gyagar den* (*Tamang Ritual Texts*, p. 46):

"Both meanings, 'India' (Tib. *rgya-gar*) and 'womb' were given. Since *gyagar* repeatedly occurs with *thuñba* ['to be born', 'to originate'], one is tempted to see in this expression a reminiscence of the Tib. euphemism for 'India', namely 'phags-khruñs, 'the birth (place) of the holy ones' ([S. C.] Das [*A Tibetan-English Dictionary* Delhi,] 1970 [(reprint),] p. 304)."

⁶¹ It can be argued that the scheme works also at the level of domestic use of space, though probably for historical reasons there are discrepancies between practice in different parts of Gurung country.

⁶² The personality of the deceased appears to be closely associated with the visual image of the person, with which the *pla* or "soul" is intimately linked. The *pla* is also connected with health and prosperity. Both *tō* deities and *mō* spirits are sometimes classed as *tsə*, with the qualification *tsa-wa* "consuming, eating" used to suggest danger or conflict; compare Tamang *cen* in Höfer, *Tamang Ritual Texts*, p. 15; perhaps also Tibetan *bisan* in G. Tucci *Religion of Tibet*, p. 164; and Pignède *Les Gurungs*, pp. 345, 350 s.v. *chaē* and *caē*.

⁶³ Mazaudon "Tibeto-Burman Tonogenetics", pp. 88-9; E. A. Hale *Research*, pp. 51-2.

⁶⁴ Emeneau *Language and Linguistic Area*, pp. 3-4, 114-19; a somewhat general survey is published by D. R. Goral in "Numeral Classifier Systems: A Southeast Asian Cross-Linguistic Analysis" *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 1978, IV, 1, pp. 1-72; the examples are drawn from Vietnamese, Burmese, Thai, Cambodian, Indonesian, Chinese, Lao and Lahu.

⁶⁵ Nacaskul "Types of Elaboration", p. 873; for some comparative material, see Asmah Haji Omar "A Comparison of Malay and the Sarawak-Type Languages", *Sarawak Museum Jnl* XXXII (53), 1983, pp. 277-80.

ON THE TUMSHUQESE *KARMAVĀCANĀ* TEXT¹

By P. O. SKJÆRVØ

Tumshuqese is the name proposed by Emmerick, on the analogy of "Khotan: Khotanese", for the language spoken in the region of Tumshuq, on the northern edge of the Tarim basin in the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region of China. It is closely related to — though in many respects more archaic than — Khotanese, a Middle Iranian language (like Sogdian, Bactrian, Khwarezmian, Middle Persian and Parthian), the language of Khotan, a country and city on the southern border of the Tarim basin (see, e.g. Emmerick, 1979, 1-5).

Only a few Tumshuqese (Tum.) texts are yet known. Eight Tum. texts were published by S. Konow in 1935, of which six are legal documents (I-VI), one is a document inscribed on a piece of wood and concerns matters pertaining to a Manichean community (VII), and one is a literary Buddhist text (VIII). Texts I-VII are written in cursive script, text VIII in formal script.

Some time later P. Pelliot came across another manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, P[elliot] 410), also written in formal script, which he recognized as being written in an "aberrant" form of Khotanese. He sent it to Konow, who published it in 1941-42. Konow republished all the then known (nine) texts in 1947. The Pelliot manuscript was reedited in 1950 by H. W. Bailey, who had identified the text as a *karmavācanā*, i.e., a text concerning the ceremony of ordination of lay Buddhists, and thereby was able to improve the understanding of the text considerably.

Recently more documents have come to light in the collections of Central Asian manuscripts in London and West and East Berlin. One small fragment of the *Araṇemi Jātaka* (in formal script) in the India Office Library (British Library), London, and two documents (in cursive script) from the Akademie der Wissenschaften, West Berlin, were published in facsimile and transcription and with a glossary by Bailey in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* in 1960 (plates) and 1968 (text). We may call these three texts Tum. IX, X and XI respectively. (Tum. IX [*Araṇemi*] = plate XXI, signature "H[oernle] 149 add. 121"; Tum. X = plate XXIV, signature "Berlin Tumshuq 3"; Bailey, text: "Tumshuq I"; Tum. XI = plates XXII-XXIII, signature "Berlin Tumshuq 1-2", Bailey, text: "Tumshuq II").

Three documents (in cursive script) in the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, East Berlin, were published in facsimile by Emmerick in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* in 1971. We may call these three Tum. XII, XIII and XIV respectively (Tum. XII = plate CXXII, signature "T4 Tumshuq"; Tum. XIII = plate CXXIII, signature "T4M Tumshuq"; Tum. XIV = plates CXXIV-CXXVI, signature "T4M 45° Tumshuq"). For the sake of reference Tum. XII-XIV are transcribed provisionally at the end of this article. Konow (1941-42, 84, 86) mentions that there were some Tum. fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, found at Duldur-aqur and Subaši (northeast of Kucha). Finally, there are three or four very small unpublished Tum.

fragments in the India Office Library collection (from which Bailey, *Dictionary* 365 s.v. *vrāspūra*- quoted *respū*[r-]).

Emmerick states his reasons for publishing still another edition of the *Karmavācanā* text to be threefold (p. 8 bottom): 1. improved knowledge of the ordination ceremony, 2. improved knowledge of Khotanese, 3. improved knowledge of the morphology of Tumshuqese. Emmerick's own important contribution is for the first time to have analysed correctly several nominal, pronominal (e.g. *to*, *tivya* "you" nominative and dative sing.) and verbal forms (e.g. *acchu* "I went", 1 sing. imperfect, and several 2 sing. forms) crucial to the understanding the Tumshuqese. Most importantly, he has discovered that the ordinand of the text is a woman, which means that the nouns and adjectives referring to the ordinand are feminine forms rather than masculine as earlier assumed. (Fragment no. 9 in Härtel's edition, p. 27, is also from the *Upāsikā-karmavācanā*.) Through these discoveries Emmerick's edition not only represents a significant advance over the work by Konow and Bailey, but will also greatly facilitate future work on the Tum. texts. It has made possible the discoveries presented below.

Emmerick's edition consists of a *Text* (conveniently divided into paragraphs), a *Translation*, a *Commentary* (also giving the Sanskrit parallels), a *Glossary* (giving the occurrences of each word, but unfortunately not the grammatical form of the words), and *Plates* (Plate 1 is a photo of the manuscript in its present state: lines 1-18 have almost completely disintegrated; Plate 2 is a reproduction of Konow's photo in *Journal asiatique*). In the following I shall comment systematically on select words and passages.

P. 9 (introduction): Some of the morphological analyses must be corrected: *uvāsau* is accusative sing., *hvata* is genitive sing. of *hvata(a)*- "lord", the exact form and meaning of *tharā* is uncertain.

P. 10 (text): Note that Emmerick has left out the punctuation marks: "comma" or "full stop" and "semicolon" or "colon", see Konow 1941-42, 88.

§2.

vitana "twice" (cf. *dritana* "thrice"), adverbial instrumental (?) form of **vita*- < Old Iranian **dūta*- "second", Khot. *śāta*- (i.e. *žeda*- or *žada*-). This form with its initial *v*- disagrees with the form read as *židānā* by Konow in VIII, 2, which he took to be the same as Khot. *śātāna*. This problem has several aspects.

1. The first akṣara of this word, *ži*, is an akṣara found only in Tumshuqese. It is no. 4 in the list published by Konow (1935, 7 [776]), see the facsimiles at the end of this article. Konow determined its value on the one hand on the basis of his interpretation of *židānā* and another word in the same text (VIII, b4) *žānandi*, which he compared with Khot. *ysāmīndā* "they rob", and on the other on the basis of the ligature *žda*.

2. However, the meanings Konow assigned to *židānā* and **žānandi* were based not so much on the contexts as on the proposed etymologies. Especially the context of *židānā* is far from clear, though a case can be made for Konow's interpretation of **žānandi*

(see below). This being the case, the form *vitana* in the *Karmavācanā* throws grave doubt on Konow's interpretations.

3. An argument in favour of Konow's implicit identification of akṣara no. 4 with the Tum. sound resulting from Old Iranian *dy-* [i.e. *v* ≠ *w*] is the following: **žānandi* occurs in a series of four verbs: **žānandi dzanande ārrandi pāgyandi* (where *gya* is the new akṣara no. 2), which Konow rendered as "they rob, they kill, they agree with each other, they cook", which makes poor sense. Konow compared *ārrandi* with Khot. *āry-* (SGS 11 *ārih-*) "to share, blend", but in a "cooking" context it would be more logical to compare – with Bailey, 1958, 150 – Khot. *ārr-* "to grind" (SGS 10; < Old Iranian **arnā-*). This suggests that we are dealing with grain, and the first two verbs can then be "they winnow" and "they strike" > "they thresh". This would suit **žānandi* perfectly: it would be derived from Old Iranian **duānāja-* "to throw, winnow", which gave Khot. *vāñ-* (see Skjærvø, 1985, 60, 66–69); for Tum. *žān-* = Khot. *vāñ-* cf. Tum. *hvān-* = Khot. *hvāñ-* "to speak"). [*Dzanande* is from Old Iranian *jan-*, which usually means "to strike, kill" in Iranian languages, not "to thresh", for which they use *xuah-*; note, however, that *huah-* means simply "to strike" in Khotanese (SGS 156).] Other words with *ž* are still unexplained, e.g. *graphalāžala* (VIII, b2); see also below.

4. Such an analysis of akṣara no. 4 is rendered less probable by its occurrence in the ligature *žda*, which is found in *gyāždi-*, an honorary title of the king (?), still unexplained; in the verbal form *naždi*; and the unexplained *pižda* in XIV, 14. The form *naždi* is found in a recurring formula:

I, 19–20 *Džātsi Cazba, Iphatka še azarna awursu narzandi* "Džātsi Cazba (and) Iphatka, *they today *make known (their) wish".

V, 1 *Cazba Džātsi azarna awursu naždi* "Cazba Džātsi today *makes known (his) wish".

XIV, 2 *azarna še saṅka we awursu narza(m?)* "today *I *make known (??) (my?) wish *to the *saṅgha* (?)".

Konow read *ta rzandi* and *ta ždi*, rendering "so announce", but *na* not *ta* is the correct reading ("thus" is Tum. *taro*, see below). The verb *narz-* may be analysed as *na-rz-* and derived from **ni-raz-* as Konow did, or as *nar-z-*, with which Hitch (orally) compares Khot. **nalysv-* "to issue" (SGS 49; the equation is not unproblematic, however; another possible comparison, also problematic, is with Sogdian Buddhist *nyz'-y-*, Manichean *nyj-* "to go out"; GMS 89 § 568). But whatever the etymology and meaning of the verb *narz-* may be, the connection between *narzandi* and *naždi* points clearly to some kind of voiced sibilant as the value of akṣara no. 4 (*ža*).

It may be, however, that the ligature *žda*; in spite of its shape, does not contain akṣara no. 4, but akṣara no. 8, which Konow and Bailey confuse with akṣara no. 4. Akṣara no. 8 is found in e.g. I, 6 *ažo, surwežo*; II, 6 *žoñi*; VIII, b1 *pužo*; XI, 19 *žo*. The akṣaras are quite distinctive. When the akṣaras are written in isolation no. 4 is like a cross whereas no. 8 is like a prong in which the "tail" of the akṣara is attached to the upper part below (see the facsimiles below).

Similarly the new akṣaras no. 2 and 3 are confused by Konow and Bailey. No. 2 is the

śakyanā rṣe "of the Śākyan (seer)" is a paraphrase of Śākyamuni (Konow, Bailey), actually found in the Chinese version (Lamotte, 1981, 830). Emmerick assumes that *śakyanā* is an adjective, for which one may also compare III, 3 *pirane bise* (see above). Another possible analysis is to take *-anā* as the genitive ending of the adjective *śakya-*. In Khotanese, endings with *-n-* are in the singular limited to the instrumental-ablative in *a*-declension nouns and to the instrumental-ablative and locative in *a*-declension adjectives. But that does not mean that Tumshuqese may not have used them in the genitive-dative as well. As a matter of fact, the genitive(-dative?) in Tumshuqese may well be derived from the Old Iranian ablative (cf. the Slavic languages, which have genitive from Indo-European ablative). If that is so, then Tum. final *-ā* here is from Old Iranian *-āt*, in contrast to Old Iranian *-ā* > Tum. *-a*, as in *vitana* < **duītanā*.

dātya "in the law (of the Śākyan seer)", cf. Härtel p. 55 § 6.12 *eṣo si hy upāsakaḥ / śākya-simhasya śāsana ūrādhayasva* "You are now an *upāsaka*! Be successful in the teaching of the Śākya lion!"

vatsyu "regard", tr. *dhāraya*, apparently 2 singular imperative (like *pyežu* § 9) either of the verb seen in Khot. *vajsāṣ-* "to see, look at" < Old Iranian **aṇa-čaša-* (SGS 117); cf. Khot. *nijśāṣ* "to show", imperative *nijśū*), implying that Old Iranian intervocalic *ṣ* was kept or lost in Tumshuqese as in Khotanese, cf. *pyežu* "hear!" beside VI, 6 *pyewiḍa* "they heard (?) (alternatively Tum. /*vadzy-*/ can be from **vadziṣ-* by dissimilation or contraction); or, less probably, of *vatsy-* < **duājaja-* "to grasp", cf. *vātānāyyā* § 11.

The literal translation of § 5 thus becomes: "Regard you me, the laywoman by name so and so, (to be) in the law of the Śākyan seer!" or "Regard you me, by name so and so, as a laywoman of the Śākyan seer, (abiding) in the law!"

§§ 6-7

Skt. parallel (Härtel, pp. 27; 51 § 4.5; 53 § 6.3): *adyāgreṇa yāvaj-jīvaṃ prāṇopetāṃ śaraṇaṃ gatāṃ abhiprasannāṃ* "(regard me as) one having gone into the refuge (and) pure from today throughout life as long as I have life". The Skt. and Tum. texts correspond as follows:

adyāgreṇa

yāvaj-jīvaṃ

prāṇopetāṃ

śaraṇaṃ

gatāṃ

abhiprasannāṃ

amijyā tsi asnyā tsi

(*au*) *tsenya*

paitroda pātoni

drainu retenanu

śaraṇya

cchatu

vasuta raindu

amijyā tsi "from (the day) of today"; *amijyā* appears to be an adjective of **ami* "today" = Khot. *imu* < **amiu* (cf. *kāri* < **kariu* § 16). Late Khotanese has the adjective *imūjsia-* "of today", cf. P 5538b.78 (KT, iii, 78, the Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual): (Skt.) *adya*: (Khot.) *imūjsū*. The ending *-jya* is apparently from **-ačī-*, cf. Khot. *-gyā-*, fem. of masc. *-aa-* stems. The Tum. form excludes a derivation from the

Old Iranian pronoun *ayam* or *iyam* (Bailey, *Dictionary* 33a); rather we must postulate a proto-Khot./Tum. **amjam*. This recalls Skt. *adya* and if we assume that an Old Iranian **adja* first became **adjam*, this may have been changed to **anjam* in accordance with the rule established by Sims-Williams (1981, 165–66: for *d-m* > *n-m*, cf. Middle Persian *an* < Old Persian *adam*) and further to **amjam* in order to distinguish it from *anjam* “other”.

asnyā tsi “from the day”, thus read instead of *astyā tsi*; the ligature *snyā* is on a break in the manuscript and the middle part of it, containing the *n*, is damaged. With this expression cf. Khot. *īmu haqā* and *īmūjsi haqā* (Bailey, *Dictionary* 33a). Tum. *azni-* (fem.) is attested in the documents: VII, 4 *azni*, perhaps also VII, 4 *azno*. See also Bailey, *Dictionary* 376a s.v. *vaysña*. For the repetition of the postposition *tsi* with both words cf. the similar phenomenon in Sogdian, Bactrian and Khwarezmian discussed by Sims-Williams (1973, 95–97).

tsenya: This appears to be for *au tsenya*, cf. §§ 11, 14, 19, 24.

paitroda pātoni: This corresponds to Skt. *prāṇopetām* “endowed with life (breath)”, but in view of the difference in syntax between the Skt. and the Tum. versions — Skt. *gatām* (past participle), but Tum. *cchatu* (3 sing. imperative) — we cannot expect them to match perfectly and Bailey and Emmerick may be right in comparing *paitroda pātoni* with *paitrayai pātanāya* (§ 4). As for the form of *paitroda* it should be noticed that *-od-* is found in *hoda-* “seven” (attested *hodama* “seventh”) < **hafta*. This makes Bailey’s derivation from **patigrbja-* (or better perhaps **patigrbaja-* cf. Avestan *gauruuaia-*, Old Persian *grbāya-*) “to accept” somewhat more likely than the other etymologies proposed by Bailey and Emmerick. The fact that the Chin. version has *néng* “to be able” means nothing, since *néng* is a standard translation of Skt. *utsah-* (also, e.g. in the *Abhidharmakośa*). *Paitroda* may be a past participle (< **patigr(a)fta-*, cf. e.g. Sogdian *ptyryft*, *GMS* 22 § 153a) with active meaning like *rasandā* in § 10 (see below) and be the grammatical subject of *cchatu* and *raindu*: “Let her, having accepted to keep . . . , go into the refuge!” For this expression in Iranian cf. e.g. Avestan *Vidēvdād* 2.3 *visan’a mərətō bərətaca*, Pahlavi *padirē . . . ōšmarišn ud barišn* “accept to study and carry”, and *Yasna* 8.4 *visaite framrūite*, Pahlavi *padirēd frāz gōwišnīh* “he accepts to say forth”. Note that the final akṣara *-ni* of *pātoni* is broken and not quite clear.

vasuta “pure”, tr. *abhiprasannām*, not *parisuddha* as Emmerick has it, cf. Khot. *vasuta-* translating *prasanna* (see Skjærvø, 1981, 458).

The literal translation of §§ 6–7 thus becomes: “From the day of today, (throughout) life, let her, *having accepted to keep* (it, i.e. the *saṃvara*, the law?), go into the refuge of the three jewels! Let her remain pure!”

§ 9

The Skt. parallel text is quoted by Emmerick p. 19 § 11.1 (cf. also Hārtel, p. 27). It corresponds to the Tum. text as follows:

<i>śṛṇu tvam</i>	<i>pyežu to</i>
	<i>uvāsā</i>
<i>itthaṃ-nāmemāny</i>	<i>mare tharā-nāma</i>
<i>etena bhagavatā</i>	<i>hvatā</i>
<i>jānatā</i>	<i>rasanandā</i>
<i>paśyatā</i>	<i>diyāndā</i>
<i>tathāgatena</i>	<i>taro ātā</i>
<i>'rhatā</i>	<i>aṣaṇyā, andastai</i>
<i>samyaksambuddhena</i>	<i>biše dāte haigaṅgu rasandā</i>
	<i>taro</i>
<i>upāsikāyā</i>	<i>uwāse</i>
<i>pañca-śikṣāpadāny</i>	<i>paṃtsi śikṣāvate</i>
<i>ākhyātāni</i>	<i>poyste</i>

pyežu to: Thus read for *pyephuto*, the reading of which according to Hitch "is very doubtful" (p. 17 § 9.2). The word contains the new akṣara no. 5, which Konow read as *ža*; however, *pyežu* proves that it represents the Tum. sound deriving from Old Iranian intervocalic -š-. In Khotanese the corresponding sound is voiced *ž*, which in Old Khotanese has already been lost, though it is still often written. A voiced *ž* seems the most likely value for the Tum. sound as well. Konow's assumption of a palatalized *ž* appears to be based on a tentative derivation of it from groups of intervocalic sibilants and *y*, cf. *hvažandi*, Konow "they will eat", future (i.e., -*ž*- < -*ršy*-). However, the derivation from simple intervocalic *š* rather points to a simple *ž* (cf. Khot. 3 sing. *pyūṣṭe* "he hears" < **patigaušatai*, not **gaušajatai*). See also on *vatsyu* § 5.

Other occurrences of this akṣara are *hvaže* (= I, 13 *hvayi*?) and *hvažandi*, probably = Khot. *hve*' and *hva'ndā* "man, men", cf. XI, 9 *bā 3-a* (Bailey *bāga*) *nāma hvaže ayi dva zare* . . . [*pā*] *rathada* "there was a man by name B.; he sold (for) 2,000 . . ."; VIII, b2 *amace pursickarā mare hvažandi* "ministers, *judges, these men . . ." (Bailey derives Khot. *hva'nd*- from **uśauant*- "mortal", e.g., § KT, vi, 433; further research is needed to determine whether the Tum. form is compatible with this etymology — another possibility would be **auśauant*- "idem". For the unetymological *h*- in both Khotanese and Tumshuqese, cf. Tum. *hve* "both" (I, 11 etc.), Khot. *hūduva* "both", *hvālai* "both sides", all from Old Iranian **uba*-, see KT, vi, 425 and Emmerick, 1977, 115). Other words containing *ž* are *užye*, *gaža*-, *ñyež*- and *peža*.

Užye in XIV, 9 *užye arāda* and 10 *užye pherāma* is obscure; possibly = Khot. *uī* "senses" and Sogd. *šy*' "memory" (is *užye ar*- = Khot. *byāta yan*- "to remember"?). *Gaža* in XIV, 14 *saṅgiṇca gaža* may be "the *saṃgha* assembly", Khot. **saṃgīṇja gāṣa*, cf. *andivārānā-gāṣā*- "the *antaḥpura* assembly, the harem". (For the preservation of the old -*ñc*-, Khot. -*ñj*-, cf. Tum. *paṃtsi* "five", Khot. *paṃjsa*, see Emmerick ad § 6.4). *Ñyežidi* in I, 24, compared with *pyež*-, may be from **nigauša*- "to listen" (Middle Persian *niyōš*-), which would suit the context with its repeated *krūṣta*- "called". *Peža* in IX, v2 (*Araṇemi*), out of context, may be for **pyeža* "you hear".

It should finally be noted that the similarity between this akṣara and the so-called "subscript hook" in Khotanese, which regularly indicates a lost intervocalic *ž* (e.g. *pyū* "listen!" < **patigauśahya*), is quite striking (see the facsimiles below).

uwāsā: Vocative = nominative. Not in the Skt. text.

mare "these", tr. *imāny*, cf. *maru* in § 16 below, and see Bailey, 1958, 150: "*mara*- "this".

hvatā "by the lord", tr. *bhagavatā*, see § 5.

raśanandā "of the knowing one", tr. *jānatā*. Tum. *raśan-* equals Khot. *haysān-* (i.e. *hazān-*) "to know". Cf. III, 8 *bijāne ki bujaḍa raśanaḍa* "the witnesses who -ed (and) knew". [Note that the verb *purs-* "to ask" may be found in XII, 4 *purso*.]

diyāndā "by the seeing one", tr. *paśyatā*. Cf. Khot. *dai-* "to see", present participle **diyanda(a)-*. Cf. XIII, 5 *mare bijāne ki dyeda* "these witnesses who saw".

§ 10

taro ātā "by the thus-come, i.e., the *tathāgata*", tr. *tathāgatena*. Cf. in Khotanese: *Sum* 861-2 (KBT 136) *thu cū tta tta tsūai khu ra pīrūya gyasta ba'ysa tsuāmdā* "you who have gone as the former lord Buddhas went" (paraphrase of *tathāgata*). Tumshuqese analyses *tathāgata* as *tathā āgata*, as also, e.g., Sogdian *m'yδ"γtk* (see MacKenzie, 1976, 173), Tokharian *tu-yknesāk kekamu* (Thomas, 1964, 181 s.v. *kām-*) and Chinese 來來 *rú lái*, in contrast to Khotanese, which uses *tsu-* "to go", and Tibetan *de bzin gsegs-pa*, both paraphrasing *tathā gata*.

aśānyā "by the worthy one". This word, possibly together with the following, unexplained, *andastai*, renders *arhatā*, cf. Khot. *Sum* 862 *āśa'ṇa-vajsamī* "you are of worthy worship", and *Vajr* 6a1-2 (KT, iii, 21) *pajsamānā āśa'ṇa-* "worthy of worship(s)", cf. Lamotte, 1981, I, 127, 203f. [It is also possible that *andastai* goes with the following, rendering *samyak*.]

biśe dāte haṅgaṅgu raśandā "by the (one having) known equally all the *dharmas*", tr. *samyaksambuddhena*. Cf. Khot. *Sum* 863 *samana sarvadharmvā biysāmdī u rraṣṭa sarvadharmā vyachyai* "you are equally awakened in all the *sarvadharmas* and you have correctly explained all the *sarvadharmas*", *Vajr* 6b1-2 *samna biśānā hirāṇā vamaśāka-* "equally experiencing all things (*dharmas*)". The active meaning of the past participle is noteworthy (see also on *paitroda* § 6). *Haṅgaṅgu* seems to mean "completely", as Bailey suggested, or "equally" as Khot. *hamaṅgu*. Like Tum. *hāmaṅgu* it seems to "render" Skt. *sam-* (see the following).

§ 11

taro . . . poyste "thus spoken", tr. *ākhyātāni*. This correspondence links Tum. *poyste* with Khot. *pyāsta-* older *pātāsta-* from *pātāy-* "to speak", Old Iranian **pati-ādaia-* (SGS 82).

hāmaṅgu vāt- "to maintain equally", tr. *samādā-*. Note *hāmaṅgu* ~ *sam-*, see above on *haṅgaṅgu raśandā*.

The literal translation of §§ 9-11 thus becomes: "Hear thou, laywoman such and

such, the five commandments of a laywoman spoken thus by the knowing, seeing, thus-come, worthy *of worship, having equally known all things Lord”.

§ 13

biramitānā “of refraining” is more likely to be the genitive of the infinitive construed with *śikṣāvati*: “the command of refraining”, rather than an abstract noun of unclear formation (Emmerick, p. 21 § 13.4).

§ 15

barña, if to be read as *bacha* as suggested by Hitch, brings to mind Persian *bacce* “child”. Tum. *bacha-tsānakai* could be a synonym compound.

§ 16

maru-taro: Instead of the correspondences proposed by Emmerick I suggest that the Skt. and Tum. texts correspond as follows:

<i>kaccid</i>	<i>kā vā ju</i>
	<i>to maru</i>
<i>evam-rūpaṃ</i>	<i>taro(-)patesya</i>
<i>sthānaṃ</i>	<i>kāri</i>
<i>nādhyāpatsyase</i>	<i>ne palisanāvai</i>

maru “this”, i.e., *kāri*, cf. *mare* “these”, tr. *imāni*.

taro(-)patesya, tr. *evam-rūpaṃ*, with *taro* “thus” for Skt. *evam* as expected and *patesya* locative of *patesa* < Old Iranian **patidaisa*- (cf. e.g. Middle Persian *pāyēs* “advice”, often with *pand* “way, manner, advice”: *pand ud pāyēs* “way and manner” > “advice and counsel”, see e.g. Humbach and Skjærvø, 1983, 58). Thus *taro(-)patesya* literally means either “in a such-manner” or “thus in a manner” according as it is a compound or not. Doc. XIV, 8 may have *paḍesy(i)*, 9 *paḍesa*. Cf. also XIV, 6 *bśi-waḍesya* “all manner” (Bailey, 1950, 665, besides various other possibilities also suggests a derivation from **pati-dais*-.)

kāri “deed” = Khot. *kīru*, i.e., Tum. *kāri* < **kariju*.

§ 25

palisanāvai: Emmerick suggests a derivation from *pari-san-* with causative suffix *-āv-*, translating “to commit”, literally “to make rise”. Another possibility may be mentioned: Khotanese has the expression *ārru paysān-*, e.g. in the *Book of Zambasta*), meaning “to recognise a sin (in oneself)”. If *palisan-* is from **pari-zān-*, *kāri palisan-* could mean “to be conscious of a(n evil) deed (committed by oneself)”. The ending *-āvai* may contain the 2 sing. imperative middle ending *-u* (cf. *pyežu*; < Old Iran. *-ahya*, SGS 213) plus the 3 sing. enclitic pronoun *-ai* (cf. *hvānāmai* “I say it” § 2).

[*sariṣvāṇa*: In view of the previous mention in the Sanskrit text (§ 20) of *tilatūṣa* “the husk of a sesame grain” as something infinitesimally small, the similarity of Tum.

sariṣvāṇa with Skt. *sarṣapa* "mustard", also something infinitesimally small (see e.g. *KT*, vi, s.v. *śśaśvāṇā*), is noteworthy. Tum. *sariṣvāṇa* could be from **sariṣapa* - < *sarṣapa* with epenthetic -i- (Edgerton, Grammar 30 § 3.110). However, the context does not seem to allow such an interpretation.]

NOTE

¹ This article represents a review of *The Tumshuqese Karmavācanā text*. By Ronald E. Emmerick. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1985, Nr. 2.) pp. 34, 2pl. Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH. 1985. DM12.80.

Corrections to the Glossary

acchu "I have gone", not "I have come", cf. *āta* "come".

andastai, meaning uncertain, possibly "to worship" or "completely"; not "preclusive".

amijā tsi "from (the day) of today"; not "from impurity".

asnyā tsi "from the day"; not *astyā tsi* "from evil".

astyā tsi, read *asnyā tsi*.

uvāsā-: nom.-voc. sing. *uvāsā*, acc. sing. *uvāsau*.

kari, read *kāri*.

kāri "deed" (acc. sing.); not "at all".

taro "thus"; not "then".

taro āta "tathāgata".

taro(-)patesya "in such a manner".

to, add: 5 9.

tomwo, read to *mwo* "you me".

diyānda "of the seeing one"; not "presenter".

pātvāṇya, read *pātūvāṇya*.

palisanāvai, perhaps "do not recognize it!".

patiroda, perhaps "the one (fem.) having accepted".

poyste "spoken"; not "she gives".

pyephuto, read *pyežu to*.

pyežu "hear!".

barāa, read *bacha*?

marā "this"; acc. sing. *maru*, nom.-acc. plur. *mare*.

maru-taro, read *maru* "this" and *taro* "thus".

mare "these"; not "thus".

mwo "me".

rasanandā "by the knowing one"; not "questioner".

rasandā "by the one who has known"; not "let her ask".

vatsyu "regard!".

Misprints

P. 10 § 1 *cchami*, not *chami* — P. 14 § 4.1 and 5.1 and p. 15 § 5.5 for p. 4 read p. 9 — P. 27 § 20.3 for *rahāy-* read *rahāy*.

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Appendix: The Tumshuqese documents XII, XIII and XIV

Tum. XII

- 1 x xš- -y-ṇa mu x r- tā n- dru[h]o-(?)
- 2 merñye skide ṣa bireca *dai*(?)
- 3 ṣu(?) rora tāñya mu ṣa yā *na*/
- 4 ru beru pu (or mu?)rso hvarki x x/
- 5 ṣa x birecaḍa kari x/

(Upside down)

- 6 *ra*nā pr- ly- rw(o)rye

Tum. XIII

- 1 ršā ki rende par[ā]thāka puḍi dz- ṣ-/
- 2 ma dzaḍi ki wa thā horri a[h]u(?)
- 3 tstri apero arve rordu gyāzdyā/
- 4 -o dve kaṇe hvārye xšīsta ṣuyyāp/

- 5 . mene kare mare bijāne ki dyeda x/
 6 bije g^wāngi xšerāni krari nā/
 7 bije širyāni bātte phamktānāni ru x/
 8 šoñi kalyena wre di poruā(?) ra ayi di/

Tum. XIV

- 1 rakšāne ramyākyā — sañkine riḍanā — xšande — tāryo pa/
 2 3-e. azarna še sañka we awursu narza(m?) jyezdyo amāyi hvaḍa/
 3 razandu -e ka wa.rakšāni. sañkarmi. o tsi xšerna. nijawe la x/
 4 xšerna. na ma hvaḍi. u x x ra xša -o ra -i a -e s- -e x/
 5 nu. inā pasunu, ne na 3-i. kšamaye wā ag^wiryu(?) x/
 6 sañkarma še bsi-waḍesyu paḍarā ayye. pasa ag^wiri(?) x/
 7 dzā rarenda tara še tarmā buderā šonāne buja myāne ki x x x/
 8 ade.rakšāne sañkarmi. phuru g^yāni -yya paḍesyi. n- x w- š- a/
 9 ŋki užye arāḍa. puṣtaninye padesa do ma rešveda. hva še x/
 10 x -o si ra -u na pa -a m- n-. sañkarmu. užye pherāma ada x/
 11 8-o ayādo rendanā ramyāḍa. amāne še do puñye ka ramyānd-/
 12 ska ne dārū buwe panā -e -e x nā/
 13 nkā ani pre dzāḍa. ka po hve razanda ramyāmane ke(?)/
 14 xšande ani pre sañgiñca gaḍa ša piḍda. xšande šāzunā awale phur[u] biḍā/
 15 na x x x x ša ra rakšān- a[r]ñy[e]ḍane amāne ša pu/
 16 niryo paḍesyio dza štaḍa šona ša arwaḍa. hve g^ya še ano dyema zye parisama/
 17 ate še xšande?a re de ta(?) šu ni pandamaḍa ka pa -ā /— — / x x/
 18 /-o x x/^a
 19 ate pawa hve phāro ka puṣtyo niryo paḍeso rre g^yā -y- rā -t- žr- x x/
 20 nde uṣtanu oxšamwiḍu aro ka wa pawa xšanda bi 3-eḍiḍi ji xšan[d]e/
 21 mane.

^a Probably to line 19.

židānā
(vidānā?)

žānandi
(vānandi?)

gyāždiya

naždi
(nar-8-di?)

graphalāžala

pu 8-o

a 8-o

surwe 8-o

3 ra 2-ā rūñca

bi 3-e dā

bye 2-i yo 3-i Še gi žyuo 3-i gi

pyežu

hvaže

hvažandi

užye

peža

(Khot.) bā with
'subscript hook'



WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK: A REVIEW ARTICLE

By PETER JACKSON

The appearance of a new translation of the *Itinerarium* of William of Rubruck (1253–55)¹ furnishes an opportunity to review the work done on this, possibly the most valuable of Western sources on the Mongols. By comparison with the mission of his fellow-Franciscan John of Plano Carpini some eight years before, that of Rubruck to the court of the Great Khan Möngke has been singularly unfortunate. An account of the earlier mission (the so-called "Tartar Relation") was being drawn up in Poland even before Carpini had rejoined Innocent IV at Lyons,² and at least two other variant recensions are known to exist,³ over and above the numerous manuscripts of the standard version. Rubruck's report, on the other hand, couched in the form of a long letter to St. Louis, languished for three and a half centuries before it was rescued around 1600 by Hakluyt; and there are only five manuscripts. The reason is not far to seek. Carpini had travelled as an official envoy of the Pope. Rubruck was not an envoy in any real sense. St. Louis had already despatched an embassy to the Mongols in 1249, headed by the Dominican Andrew of Longjumeau, but the empress-regent had interpreted it as a gesture of submission — an impression Louis was not anxious to reinforce.⁴ And it is an indication of the essential difference between the two missions that the reception awaiting Rubruck on his return to Syria was so dissimilar to that vouchsafed to Carpini following his safe emergence from Russia. Carpini seems to have enjoyed something like a triumphal progress. The chronicler Salimbene de Adam bears witness to the eagerness with which he was greeted by those avid for details of his experiences among the "Tartars";⁵ and after returning to the Pope he was sent to Paris for an interview with the king.⁶ Not so Rubruck. His provincial would not allow him to report back in person to Louis, ordering him instead to write to the king and to remain himself as lector at Acre.⁷ Had not Friar William and his report come to the attention of another Franciscan, the Englishman Roger Bacon, who included much of his material in an abridged form in his *Opus Majus* and mentioned having met him,⁸ we should be quite unaware whether he ever returned to the West. Thereafter, he disappears from sight.

The relative lack of notice attracted by Rubruck's report is all the more regrettable, given the vividness and immediacy of his style. In contrast with Carpini, who writes methodically and with the cool detachment of the diplomat, Rubruck approaches his task to some extent as if drafting his memoirs. His account is charged throughout with personal reactions to the situations — whether trials or joys — that he and his party encountered. Unlike Carpini, he records having actually met and conversed with — and feared, and quarrelled with, and warmed to — individuals: not merely the powerful such as Batu or the Great Khan Möngke himself, but ordinary folk, especially at the capital, Qaraqorum — an Armenian monk, a woman from Lorraine who befriended the friars and cooked them a meal, the Parisian goldsmith William

Buchier, for whom, Rubruck tells the king, "I could never find words enough to express my gratitude to God or to you."⁹ His accurate observations regarding geographical matters such as the landlocked nature of the Caspian or on questions of ethnography as in the case of the tribes of the Volga-Ural region; his awareness of the kinship of the Slavonic languages or those spoken by various Turkic peoples; his descriptions of unfamiliar creatures like the yak, the onager and the *ovis Poli* — all these have won him recognition from commentators writing in the past century and a quarter, from Yule onwards. But one suspects nevertheless that as much appreciation has been aroused by the intimate quality of his narrative. And it is no surprise to find that his latest translators have in turn fallen under his spell. Claude and René Kappler, who have spent many years with Friar William, make no attempt to conceal their enthusiasm for his company. In their view, the report is "un film en même temps qu'un livre, c'est tout un paysage": Rubruck "est un artiste né. . . ."; "il aime le théâtre. . . ."; "il est gourmand de tout, il est curieux de tout" (pp. 61-2).

The Kapplers preface their translation with two introductions, one briefer and strongly recommended in all circumstances, the other more developed and required only *ad lectionem plenam*. There are over thirty pages of appendixes ("notes complémentaires"), excellent maps, and three good indexes. The translation itself is highly readable, and contains commendably few slips: "avant que les Tartares ne s'y intallassent" (p. 117) for *antequam Tartari occuparent eos*, where the object of the verb is the Cumans, not their territory; "s'est fait sarrasin" (p. 126) for *facit se sarracenum*, where the friar, speaking of the Mongol prince Berke, is being non-committal ("makes himself out to be a Saracen"); a phrase referring to the knight Baldwin of Hainault, an earlier visitor to Qaraqorum (*qui fuit illuc*), omitted (p. 183); "courent" (p. 193) for *ducuntur*, when the use of the passive in the context of irrigation-channels strongly suggests human agency ("are made to flow"). One or two errors in the introductions also need pointing out. The assertion that Rubruck met the chronicler Salimbene following his return to the West (p. 23) is quite groundless and is presumably based on a confusion with Carpini. The letter he carried from St. Louis had certainly been translated into Arabic and Syriac at Acre, but not by Armenian priests or by the "companion of David" (one of the envoys sent by the Mongols to the French king in 1248), whom Rubruck met only at Sartaq's camp (pp. 59-60); the translators have misconstrued the *ibi* of the text.¹⁰ The mission of Andrew of Longjumeau on behalf of St. Louis is confused with one undertaken four years earlier for the Pope (p. 55; though at pp. 52-3 the first journey is referred to in the correct context).¹¹

The Kappler translation, joining those of Friedrich Risch¹² and Christopher Dawson (actually by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey),¹³ becomes the third (in a Western language) to utilise the critical edition of A. van den Wyngaert in the series *Sinica Franciscana*.¹⁴ Previous translations, including the still frequently cited one by William Rockhill,¹⁵ were based on the inferior text produced by Michel and Wright for the Société de Géographie.¹⁶ Van den Wyngaert's own text is not totally free

of flaws. He included several inferior readings (*veringal* for *vernigal*), especially when dealing with proper names (*Capchat* for *Capchac*, *Bolac* for *Bolat*, *Tebec* for *Teber*). A more striking and bizarre error concerns one of the chapter-titles (which are not found in the oldest MS and which the Kapplers, doubtless wisely, eschew). That for chapter XXIII reads in the printed text: *De interfectione Buri. et habitatione tentorii eorum*. The last two words have an extremely odd ring, since the chapter contains nothing whatsoever about tent-dwelling. They prove, in fact, to be a misreading of *teutonicorum*, which is to be found in Beazley's edition of Hakluyt's own text, published at the beginning of the century.¹⁷ With these reservations, however, the *Sinica Franciscana* edition is certainly the most reliable.

The two extant English renderings are defective less in terms of the translation (although both are marred by archaisms) than of the commentary. Dawson includes remarkably few notes. The strength of Rockhill's extensive commentary, which the Kapplers single out for generous tribute (p. 19), lies especially in his personal experiences as an explorer and hunter in Central Asia, China and Tibet — experiences that are often referred to in a sufficiently engaging fashion to rival Friar William's own reminiscences.¹⁸ But even though he knew both Latin and Chinese and further cited several Near Eastern contemporaries of Rubruck's (notably Armenian and Persian authors) whose work was available in translation, Rockhill (like most of us) lacked the linguistic equipment necessary to enable him to plunder all the numerous sources on the Mongol world. We may be thankful that a scholar with the necessary qualifications was at hand. Almost from the moment that van den Wyngaert's volume appeared in print, the indefatigable Paul Pelliot was engaged in compiling notes on two of the texts it contained — the reports of Carpini and Rubruck — and on the biography of the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Yahballahâ III, of which Budge had recently published an English translation.¹⁹ It was not until nearly thirty years after Pelliot's death, however, that these detailed comments were at last edited as *Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*²⁰ by Louis Hambis and Jean Dauvillier, incorporating also copious notes (chiefly on the Nestorian church) by the latter. Recourse to this monument of erudition — as also to other posthumously published works of Pelliot, his *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* and his *Notes on Marco Polo* — has enabled the Kapplers to produce a fairly up-to-date commentary (though they appear not to have known of the fuller treatment of certain points by Pelliot in yet another study),²¹ and given them a clear lead over their predecessors.

The Kapplers have embarked upon their task not as specialists but as those who would "ouvrir au public un accès aisé . . . à une expérience exceptionnelle" (p. 20); which accounts for their unfamiliarity with some of the material they might have used. Pelliot's voluminous works are admittedly indispensable, and will long remain so. But they do not give comprehensive coverage of the problems connected with Rubruck's narrative. One of those problems — the Turkic and Mongol words reproduced by the friar — has more recently been examined by Larry V. Clark.²²

And not a few of the primary sources have become accessible in a Western European language since the great French scholar's death in 1945. Among those cited by the Kapplers are Boyle's translations of the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā* of Juwaynī, an official whose visit to Möngke's court ended only three months before the friar's own arrival, and of that part of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* covering the reigns of the Great Khans from Chinggis Khan's death.²³ The bibliography includes in addition the recent translation by Cleaves of the *Secret History of the Mongols*²⁴; though it would have been preferable to employ the less cumbersome translation by Igor de Rachewiltz, which has been published in instalments since 1971 and which is well annotated.²⁵ Of the sources which have escaped the Kapplers' notice, particular mention should be made of the Chinese material. In 1221 and 1235-6 the Mongols were visited by envoys from the Sung empire in southern China, whose reports — systematic descriptions of Mongol customs, administrative practices, armaments and so on — have now been rendered into German.²⁶ So too have the annals for the reigns of Möngke and his two predecessors to be found in chapters 2 and 3 of the Chinese dynastic history, the *Yüan Shih*.²⁷ Those who do not know Arabic can now read (again in German) the chapters on the Mongol empire from the great encyclopaedia of Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-ʿUmarī, writing in Mamlūk Syria in the 1340s.²⁸ The section on the Mongol period in the universal chronicle of Kirakos of Ganjak, finally, has been available in French translation since the mid-XIXth century, but Boyle produced an English version, with valuable commentary, of the chapters dealing with Mongol customs and with the journey to Qaraqorum in 1254 of King Het'um of Lesser Armenia, whom Rubruck hoped — but in the event failed — to meet.²⁹ On the sources for the history of the Mongol world as a whole, much remains to be done. But the past forty years have witnessed a veritable rash of translations of just those sources most likely to yield assistance in the study of Rubruck's mission.

It remains to say something of the purpose of that mission, since relatively little space is devoted to this vexed question in the two introductions (pp. 21-2, 58-60). Rubruck carried a letter from the French king to the Mongol prince Sartaq, of whose conversion to Christianity rumours had reached the crusading army in Palestine;³⁰ in it Louis urged Sartaq to be a friend to all Christians and an enemy to all enemies of the Cross.³¹ But important as this may have been, it was a secondary function of what was clearly designed to be a letter of recommendation.³² Rubruck's concerns were those of the mendicant, not of the ambassador. As long ago as 1955 Schollmeyer lamented the fact that Rubruck's journey had all too often been seen as diplomatic in purpose and its missionary character disregarded.³³ He provided a healthy corrective to earlier work on the subject, though subsequent writers have even so persisted in describing the mission as an embassy.³⁴ But Schollmeyer barely noticed one important statement by the friar regarding his intentions when leaving Syria. Rubruck tells us that he undertook the journey "in large measure" in order to bring spiritual comfort to a group of Germans who had been enslaved during

the great Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe in 1241–2 and were understood to be employed as miners at Talas (Ṭarāz) in Turkestan.³⁵ It seems that this, and the proclamation of the Gospel which figures rather more frequently in the report,³⁶ were the primary purposes of his journey. On both counts it was a failure. He proved unable to visit the Germans, who had been transported a considerable distance to the east, to Bolad in present-day Dzhungaria; and the deficiencies of his interpreter prevented him from preaching to the people, of whom he baptised a total of six souls.³⁷ Rubruck had set out, however, with another commission also: to write fully to the French king of everything he had seen among the Tartars.³⁸ Had he not fulfilled at least that requirement, we should be infinitely the poorer.

NOTES

¹ Guillaume de Rubrouck, *envoyé de Saint Louis. Voyage dans l'empire mongol (1253–1255)*, trans. Claude and René Kappler, Paris: Payot, 1985.

² *The Vinland map and the Tartar relation*, ed. and trans. George D. Painter. T. E. Marston and R. A. Skelton, New Haven, Conn., and London, 1965; a better text edited by Alf Önnérfors, *Hystoria Tartarorum C. De Bridia monachi*, Berlin, 1967.

³ Denis Sinor, "John of Plano Carpini's return from the Mongols: new light from a Luxembourg manuscript," *JRAS*, 1957, pp. 193–206; Clément Schmitt, O.F.M., "Une version abrégée de l'«Historia Mongalorum»," Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 651," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, LXV, 1972, pp. 368–88. Carpini himself tells us that incomplete versions of his report were being produced in Poland, Bohemia, Germany and N. E. France: *Ystoria Mongalorum*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, O.F.M., in *Sinica Franciscana*, I. *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, Quaracchi-Florence, 1929, p. 130.

⁴ Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la papauté," part III, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXVIII, 1931–2, pp. 12–77; Louis Hambis, "Saint Louis et les Mongols," *Journal Asiatique*, CCLVIII, 1970, pp. 29–31.

⁵ "Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam," ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, XXXII, Hanover, 1905–13, pp. 206–7, 211.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁷ Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, ed. van den Wyngaert, in *Sinica Franciscana*, I, p. 329.

⁸ *Opus Majus*, ed. J. Bridges, Oxford, 1897–1900, I, p. 305.

⁹ Van den Wyngaert, pp. 311–12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

¹¹ The two embassies appear to be confused again in n.3 at p. 140. It was the report of Andrew's first mission (1245–7) that was abstracted by Matthew Paris: on this, see Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la papauté," part II, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXIV, 1924, pp. 250–62, and part III, *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1931–2, pp. 6–12.

¹² *Wilhelm von Rubruk, Reise zu den Mongolen 1253–1255*, Leipzig, 1934 (Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinstituts für vergleichende Religionsgeschichte a. d. Univ. Leipzig, II. Reihe, 13): one virtue of this work is the inclusion (pp. 1–20) of translations of related documents, e.g. a letter from Innocent IV to Sartaq.

¹³ *The Mongol mission. Narratives and letters of the Franciscan missionaries in Mongolia and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*, London: Sheed and Ward, 1955 (repr. New York as *Mission to Asia*, 1966, 1979).

¹⁴ See nn.3 and 7: Rubruck's *Itinerarium* constitutes pp. 164–332.

¹⁵ *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253–55*, London, 1900 (Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, IV): pp. 1–39 are a translation of chapter IX of Carpini's *Ystoria Mongalorum* and of the brief narrative of his companion Benedict the Pole, corresponding respectively to pp. 101–27 and 135–41 of van den Wyngaert's edition. A new translation (of Rubruck's report only), based on the *Sinica Franciscana* text and accompanied by an updated commentary, is being prepared for the Hakluyt Society by the author with D. O. Morgan.

^{16a} "Voyage en Orient du Frère Guillaume de Rubruc," ed. Fr. Michel and Th. Wright, in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, ed. M.A.P. d'Avezac-Macaya, IV, Paris, 1839, pp. 205-396.

¹⁷ C. Raymond Beazley, *The texts and versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis*, London, 1903 (Hakluyt Society, extra series), p. 177.

¹⁸ E.g., regarding the onager or wild ass (Turkish and Mongol *qulan* — Rubruck's *culam*), of which Rockhill says (p. 134, n. 2): "I have often chased them on horseback, but even when wounded they could get away from the best pony I have ever seen."

¹⁹ *The monks of Kúblâi Khân, emperor of China*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge, London: The Religious Tract Society, 1928.

²⁰ Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1973. The divisions are: (I) "En marge de Jean du Plan Carpin" (pp. 3-74); (II) "Guillaume de Rubrouck" (pp. 77-235); (III) "Mār Ya(h)b'allāhā, Rabban Sāmā et les princes Öngüt chrétiens" (pp. 239-88). The section devoted to Rubruck is thus by far the most lengthy.

²¹ "Mélanges sur l'époque des croisades, III. Sur quatre passages de Guillaume de Rubrouck," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XLIV, Paris, 1951, pp. 48-72.

²² "The Turkic and Mongol words in William of Rubruck's *Journey* (1253-1255)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XCIII, 1973, pp. 181-9.

²³ *The history of the World-conqueror by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini*, Manchester, 1958; for Juwaynī's visit to Möngke's court, see the introduction, pp. xviii-xx. *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London, 1971: Columbia University Press.

²⁴ Cambridge, Mass., 1982: Harvard University Press.

²⁵ In *Papers in Far Eastern History*, IV, September 1971, *et seq.* The volume containing Cleaves's commentary has yet to appear. For a comparison of the two translations, see the review of Cleaves by D. O. Morgan, in *JRAS*, 1984, pp. 179-80.

²⁶ *Meng-ta Pei-lu und Hei-ta Shih-lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen*, trans. P. Olbricht and E. Pinks, Wiesbaden, 1980: Harrassowitz (*Asiatische Forschungen*, LVI).

²⁷ Waltraut Abramowski, "Die chinesischen Annalen von Ögödei und Güyük," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, X, 1976, pp. 117-67; *eadem*, "Die chinesischen Annalen des Möngke," *ibid.*, XIII, 1979, pp. 7-71.

²⁸ *Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werke Masālik al-absār fi mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. and trans. Klaus Lech, Wiesbaden, 1968: Harrassowitz (*Asiatische Forschungen*, XXII).

²⁹ "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols," *Central Asiatic Journal*, VIII, 1963, pp. 199-214; "The journey of Het'um I, king of Little Armenia, to the court of the Great Khan Möngke," *ibid.*, IX, 1964, pp. 175-89. There is also now an excellent Russian translation of Kirakos by L. A. Khanlaryan, *Istoriya Armenii*, Moscow, 1976 (*Pamyatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka*, LIII). For the friar's hopes and his failure to meet up with Het'um, see van den Wyngaert, pp. 289, 313 (and on the latter passage, cf. Pelliot, *Recherches*, pp. 214-5).

³⁰ Van den Wyngaert, pp. 213, 215, 244, 250.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 215, 250, 292-3; and cf. also p. 326. Jean Richard, "Sur les pas de Plancarpin et de Rubrouck: la lettre de saint Louis à Sartaq," *Journal des Savants*, 1977, p. 57 and n.19; *idem*, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Rome, 1977 (Collection de l'École Française, 33), pp. 78-80.

³³ Chrysologus Schollmeyer, O.F.M., "Die missionarische Sendung des Fraters Wilhelm von Rubruk," *Ostkirchliche Studien*, IV, 1955, pp. 142-6.

³⁴ E.g., Hambis, "Saint Louis et les Mongols," p. 31: "... il [Saint Louis] décida d'envoyer comme émissaire auprès de Sartaq. . . ." The title of the Kapplers' own translation (n. 1 above) is of course misleading, as is the statement, for example, that Rubruck advises Louis to send no more friars or mere monks (p. 60). What Rubruck says, in fact, is *quod amplius vadat aliquis frater ad Tataros, sicut ego ivi. . . , non videtur michi expedire*.

³⁵ Van den Wyngaert, p. 289: *Theutonicī, pro quibus illuc pro magna parte ivi*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 222, 246, 291, 292, 299-300.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-5, for the Germans; p. 312, for the baptisms.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SIN AND SANCTION IN ISRAEL AND MESOPOTAMIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. BY K. VAN DER TOORN. (Studia Semitica Neerlandica, Vol. XXII.) pp. viii, 252, 9 pl. Assen/Maastricht, Van Gorcum — The Netherlands, 1985, Dfl. 45.

The original subject of this study was the Babylonian penitential prayers, here relegated to an appendix with twelve *šīgû*, mainly royal lamentations, and *dingirsadibba* — prayers or penitential pleas for release from curses linked with diagnostic texts. These add to our knowledge of a little worked branch of Assyriological studies. The author has, however, now produced a study of a far more general and difficult subject by examining the environment which gave rise to such types of prayer in both Mesopotamia and Israel. He details his awareness of the difficulties and differences between these groups of Semitic peoples and the disparity in the sources available for such a study. Indeed, some of his stated dissimilarities can be questioned. Is it right to see Mesopotamia as polytheistic with a remote pantheon contrasting with a tenacious syncretism within Israel's monotheism? Is it proven that Mesopotamian religion demanded a low profile as opposed to the ardour required of Israel? Insufficient distinction is made throughout between individual as opposed to "state" religion. The latter produced the majority of the texts from which the present picture is composed.

The author finds a common orientation in world-view and in the intellectual procedures which involve principles of association and the use of symbols and employs the relation between illness and misconduct to illustrate this. He plays down questions of historical development, cultural and sociological development and ultimate theological truth. This curtails the value of the book which is intended primarily for Old Testament readers. He rightly stresses the variety and diversity of the sources available for his study and from a wide range of literature and a few archaeological inferences shows how they reflect a "canonical" rather than "official" religion. Throughout he seems to assume that there exist behavioural, and indeed legal, *codes*, though none are surely attested in the ancient Near East from which we have examples of moral decisions and behaviour from which divine requirements may be judged.

The starting point is the Decalogue which emphasises individual, family and community responsibilities. Similar attitudes are deduced from Mesopotamia where rules of religious behaviour are instilled, and the social principle of honouring the gods expressed, in offerings. He finds the choice to be between the "proper" and "improper" in Mesopotamia in contrast with Israel's unique "right" and "wrong". The latter are taken to be the vocabulary of religious etiquette which affects physical integrity, food and dietary laws and influences mental attitudes. Little attention is given to the complex but relevant conception of holiness. It is less certain than the author allows that such concepts were passed on by aristocratic example and by canonised literature in all its forms.

The study of several words for taboo in Akkadian is useful and contrasts starkly with only one in Hebrew, but that on the divine custodianship of the moral order is more limited. A greater emphasis on the semantic range of the terms used for sin in both civilisations is expected. Some arguments are hard to follow in a book which necessarily traverses many aspects of philosophical, ethical, religious and linguistic subjects. Is there sufficient evidence for the conclusion that Yahweh of Israel was considered similar in function to Shamash, a deity of law and justice in Mesopotamia, or that promissory oaths are always expressed in covenant terminology?

The difficult area in which the wrath of the gods is interpreted in adversity and misfortune is well handled and there is detailed consideration of illnesses which neither tradition interprets as a purely fortuitous event. A masterly summary of the evidence for the role of medicine and diagnosis in these ancient oriental societies shows how, for example, leprosy, dropsy and related ailments were used to express in general a grave incurable condition. Potential punishment is shown to extend to family life and ultimately to the greatest curse of eradication of the family and name but, less surely, to the social position. The ideological models of state and behaviour

posited in both civilisations show how ethically desirable behaviour was accorded the status of divine command and human adversity endowed with meaning, thus intensifying the need for confession of sins of ignorance.

The concluding sections of this thesis follow from the argument for identity in the thought processes and ethical demands in both regions. Somewhat abruptly and, to the reviewer, insufficiently argued, we are confronted with the notion that the aristocracy, as in Vth century Greece, acted as the guardian of the ethos in both civilisations (pp. 111–115, but elsewhere this is not consistently followed). This seems to be based on the view that wisdom was a class prerogative and that the Hebrews classified the wise and righteous always as “white” and the fool and wicked as “black” and that their eastern neighbours did not do so. The conclusion that individualism and nationalism in Mesopotamian religion somehow differ from the emergent personalism and group loyalties of Israel is hard to follow. Is ethics in Israel always a matter of greater religious (or even social) commitment than in Mesopotamia?

This book is a valuable and provocative contribution which will forward the study of these aspects of religion. The author has a clear style of writing which, when freed from the academic necessities of thesis production, bodes well.

D. J. WISEMAN

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES IN THE CITY OF ASSUR. A SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL FROM THE GERMAN EXCAVATIONS. PART I. By OLOF PEDERSEN. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 6.) pp. 125, 6 fig. Uppsala, 1985.

Of all the larger discoveries of cuneiform tablets made in the first sixty years of archaeological exploration of the ancient cities of Mesopotamia, that made at Aššur stands unique by reason of the controlled and scientific methods of its excavators. One result of the careful and skilled work of Andrae and his assistants is that the find spots of all tablets retrieved during the course of his excavations are recorded in his inventories. This allows for a reconstruction of the original archives and libraries such as is impossible for the vast majority of cuneiform tablets found in profusion at Nineveh, Babylon, Sippar, Borsippa, Nippur and Lagash.

Olof Pedersen's book is a preliminary survey of the tablets of Aššur, in which he allocates to libraries and archives — so far as is possible — all tablets excavated by the German expedition and now in the collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin and the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. A few tablets which have found their way into other museums are also included. Each archive or library is introduced by a section which surveys its provenance, its date (this from the archaeological evidence and preserved eponym dates), the principal persons and scribes attested (occupying what Pedersen terms the “central function”), and the genres of text exhibited. The surveys are followed by bibliographical sections in which each and every tablet is listed in Pedersen's own numeration, and which present exact find spots, excavation, photograph and museum numbers, where known, text genre or identification, and bibliography, if applicable. When the second part of the author's work has appeared, no doubt replete with indexes and concordances, scholars will be in the very happy position of being able to discover with a minimum of effort the archaeological data and historical or social context of all those Aššur tablets that can be allocated to libraries and archives.

The treatment of the subject is chronological; the first volume begins with the third millennium and closes at the end of the Middle Assyrian period, and thus covers a stretch of time that is illuminated by some fifteen distinct collections of cuneiform documents. Only one of these comes from outside the Middle Assyrian period itself, an archive of at least fourteen Old Akkadian tablets found together in a building beneath the Old Palace (archive 0.1 in Pedersen's numeration). A few Old Assyrian documents have been found at Aššur (e.g. p. 52, 133), but not in original archives. Of the fourteen libraries and archives of the Middle Assyrian period all but one (M 2, to which we will return below) are collections of tablets found in one place, either undisturbed and often in storage vessels, or more loosely together (but still recognizably so) in disturbed or secondary contexts. Of particular interest are the large archive found in the forecourt of the temple of Aššur, and pertaining to Ezbu-lēšir, the overseer of the regular offerings (*rab giné*) of the temple during the reign of Tiglathpileser I (M 4); another large archive dealing with the

distribution of audience gifts (*nāmuru*) made to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur in the latter part of the XIIth century, and found between the Anu-Adad temple and the Old Palace (M 6); and the private archives of the families of the dignitaries Aššur-aḫa-iddina and Bābu-aḫa-iddina, both covering much of the XIIIth century (M 10 and 11). Also noteworthy are the small library of incantations found in late Middle or early Neo-Assyrian context in the Old Palace, and probably belonging to a royal exorcist, Rebātu (M 1); a considerable administrative archive, mostly from the XIIIth and XIIth centuries, connected with the processing of raw materials in, probably, the royal workshops (M 7); and an archive from the XIIIth century concerning the activities of Ušur-Bēl-šarri, which include the administration of the royal milk-round (M 12).

In contrast to the archives and library numbered M 1 and 3-14 stands M 2, a collection of tablets considered under the heading of "a reconstructed library" (pp. 31-42): as a collection it is far from homogeneous in terms of text genre, persons in "central function" (i.e. scribes), and provenance. The library is reconstructed by Pedersén from two sources. Part of it is made up by some 101 Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian library tablets found in the south-west courtyard of the temple of Aššur together with Neo-Assyrian tablets. To these Pedersén adds another 65 tablets, mostly of known provenance, being scattered singly or in small groups across a considerable area of the public quarter of the city. The justification for the association of the two "collections" (the term is used loosely, especially with regard to the scattered group) is that most of the tablets are of similar appearance and share scribes and genres. This is nothing new, of course, for the tablets from the courtyard of Aššur's temple and some of the scattered group comprised, in Weidner's view, a library of Tiglathpileser I, a conception that Pedersén, however, is careful to avoid. But he does assume — albeit with some caution — that "most, or perhaps all" the tablets from the two "collections" originally belonged together, and this allows him to treat them as a Middle Assyrian library. His conclusions are that "this library may in Middle Assyrian times have been the library of a scribal family and may have included some official texts . . . as well as texts and text groups written by other specialists . . . [or] that the texts already in the Middle Assyrian period belonged to an official library (or were subdivided into more than one library), which, since the original location of the library is not known, may have been the library of the Aššur temple, of the Old Palace, or perhaps of the Anu-Adad temple." Undoubtedly, these alternatives are possible explanations of the library's origins, but they are not the only ones, certainly. There remains a possibility, as we shall see, that the library was not collected into a whole until after the Middle Assyrian period.

Pedersén is right, in considering the library's colophons and scribes, to state that "best attested are the three sons of Ninurta-uballissu royal scribe." Marduk-balāssu-ēriš, Bēl-aḫa-iddina and Sin-šuma-iddina, "junior scribes", certainly wrote and/or collated some twenty tablets, all of them either lexical lists or bilingual texts (both literary, such as *Lugale*, and scholarly, such as KAV 218, "Astrolabe B"). Of particular significance are two copies of a bilingual hymn (Šir.nam.šub) to Ninisinna, whose colophons are very probably to be restored to show that they were written by the two brothers Marduk-balāssu-ēriš and Bēl-aḫa-iddina on the same day (KAR 15 and 16; Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 44). Each checked what the other had written. Such an exercise looks to be part of a scribal apprenticeship, and it may be that the abundance of lexical texts by their hands is also evidence of the training of junior scribes, such lists being, of course, the stock tablets of the scribal schools. It is also noteworthy that the ten tablets written by the brothers which preserve dates in their colophons fall into only three or four eponyms (those of Aššur-aḫa-iddina, Ikkaru and Aššur-išmānni, probably the same man as [...]ni son of Abi-ilī; all from the time of Tiglathpileser I). This may suggest that the brothers' stint at the production of library tablets was short, perhaps — if these eponyms are consecutive — as little as three years. The evidence suits a theory that they were apprentices while they produced library copies of lexical and bilingual texts, and after graduating may have found employment as scribes in administration or commerce.

The sons of Ninurta-uballissu may be the best attested, but they are far from being the only scribes of Pedersén's reconstructed library. Another twenty-four tablets survive with colophons intact, and these are the work of at least thirteen (but no more than sixteen) hands, who are described variously as *tupšarru seḫru*, "junior scribe"; *tupšarru*, "scribe"; *bārū*, "diviner"; *āšipu*, "exorcist"; and perhaps *susānu*, "horse trainer"; or not at all. Again, the *tupšarru (seḫru)* is responsible for lexical and god lists, and bilingual texts. Scribes who enter the learned professions

become *bārû* or *āšipu*. One may note with interest the career of Šamaš-aḥa-iddina who when young was simply *tuṣṣarru*, but by the time his son Ubru had become a scribe, had risen to be *rab bārê*, "chief diviner" (Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 45; Pedersén, p. 33, rejects or is not alive to the genealogy posited by Hunger's restoration of KAR 446, rev. 15, which, admittedly, involves emendation of the copy's SAR to *sum*^m).

Not only is the activity of the junior scribe very much restricted to lexical and other lists, and bilingual texts, in Middle Assyrian Aššur, but these genres together account for a little under one third of the library Pedersén has reconstructed. Other genres in large groups, such as omen literature, exorcistic and medical literature, hippological treatises and perfume recipes, as well as such items as the collections of royal edicts, were not — so far as the available evidence indicates — the work of the sons of Ninurta-uballissu, nor indeed of any other junior scribes. So there is reason to doubt Pedersén's statement that "at least a large part of this reconstructed library . . . is the result of the activities of the three sons of a royal scribe." Nor are there truly conclusive grounds for believing the tablets of the reconstructed library belonged together already in the Middle Assyrian period. Scribes and genres are shared by the Middle Assyrian library tablets from Aššur, it is true, and it is evident that some of the tablets at least did at one time belong together, even though found in very different find spots (the twenty tablets known to be from the hands of Ninurta-uballissu's sons were mostly still in use in Aššur's temple in Neo-Assyrian times, but three of them were transported to Nineveh at some time and became incorporated into Aššurbanipal's libraries, along with other Middle Assyrian tablets from Aššur; and four or five became separated and probably lost, and came to light in different parts of Aššur). But the overall picture is of an assemblage of the work of many different scribes or scribal families working in different genres in, probably, different years. These scribes may have had their own specialist libraries as Rebātu, the royal exorcist, seems to have done (archive M 1). That their tablets were of similar appearance, with characteristic pale surface, might be put down to the conventional method of firing in this period, and is not indicative of a single source. It is impossible to determine when the concerted effort to collect Middle Assyrian library tablets was made. It may have been in the Middle Assyrian period itself, as Pedersén supposes, or at any time thereafter. That this exercise resulted in only some of the tablets of various genres being incorporated into the library of the temple of Aššur in Neo-Assyrian times, while others were seemingly overlooked or already abandoned, would tend to support a later date.

The author is to be thanked for presenting the information he does in such an easily used and readily affordable volume; the second part of his work, on the libraries and archives of the Neo-Assyrian and later periods, is awaited with keen expectation. May we hope that his example will inspire others to undertake similar studies of other sites well excavated and productive of cuneiform. One thinks, in particular, of Ur.

A. R. GEORGE

HISTORY OF ETHIOPIAN TOWNS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, and HISTORY OF ETHIOPIAN TOWNS FROM THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1935. By RICHARD PANKHURST. (Äthiopistische Forschungen, ed. E. Hammerschmidt, Bd. 8 and Bd. 17.) pp. 344, map, and pp. 392, map. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1982 and 1985. DM 118 and 126.

These volumes comprise a study of the history of Ethiopian urban centres of some degree of permanence for which records are available. The first volume covers the medieval period, the Gondar period, and the early XIXth century, and the second follows the history up to the Italian invasion of 1935, including "chapters on Addis Ababa and other new towns of the Menilek period, as well as on much older settlements already considered (in vol. I)".

The principal sources utilised are the Ethiopian royal chronicles, and accounts by European travellers. As a collation of material from these sources, meticulously abstracted and referenced, organised in a manner that is both readable and easy to consult on specific points, and critically evaluative of the sources, these volumes are a mine of information, indispensable to student and researcher alike. The reader should, however, be aware that oral traditions have been little used. The material on Šaddā and Čalaqot, for example, might well have been amplified from

local traditions; nor have modern works in Ethiopian languages been greatly employed, for example, the works of Takla šādeq Makweriyā are listed in the bibliographical abbreviations, but scarcely noted in the references. Nevertheless, some recent theses of Addis Ababa University have been used in vol. II. The volumes are so packed with detail that to note possible omissions is simply to ask for a third volume; the hope may also be expressed that these publications will encourage individuals who have acquired historical fragments to publish them as short notes amplifying Pankhurst's work and building on his well-laid foundation.

Geographically the coverage is excellent. The bulk of the material in vol. I, inevitably, concerns northern Ethiopia, but Harar and the kingdom of Kaffa are not neglected; vol. II ranges over the whole empire, including the new settlements established by Yohannes IV and Menilek. It may, however, be worth noting here some places mentioned in the Amharic exegetical literature (the *andemṭā* commentary) but not included in Pankhurst's indexes. Some of these may be monastic settlements or small areas, rather than urban centres, and have been excluded for that reason; some perhaps may merit future study (references are to the Amharic commentaries on the texts cited): Arabiyā and Saraqaren (Hebrews 6:8, on Dambiyā plain), Darā (Hebrews 6:8, northern Gojjam), Bālyā and Qābtīyā (Proverbs 3:15), Bēta leḥēm (*Fethā nagast* commentary p. 61), Gwarabā and Čargē (*Fethā nagast* commentary p. 367, near Azazo), Čelgā (John 1:46), Faṇṭar (Rev. 20:13), Zakēnā and Barantā (Job 28:2,5), and the following monastic settlements: Qorāṭā, Moginā and Warq labbeḥo (Philippians 1:1), Zagē (Leviticus 25:29), Qanṭafāmē (*Qeddāsē maryam* commentary).

Transliteration of names and Ethiopian words, a great problem in works of this type, has been handled consistently. Queries may be raised concerning final gemination (e.g. "Ankobarr" for "Ankobarr"), and the sixth order vowel (e.g. "*meder*" for "*medr*"). Proof reading has been careful, though there is uncertainty about the spelling of (Armenian) "Hovhannes", and of "Pharaoh". Here and there are apparent slips of the pen — e.g. in vol. I, p. 150 *Zefān Bēt* is translated "House of Song", where "House of the throne" would surely be more accurate. For a work of this size and scope, however, such *trivia* are very few.

The author, editor and publishers are to be congratulated for producing a monument of scholarship and indispensable work of reference which is very readable and attractively produced.

ROGER COWLEY

A VOCABULARY OF [the] BENI AMER DIALECT OF TIGRÉ. By AKI'O NAKANO (and YOICHI TSUGE, collaborator). (African Languages and Ethnography XVI.) pp. vi, 159. Tokyo, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA). 1982 [distributed 1986].

The present work appears to be, according to the "Editorial Note", part of a vast and strategically organized enterprise:

"Research teams were sent to Camerouns, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sudan and Tanzania in 1969, 1971, 1974, and 1976. These teams were called 'African Great Savannah Research Team' or 'La Mission Scientifique de la Savanne Africaine'. The project covers the fields of linguistics, history, anthropology, urban sociology, geography, ecology and cultural psychiatrics. . ."

One can almost hear the electronics of this highly mechanized project ticking apace. It is plainly an enterprise, large in scale, expensive in execution, and symptomatic of our age, where private and cerebral study of a language is made to yield to team work, computers — and no doubt to the aforementioned "cultural psychiatrics" (whatever that may mean). The author of the work under review, Professor Nakano, has, we are told:

"made research field works several times in Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia in the domain of lexicography, folk literature and ethnography. The present book is the second one following his first work named 'Dialogues in Moroccan Shilha' in this series. The result of his field works on Beja and Oromo lexicography, carried out as a member of the third mission of our project, in Ethiopia and Sudan, will be published in near future".

Professor Nakano is plainly a very busy man.

The English is at times a little opaque, but we learn that the "field work" was carried out in Port Sudan between December 1976 and March 1977 with the "purpose to record the basic

vocabulary of Beni Amer, *least known dialect of Tigre*, spoken in the frontier region of the Red Sea between Sudan and Ethiopia". The words which I have italicized are, like so much else here, puzzling, for we still know very little about the dialectal position in Tigre; and, if there are such distinctions, the speech forms of the Beni Amer are certainly not the "least known".

More puzzling indeed is why Nakano should have stayed at Port Sudan (well outside the Tigre-speaking area) and have relied on just two informants (p. i — all the preceding quotations are taken from unnumbered pages). I am not clear in what sense Tigre research at Port Sudan can be called "field work", for one would scarcely sit at Poole to investigate the Scots dialect of Glasgow. Tigre informants could equally well (and perhaps less expensively) have been brought to Tokyo without detriment to the substance of the research. Moreover, the choice of these informants is scarcely felicitous, because they were "trilingual of (*sic*) Tigre, Beja and Sudanese Arabic"; and one of them was born at Port Sudan, though his father came from Tokar (slightly to the north of Aqiq, the northernmost extent of Tigre speech — thus also Beaton and Paul, *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Tigre Language as spoken by the Beni Amer*, Khartoum 1954). This informant "always contacts (*sic*) with the Arabs and speaks Arabic in his occupation as a policeman". The other was born at Tokar and "retains more Tigre words" than the first. Equally odd is the statement (*ibid.*) that "this dialect is called by Mr. Adam Ahmad 'hasa:'. This is tantamount to saying of German "this dialect is called by Herr Schmidt 'Deutsch'", for it is common knowledge, well attested in the relevant literature, that in the Kassala province of the Sudan as well as elsewhere the Tigre language is generally referred to as *hāsā* or *al-khāṣṣiyya*.

The area of Tigre comprises the eastern lowlands of Eritrea (incl. Massawa and the Dahlak islands), the northern and western plains (the Keren and Agordat regions), the Mensa, Marya, Ad Temariam, Ad Tekles, Beni Amer tribes, as well as many smaller tribal units. The Beni Amer live on both sides of the Eritrea/Sudan frontier, in the Kassala region, and as far north-east as the outskirts of Tokar.

The bibliography lists Littmann-Höfner's *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*, Palmer's *Morphology of the Tigre Noun*, and three articles by Leslau. Yet, while the bibliography of Tigre may not be extensive, its paucity here is starkly overstated. Thus Beaton and Paul's highly germane book (see above) is patently unknown to the author — and so are the works by W. Munzinger (*Vocabularium Tigre*, appended to Dillmann's *Lexicon*), Beurmann and Merx (*Vocabulary of the Tigre language*, 1868), Camperio (*Manuale pratico della lingua Tigrè*, 1936), Roden and Musa Aron (*Tigre Reader*, 3rd ed., 1958), and quite a few others. The *Grammatica e Vocabolario della lingua Tigrè* by the Catholic Mission of Eritrea (Asmara 1919) is, despite many flaws, not to be despised. But S. Raz's highly respectable *Tigre Grammar and Texts* (Malibu 1983), by far the most important instrument *de travail* currently available, appeared too late to receive attention in the book under review.

There are, as far as I can see, two elements which distinguish this Beni Amer vocabulary from existing works — at any rate to some extent: (1) the ordering of the glossary under subject heads, such as parts of the body, clothing, food, animals, etc.; and (2) the provision of sample sentences. The first element has never seemed to me of significant advantage when learning a language, but the second plainly is of much utility. At times I have some nagging doubts about the genuineness (occasionally also the accuracy) of a number of the Tigre phrases proffered. The English translation is an almost constant source of involuntary entertainment:

Already in item (1): *r'asa rayyumu* "She has a long hair" (*sic*).
 "The teeth of this boy have just begun to grow" (26). — "Daddy, this boy spat on me" (29).
 — "He always wears a turban round his neck" (46). — "The baby goes to stool himself" (83).
 — "People say that this man has sex six times during one night" (93). — "An egg slipped off my hand and smashed on the flour" (*sic*) (192). — "They are suckling (*sic*) their fingers (231).
 — In many cases it would be hard to envisage in what circumstances beginners in Tigre would need to have recourse to some of these particular sample phrases. I am still trying to think of a context in which the following dialogue (described as "important phrases") would be likely to occur (990):

'inta hasa:y 'inta? la, 'ana yaba:ni 'ana.
 "Are you a Beni Amer man? — No, I am a Japanese".

At the end of the book there is a useful English index. In our present state of knowledge of Tigre any additional tool of instruction has some uses, but it is sad to observe (and the present

work is far from being the only transgressor) that the late Marcel Cohen's lament about the "bien fâcheuse rupture de la chaîne bibliographique" is becoming ever more apposite. Professor Nakano's study would have been so much more helpful had he looked at existing works before consigning his book to the printers.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

CATALOGUE DES MANUSCRITS ARABES. DEUXIÈME PARTIE. MANUSCRITS MUSULMANS. TOME I. 2. LES MANUSCRITS DU CORAN: DU MAGHREB A L'INSULINDE. By FRANÇOIS DÉROCHE. (Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Manuscrits.) pp. 159, 31 pl. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1985.

The present, and final, volume of Déroche's *Catalogue* covers the remainder of the rich collection of Qur'anic codices at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The descriptions of manuscripts are arranged in 283 entries (nos 296–578) and divided by country or region: Islamic West (nos 296–343), Egypt and Syria (nos 344–448), Turkey (nos 449–521), Iran and Iraq (nos 522–548), India (nos 549–570) and Indonesia (nos 571–575). These are supplemented by an appendix containing descriptions of three (nos 576–578) Qur'ans copied in Western European hands. The *Catalogue* is preceded by a lengthy and very valuable introduction (pp. 11–26) and has 31 pages of plates, i.e. 62 illustrations, including 17 in full colour. The indexes include a concordance of shelf and catalogue numbers, as well as personal and place names.

The entries consist of very detailed palaeographical and codicological data. Déroche scrupulously records the different colours used for vocalization, orthoepic signs, verse divisions and marginal decorations. On the codicological side, apart from the foliation and the measurements of the page and the written area, he mentions the type of paper (Oriental or European) and the composition of gatherings (whether consisting of three, four or five bi-folios, i.e. *ternion*, *quaternion*, *quinion* etc.). This is followed by an elaborate description of the binding. The description of bindings is most probably his greatest contribution to Arabic codicology. The system used by Déroche and explained in the introduction (pp. 14–26) is based on the analysis of central medallions or centre-pieces of the covers. The medallions are divided into two major groups, the criterion being the existence or non-existence of the motif of "clouds" in the design (symbols N and O respectively). Each group is then subdivided according to whether the design is symmetrical (S) or asymmetrical (A). In the case of the symmetrical design, the analysis falls into three categories: symmetrical in relation to the horizontal (h), vertical (v) or both axes (d). The various forms of design are well illustrated and serve as an excellent point of reference.

As regards the identification of the various scripts used in the codices described in this volume, Déroche here exercises much caution. This is understandable in view of the fact that, as yet, there are no hard and fast rules for the correct identification of different Arabic scripts, and the whole field of Islamic calligraphy is full of pitfalls into which many an eminent scholar and a host of others, including the present writer, have fallen. The reasons are far more complex than one can at first sight imagine. The fundamental problem lies with the nomenclature and its usage by the calligraphers and theoreticians of the art in different periods and in different parts of the Islamic world. The classic example is the usage of such terms as *ta'liq* and *nasta'liq*, where *ta'liq* when spoken of by a Turk or an Arab means *nasta'liq* to a Persian. This being the situation, it would be invidious on my part to criticize Déroche for his choice of some labels for scripts which he broadly categorizes as *thuluth*. The author of this *Catalogue* has to be congratulated on a work well done. Indeed, I have no reservation in saying that his work is in many respects a landmark in the domain of Arabic palaeography and codicology.

ADAM GACEK

CATALOGUE OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INSTITUTE OF ISMAILI STUDIES. VOLUME TWO. By ADAM GACEK. pp. xx, 254, 5 col. pl. London, Islamic Publications Ltd., 1985. £15.95 (cloth), £11.95 (paper).

Volume I of this extremely useful catalogue was reviewed in *JRAS* 1985, Vol. 2, p. 192. The

present volume, which is slightly longer, is compiled according to the same pattern but with the addition that "watermarks consisting of coats of arms have been briefly described in the language of heraldry". There is the added delight at the end of the volume of five very fine colour plates reproduced from some of the most beautiful manuscripts in the Institute. Those described in volume II differ from those in volume I in that the former were, for the most part, copied in the areas known today as Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan whereas most of the manuscripts in the latter are of Western Indian provenance. The collection described covers a large range of subjects and includes at least six holographs. The one feature which the majority of the manuscripts have in common is that they were both composed and copied by Shī'ite Muslims. Gacek's second volume contains the same full range of indexes as did volume I. With the completion of this work, Gacek has given all scholars of Islam an essential, and admirably organised, research tool and also drawn attention to the rich cultural heritage of Shī'ite Islam.

IAN RICHARD NETTON

CYPRIOT ARABIC: (A HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION INTO THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE ARABIC VERNACULAR SPOKEN BY THE MARONITES OF KORMAKITI VILLAGE IN THE KYRENIA DISTRICT OF NORTH-WESTERN CYPRUS). By ALEXANDER BORG. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes hrsg. von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Band XLVII, 4.) pp. xii, 204, map. Stuttgart, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985. DM 68.

Dr Borg tells us in the introduction that before the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, the village of Kormakiti was inhabited by about 1200 Arabic-speaking Maronites. By 1979 this number was reduced to a mere 500, the rest of the population having left for Nicosia and other Greek towns on the island. Borg says that locating suitable Kormakiti informants scattered throughout the island was no easy task. What is more, he was not granted more than a day's permit to visit the village of Kormakiti itself which happened to be behind Turkish armistice lines. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, Borg seems to have compiled ample data for an authoritative account of one of the most evolved and least known of Arabic dialects.

Cypriot Arabic, a phonological and morphological investigation, is for the most part a diachronic analysis of Kormakiti Arabic (KA). The book starts with an introduction (pp. 1-10), followed by a fairly lengthy chapter on the phonology of KA (pp. 11-74). The section on morphology is divided into three separate chapters entitled "the verb" (pp. 75-107), "the nominal system" (pp. 108-132), and "the closed list classes" (pp. 133-149), dealing with personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, etc. The conclusion, (pp. 150-159), forms the fifth and final chapter of the work. Texts from recordings of spontaneous speech with translations and notes, (pp. 160-195), and a bibliography, (pp. 192-203), complete the book.

Although KA is an Arabic vernacular, it has long been isolated from other Arabic vernaculars, and its development has occurred independently of the development of mainstream Arabic dialects. In this KA can be compared to Maltese, the author's own language. There are two types of non-Arabic influences on KA, historical and modern, or more precisely, "pre-Cypriot" and "Cypriot". The former influence is mainly Syriac, while the latter is Cypriot Greek (CG). Borg says that KA speakers, being bilingual in Arabic and Greek, have a tendency "to carry over into their Arabic speech certain phonological conditions and processes characteristic of their CG dialect" (p. 6). Among the features which distinguish KA from other Arabic dialects, and which can be attributed to CG influence, are the absence of long vowels and loss of voicing where the Arabic segments /b/, /d/ and /q/ become /p/, /t/ and /k/ respectively in corresponding KA environments. Another distinguishing feature is the frequent occurrence of epenthetic consonants like /b/, /d/, /k/, /t/, e.g. *žambr* : *žamr* "embers"; *xandzir* : *xanzir* "pig"; *pkyyut* : *byu:t* "houses"; *insan* : *insa:n* "man", etc.

There are instances when it is difficult to determine whether the non-Arabic influence on KA is of Greek provenance or "an inherited trait harking back to pre-Arabic substratal influence from Syriac" (p. 36). In the majority of Arabic dialects a distinction is made between *c* /ʔ/ and *ē* /g/ and between *t* /h/ and *t* /x/. In KA, however, /ʔ/ and /g/ merge to give the voiced pharyngeal

fricative /ʕ/, while /h/ and /x/ merge to give the unvoiced uvular fricative /x/. These consonant mergers could be traced back to Syriac influence, where a single Syriac consonant ܚ originally expressed the sounds /ʕ/ and /g/, and the Syriac consonant ܥ represented the sounds /h/ and /x/. However, in the /h/, /x/ merger the influence of Greek cannot altogether be ruled out (cf. p. 36). The /t/ > /p/ alternation which Borg analyses under the manner dissimilation rule, can perhaps also be attributed to Syriac influence. In some present day neo-Aramaic dialects of Iraq the /t/ > /p/ shift is a common phenomenon, and some speakers carry it even into their Arabic speech where they say for example *kepta* for *kufta* "meat balls", or *pa:nu:s* for *fa:nu:s* "lantern", etc.

The author draws comparisons between KA and "the dialects of Greater Syria", (p. 154), with which KA shares a number of features. He also finds similarities between KA and the *qeltu* Arabic vernaculars, (p. 155). His conclusion is that because of the "numerous and important affinities" with these two groups of Arabic vernaculars, KA "merits a special place in discussion relating to the historical links between" these two groups, (p. 159).

The fourteen texts (pp. 160-195) do more than acquaint us with KA speech. In the absence of a section on syntax, they provide illustrative examples of how sentences hang together in this vernacular. The varied topics, ranging from "how we christen a baby" (text II), to "how we make bread" (text IX), and including "our experiences of the war" (text XI), shed ample light on the daily life and customs of this little known speech community. Seven of the texts can be classified as recipes. Asking informants for local recipes seems an excellent way of eliciting spontaneous speech. This method has been used to good effect by Professor Otto Jastrow.

The bibliography is fairly comprehensive, although one would have expected to find included Joseph Aquilina's *Maltese linguistic surveys* and some of Raja Nasr's earlier articles on phonemic length and the predictability of stress in Lebanese Arabic.

Cypriot Arabic is a worthy contribution to the growing number of books on Arabic dialects. Like previous publications in the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* series, it is a handy and well-produced volume. The author, who has gone to great lengths in his investigation, deserves our thanks for giving us this document of a dialect whose very survival seems threatened.

FARIDA ABU-HAIDAR

CONSTRUCTING THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF COMMUNICATION. TERMS OF ADDRESS IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC. By DILWORTH B. PARKINSON. (Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 41.) pp. x, 239. Berlin etc., Mouton de Gruyter, 1985, DM 78.

Most students of Arabic dialectology are well aware that Egypt has a far wider and more varied range of terms of address than any other Arab country. In some parts of the Arab world terms of address are "minor conveyors of social information", but in Egypt they invariably "convey a ... large portion of the social communicative load", (p. 3). If one were to take Egypt as the central point geographically and move eastwards or westwards, one would find that the number of terms of address decrease gradually the further one moves away from Egypt in either direction. Thus, terms of address in Iraq and the Gulf States are far fewer than those in Syria and Lebanon, which in turn are fewer than those in Egypt. The situation is similar in the opposite direction if one were to take Morocco as the furthest end of the continuum.

Dilworth B. Parkinson's book, *Constructing the social context of communication*, is a fairly exhaustive compilation of terms of address in Egyptian Arabic. In nine chapters, starting with an introduction and ending with a conclusion, the author deals with a number of terms included under chapter headings like "family terms", "terms of respect", "friendly and joking terms" and "terms of abuse". Each chapter, except for chapter 3, starts with an extract from a modern Egyptian play, in English translation, to illustrate how terms of address occur in their social context. This is further substantiated by examples elicited from natural spontaneous speech which the author and his assistants collected in Cairo during the course of one whole year. All the examples are given with their literal English translation. "Family terms" and "terms of respect" are dealt with at some length, while "friendly and joking terms" and "terms of abuse" are merely skimmed over. This is regrettable, as Egyptian humour, famous throughout the Arab world, is characterised by the frequent occurrence of these terms. What is more: the author himself says

(p. 219) that "many, many terms are used with a playful or sarcastic undercurrent", yet he accords short sections to terms denoting flattery, teasing, joking and fault finding (pp. 188-191). A fairly comprehensive bibliography and a useful index of terms complete the book. The title of chapter 2, "the sisters of *inta*" might be somewhat confusing to anyone not acquainted with Arabic grammatical terminology. Otherwise, this worthwhile book can be recommended to non-Arabic speaking sociolinguists, as well as to those interested in Arabic dialectology.

FARIDA ABU-HAIDAR

ISLAMIC LEGENDS: HISTORIES OF THE HEROES, SAINTS AND PROPHETS OF ISLAM. 2 VOLS. BY JAN KNAPPERT. Illustrations by LIESJE KNAPPERT. (Religious Texts Translation Series, NISABA. Volume Fifteen, 1 & 2). pp. xi, 312; pp vii, 313-481. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985. Vol. 1: guilders 96, Vol. 2: guilders 56.

These two, well printed, volumes form part of the Nisaba series, a religious texts translation series published by Brill. This series is wide in its appeal and a mystical interpretation of prophetic tales by an Indian Muslim (No 2) has already appeared, so Islam is well represented. The books are meant to throw light on the religions of the world and are intended especially for the use of students. The volumes contain glossaries which explain technical terms in the text and the translators furnish short introductions and brief commentaries. However, these two volumes differ from some others in that unfortunately no glossary at all is printed, although there is a useful bibliography.

Both volumes are very readable and there is much of interest to be gleaned in their pages. Jan Knappert has had a long experience, both in African and in Islamic material, extracting legends and heroic and magical deeds and adventures and presenting them in an exciting and lively manner. Here, deliberately omitting tales from Morocco and Indonesia, which he has published elsewhere, he has selected his representative material from Algeria, Egypt, Turkey, South Asia and East Africa. He introduces a variety of persons and situations, some of the stories taken from books, others from oral narration. Between pp. 185 and 209 he introduces excerpts from the text of Swahili epic material. He has seen fit to be sparse with his notes (extensive ones are occasionally found, however, e.g. on p. 203 about the battle of Uhud) probably because the goals of the series did not require it, but also partly, I suspect, because the story teller (and Knappert is one himself) is the enemy of the folklorist, and *vice versa*: The flow and charm in the tales can very easily be dissipated by an abundant commentary or by a balance which is heavily weighed down by a translator's gloss.

The first volume opens with a lucid and appealing introduction on Islamic legends. Students will find this especially useful, above all those engaged in religious studies. Knappert has delved deeply into sundry versions of the *Qisṣat al-Anbiyā'* from which a considerable amount of his content is derived. For further information the reader is referred to his article on the subject in the *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 6, where the principal characters who appear and the ethical and spiritual purpose of Muslim story telling are more systematically explored.

Volume I, Part One, is about the Creation and the antediluvian Prophets. Pp. 44 to 56 contain the dynasty of the Kings of Egypt after the Flood. The stories are short but give the reader a flavour of the numerous works of fiction composed in the Middle Ages, based on Coptic legends, which are to be found in, for example, pseudo-Mas'ūdī's *Akhbār al-Zamān* which seems to be mainly the work of Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf Shāh (prior to 1031), and in parts of the *Pseudo-Futūḥ* books, for example *Futūḥ al-Bahrasā*. The *Secret City* (pp. 62 to 65) would appear to combine elaborated stories about Iram Dhāt al-'Imād with the discovery of the tomb of Shaddād and his treasure by three Ṣa'ālīk, told amongst others, by Wabb ibn Munabbih (Ibn Hishām) in the *Kitāb al-Tijān*, *Qisṣat al-Mughāra allatī fīhā Shaddād ibn 'Ād wa'l-Ṣa'ālīk al-thalātha hīna dakhālūhā*. There is an East African version of the legend of Joseph (pp. 85 to 104), abridged by Knappert, which is attractively translated and interesting in its development. An extended account of the romance of Bilqīs and Sulaymān precedes the many legends about the Prophet himself, his wives and his companions. Here again, Swahili material provides much of the story telling although Knappert succeeds in giving a comprehensive and colourful "*Sīra*" which with advantage can be

compared and contrasted with the allegedly historical stories found in Ibn Ishāq on the one hand and the surviving *Aljamiado* pseudo-epic and legendary literature on the other (eg. Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West, the Moriscos*, New York, 1983, pp. 132–139).

Volume II is much shorter, Parts Three to Five, covering legends of the saints, heroic deeds and eschatological sermons and descriptive accounts of the Last Day and the World to Come. Much of this material has not appeared in English before. The Legends of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī from North Africa and the Middle East form a collection of twenty-one tales concluded by a historical note.

More information in regard to the specific sources of many of the stories in these books would have been welcome, and, it has to be said, that the transliteration of a number of proper names is frequently wayward. "The people of *Ukhdūd*", for example (pp. 183 to 184), needs a much fuller comment. It would be interesting to learn how this legendary material here came to be assimilated into the account of the alleged martyrdom of the Christians of Najrān in a fiery trench. The story here seems to have little relevance to the commentaries on *Sūra LXXXV*, nor to the meanings of *Ukhdūd* given by Lane, nor to South Arabian stories. Despite quibbles these books will be of use and no little enjoyment to students. The stories in them are very attractively told and thoughtfully selected.

H. T. NORRIS

EARLY MAHDISM: POLITICS AND RELIGION IN THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF ISLAM. By JAN-OLAF Blichfeldt. (*Studia Orientalia Lundensia*, Vol. 2.) pp. xi, 136. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985.

Opening first with the concept of the Mahdī, Dr Blichfeldt turns to the Shī'ah doctrine constructed around the twelfth Imām's disappearance and the materialization of the concept, i.e., the movement's initiation through appeal to the restless and malcontents, followed by the formation of a military theocratic régime challenging that already established, then, finally, the emergence of a territorial state, the theocratic features of which gradually become obsolete. To look into the origins of Mahdism he studies the situation on Muḥammad's death and focuses on the founding of Kūfah and the groups participating in the conquest of Iraq and payment made them. The latter part of the book deals exclusively with the political situation in Kūfah, in particular with the group known as *musayyarūn* and *qurrā'* and the development of the Mahdī concept among them.

"Modern scholarship", he says, "has never ceased to be puzzled by the term [*qurrā'*]. "yet why repeat the baseless theory of a connection with *qaryah*? The *nisbah* to *qaryah* is *qarawī*, *gens sans tribu*, *gens de métier* in our day, and this is not new. Al-Ashtar and others of the group around him were obviously tribesmen of standing, not craftsmen. Blichfeldt suggests that these *qurrā'* were not mere Qur'ān reciters but that the term was employed, even by themselves, to describe their new role, founded more "on their exposition of measures set out in the Muhammadan religion" as derived from the Qur'ān and *sīrah*. This interpretation seems broadly acceptable. Indeed this seems to tally with the role of Muṣab b. 'Umayr sent by Muḥammad to "*yugrī*" the people of Yathrib, at a time when there was not much Qur'ān revealed.

Blichfeldt maintains that in first century Iraq there arose a division in the body of *ahl al-sābiqah wa-l-qudmah* between "those who, having a proper tribal descent, chose to be included in and represented by kinship groups" and those whose "insignificant tribal standing gave them little or no influence at all in the community". As the gap between the two groups increased the latter turned more to "the Koranic phraseology of appeal", and their activism, framed by an extensive political theology, became known under the general appellation of Shī'ism. It is to the first stage of this political theology, he considers, that the appearance of the epithet "Mahdī" belongs.

The revolt of al-Mukhtār was planned with a *qurrā'* nucleus and malcontents. He was really opposed by the tribal Ashrāf and the main aims of the revolt were to put these leaders on trial and resume the fair allocation of the *māl*. "By calling Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya al-Mahdī, the rightly guided, and claiming to have been sent by him, al-Mukhtār was in fact seeking to institutionalize the "right" to represent the Prophetic religion and its community through Muḥammad's progeny". "This activism had its origins in what we have called Muḥammad's action programme".

This is a thought provoking study covering a period which, despite considerable advances made in modern research, is still not infrequently difficult to understand, and Blichfeldt's thesis requires careful study. To indicate certain faults in execution does not detract from its achievement as a whole.

Ummah (p. 43) is simplistically rendered as "nation" whereas it is nearer to a theocratic confederation of tribes around a god or goddess cult. The reviewer's earlier piece on the so-called "Constitution of Medina" is cited but not the analysis he considers "definitive" in *BSOAS*, 1978. Legal documents are drafted with precision and because Qur'anic style can be tautological it is no argument that the "Constitution" is a single document in like style. Despite the author's assertion to the contrary, the Muhājirūn do figure therein (doc. A, 2b). It may further be remarked that the very statement that the Yathrib Jews are an *ummaḥ ma'a'l-Mu'minīn*, each with its own *dīn*, indicates the *ummaḥ*'s theocratic nature.

It is incorrect to state (p. 20) that a formal act of investiture is out of keeping with Arab custom. The *sayyid* or *naqīb* had a turban wound round his head on election to office; the practice continued in southern Arabia till our time. Abū mūsā al-Ash'arī (p. 38) was governor of Zabīd and Aden (not 'Adnān) and the *Uṣd al-ghābah* biography rejects the story that he took part in the Abyssinian *hijrah*. Caskel calls the Ash'arīs an "örtliche Gemeinschaft" (local community) but even today the Ash'arīs of Wādī Rima' are tribes. The discussion of the Šiffin arbitration documents in *CHAL*, I (1983) seems unknown to our author.

Translations from Arabic are sometimes weak, e.g. (p. 79), the *musayyarūn* are described as "having no mind and religion", better rendered as "no sense and no law" and "Islam had made them troublesome and righteousness had made them restless" should be "Islam has weighed heavily on them/dulled them and justice has aggrieved them". *Safih* (pl. *Sufahā'*) (pp. 85, 101) is translated as "stupid" whereas its real sense is "irresponsible, feather-brained". It is difficult to credit the statement that, in the early VIth century A.D. "Ammār is said to have flown to Abyssinia".

R. B. SERJEANT

APPROACHES TO ISLAM IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES. Edited by RICHARD C. MARTIN. pp. xiii, 243. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1985. US\$18.95.

This volume contains one classic paper, by Andrew Rippin, on John Wansbrough's controversial theories about the origins of Islam. The other essays are of varied quality, but the standard is higher than one might expect. Inevitably, much of the haranguing on methodology is wearisome, but the book still yields plenty of useful information.

After a foreword by Charles J. Adams, who observes that "the scholars in Islamic studies are a notoriously conservative group", we are given an introduction by the editor, Richard C. Martin, who tries to explain why this is so. Unfortunately, he bases his survey of past studies on inadequate literature, and thus fails to realise that up to around 1918 Islamicists often possessed a general acquaintance with the history of religions and connected disciplines like anthropology, and that it was only from then on (as in the study of the Hebrew Bible) that over-specialisation prevailed. Martin hopes that religious studies will "congeal as a discipline" by seeking consensus on curricula and other matters. This sounds dangerous. The expression "religious studies" designates a field in which a variety of disciplines (history, philosophy, etc.) must come into play, and which is fascinating partly for this reason. Agreement on curricula might damage smaller areas of study (such as that of Japanese religions), which at present survive through the freedom of universities to draw up curricula as they wish.

William A. Graham then provides an excellent paper entitled "Qur'an as Spoken Word". Of particular interest is his treatment of the Syriac term *qeryānā* ("act of reading aloud" or "passage read aloud") in VIth and VIIth century Christian liturgical manuscripts, and its influence on the name "Qur'ān". Graham's emphasis on the oral character of the Qur'anic text is extremely attractive. Earle H. Waugh's contribution, "The Popular Muhammad", is mistitled, since he considers high literary and academic biographies. Before doing so, he offers an explanation of "model theory", and at the end claims that this has helped him in his analyses.

Frederick M. Denny's essay, "Islamic Ritual", has the welcome merit of perceiving the essential similarity between western academics and Muslim jurists, a similarity which takes forms that neither would be happy to acknowledge. William R. Roff presents a study entitled "Pilgrimage and the History of Religions", in which he appears extremely concerned to find out what sort of "transition" is effected by the pilgrimage to Mecca. It might be better to explain that this is believed to bring the forgiveness of all sins.

Marilyn R. Waldman's paper, "Primitive Mind/Modern Mind", concentrates on Jack Goody's *The domestication of the savage mind* (Cambridge, 1977), and alleges that Goody does not adequately confront the problem of Islamic society's usual position between total literacy and total nonliteracy. But this is precisely what he examines at length in his contribution to a volume edited by himself, *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 198-264. Richard M. Eaton, under the heading "Approaches to the Study of Conversion to Islam in India", offers as historical evidence a quotation from an early XIXth-century English translation which bears little resemblance to the Persian original, and a local legend about a medieval holy man, taken from a gazetteer of 1883-4.

After this we encounter an admirable essay by Adams on "The Hermeneutics of Henry Corbin", with a well-balanced mixture of sympathy and criticism. He misleads in stating that the second volume of Corbin's *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* never appeared: it was published as a section of the *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade: Histoire de la philosophie*, III (Paris, 1974), pp. 1067-1188.

Andrew Rippin's contribution, "Literary Analysis of *Qur'ān*, *Tafsīr* and *Sīra*", is magnificent in the command which it displays of the methods now used in biblical studies. He gives a lucid survey and defence of Wansbrough's approaches, and has no difficulty in demolishing objections. Here is a devastating continuation of Goldziher and Schacht: a brave attack on the *bondieuseries* which still litter the field.

Next, Azim Nanji ("Towards a Hermeneutic of Qur'anic and other Narratives in Ismā'ili Thought") provides a rich and colourful diptych: grand classical exegetical material on the one hand, and on the other adaptation of Creation narratives to Hindu patterns. Muhammad Abdul-Rauf ("Outsiders' Interpretations of Islam") insists on the need to know the whole Qur'ān by heart before being admitted to the Azhar, and asserts that the conversion of Muḥammad's opponents by his miracles is historical fact. Finally, Fazlur Rahman ("Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies") makes a violent onslaught on Rippin and Wansbrough, in a defence of what he imagines to be the discipline of history. Professional historians may wonder whether their craft is best served by the generous credence which he accords to late hagiography.

JULIAN BALDICK

REGARDS CHRÉTIENS SUR L'ISLAM. By LOUIS GARDET pp. 219. Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1986. 96 F.

These essays, by a very senior French Catholic student of Islam, contain some valuable insights, in spite of the author's limited perspectives. The hands of two *maîtres à penser* (Jacques Maritain for Christian philosophy, Louis Massignon for Islamic mysticism) weigh heavily on his shoulders as he peers through the dusty cobwebs of his Thomist scholasticism.

In comparative philosophy Gardet has some fascinating parallels to draw, as he notes the similarities between (a) the determinism of the Muslim philosophers and the Marxism of Plekhanov; man is "free" to say "Yes" to the necessary dialectic of history; and (b) paradoxically, the Ash'arite theologians (though they deny human freedom) and Sartre: freedom is identified with the exercise of the will alone, to the exclusion of the intellect.

The author makes some useful distinctions between the Christian concept of the Church and the Muslim one of the Community. Certainly, the idea of the Church as the Body of Christ is quite incomprehensible from an Islamic standpoint. But it is odd that Gardet should see the Muslim community as supposedly "impeccable de soi": he confuses the well-known legal doctrine that the consensus of the Muslims on a point of law is infallible with the Christian theory of the Church as *sancta*, ideally pure and free from sin. A community can commit sins while being without error in defining the law.

There is an over-familiar preoccupation with the relations between early Islamic philosophy and medieval Christian theology, notably that of Aquinas. As the author finely demonstrates, St Thomas was clever enough both to grasp the thrust of Avicenna and Averroes' arguments, over and across the difficulties of translation, and to realise that these thinkers could not give him what he wanted. We may conclude that too much time and effort have been wasted on pedantic reconstructions of "influences", and that future research would be better directed to the vast riches of later Islamic thought, as yet hardly touched, and surely worthy of consideration in their own right.

It is surprising that Gardet should see Sufism, Islam's main mystical tradition, as always having a marginal status. It is also peculiar that he should view the early, classical Sufi doctrine of self-annihilation in God as belonging rather to the later tradition of the "unity of existence". He is evidently following the young Massignon, who denounced the teachings of Junayd (d.298/910) as an anticipation of the monistic system of Ibn 'Arabī (d.638/1240). This is a position that Massignon later abandoned. Here we have a typical example of the author's over-reliance on his brilliant, but notoriously erratic, master.

Such a tendency to follow one's elders uncritically, instead of working out problems for oneself on the basis of the original sources, is all too characteristic of Islamic specialists in general. Gardet has certainly not been alone in allowing his undoubted talents to wilt in the shade of more distinguished figures; but the present volume, for all its merits, must rank as an extreme example of this regrettable trend.

JULIAN BALDICK

EIN ALTES FRAGMENT MEDINENSISCHER JURISPRUDENZ AUS QAIRAWĀN. AUS DEM KITĀB AL-ḤAǾǾ DES 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ SALĀMA AL-MĀǾISŪN (ST. 164/780-81). By MIKLOS MURANYI. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. XLVII, 3.) pp. x, 105, 3 pl. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart, 1985. DM 54.

'Abd al-'Azīz al-MāǾishūn was a *faqīh* of Persian origin who was probably born in Medina, and who died in Baghdad in 164/780-81. In Medina he studied with Mālik ibn Anas under Rabī'ah ibn Abī 'Abd al-Rahmān (died 136/753). A certain rivalry seems to have existed between al-MāǾishūn and Mālik, from whom the former diverged in some aspects of juristic method. The esteem in which al-MāǾishūn was held during his lifetime is indicated by the fact that the caliph al-Mahdī recited the prayers at his funeral. His son 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-MāǾishūn (died 212/827) was also a noted jurist, and it is recorded that the latter's legal doctrines were first taught in Qayrawān by his pupil Ḥammād ibn Yahyā al-Sijilmāsi (p. 5).

None of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-MāǾishūn's writings were hitherto believed to be extant, but as a result of his manuscript researches in Tunisia Dr. Muranyi has discovered 8 folios containing the *Kitāb al-Buyū'* and the *Kitāb al-Ṭalāq* (MS 150) and a single fragment of the *Kitāb al-Ḥajj* (MS. 1628). The latter is the subject of the present monograph; the two former items are reserved by the author for a future study (p. 18).

The unique parchment fragment MS. 1628, analysed here with admirable *Gründlichkeit*, is one of the oldest MSS of *fiqh* extant, dating from some time between the end of the IIIrd century and the beginning of the IVth century A. H. (p. 8; pp. 16-18).

The author explains (p. 7) that while he was working in the National Library in Tunis in 1981, with the intention of producing a detailed description of the Qayrawānī MSS then housed there (the collection has subsequently been returned to Qayrawān to be preserved in the new museum and research institute of Raqqādah-Qayrawān), he came upon MS. 1628 and realized that its importance for the early history of *fiqh* demanded a detailed study in monograph form. The present work is the fruit of his study of this MS., which is no more than a double sheet of parchment folded in the middle, i.e. one gathering, which contains the title, author and first page of the otherwise lost *Kitāb al-Ḥajj* of al-MāǾishūn, together with a final page containing a collation note and *ijāzat al-sarnā*. The importance of this find prompted the author to examine the Qayrawānī MSS for possible further fragments of al-MāǾishūn's work, but a search of more

than 2,000 loose leaves and numerous other fragments produced nothing else from the *Kitāb al-Hajj*.

The present monograph, after a foreword and introduction, has the following sections: Das Manuskript Qairawān Nr. 1628 — Riwaya des Werkes — Kollationsvermerk und Hörerzertifikate; Besitzer und Alter des Manuskriptes — Der Text — Autorschaft und Authentizitätsfrage — Kommentar — Zusammenfassung — Bibliographie — Namenregister (nearly 300 persons are listed) — Büchertitel. There is no translation of the fragment of text as such, but the Kommentar of more than 40 pages makes this superfluous.

Dr. Muranyi is able to arrive at a number of important conclusions from the very short text available to him. In regard to the form of the *Kitāb al-Hajj*, although it is arranged in a similar way to Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'* (*muṣannaḥ*), it is clear that it represents an older stage of the development of *fiqh*, in that it presents the Medinan consensus in a form which preceded the *Muwaṭṭa'* (p. 25). This was a type of *kalām* rather than *ḥadīth* (p. 35). Proper *isnāds* are absent, and reported sayings of the Prophet are not introduced by stereotyped verbal formulae (p. 85).

The author deduces from the evidence furnished by al-Mājjishūn's fragment that after the 1st century of the Hijrah we have to assume two different parallel developments in the presentation of *ahkām* (here in regard to the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage to Mecca), which as late as the IIIrd century led to disputes and the formation of differing groups of *muḥaddiths* and *faqīhs* even within the same school of law. In this connection the author refers (p. 89) to the rivalry in Qayrawān between Muḥammad ibn Saḥnūn and Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdūs (in the IIIrd century A. H.) which led to the formation of groups of Muḥammadiyyah and 'Abdūsiyyah within the Madaniyyūn (i.e. the Mālikīs) of Qayrawān. This difference of opinion was concerned not only with dogmatic questions but rather more with the relative importance of *fiqh* and *athar*. Ibn 'Abdūs laid more importance on the correct understanding of concrete legal cases than on the knowledge of the names of Companions of the Prophet in their capacity as transmitters of *ḥadīths*. Ibn Saḥnūn on the other hand was praised for precisely the opposite quality: for his '*ilm bi-ṭ-rijāl*'.

It is also of great interest that Dr. Muranyi is able to show from MS. 150 and other parchment fragments in the Qayrawān collection (see pp. 19–20, note 41) that the form of the *ijāzat al-samā'* developed as early as the IIIrd/IXth century, and not during the IVth/X century as has previously been thought. This has important implications in other areas of Islamic studies; it gives added emphasis for example to the argument that the *ijāzat al-samā'* was the forerunner of the medieval *licentia docendi* (see George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, Edinburgh, 1981, p. 272, and for a general discussion of the development of the *ijāzah* and the *licentia docendi*, pp. 270–276).

It is pleasant to note the author's acknowledgement, in his dedication and elsewhere, of the assistance and encouragement given his researches by the Centre for the Study of Islamic Culture and Arts at Raqqādah, and its director Sī Ibrāhīm Shabbūh, a scholar who has put many visiting researchers in his debt through his helpfulness and truly Arab hospitality.

This book marks a further stage in Dr. Muranyi's studies of Qayrawānī MSS, following his *Materialien zum mālikitischen Rechtsliteratur* (with K. Lech, Wiesbaden, 1984) and he is fully justified in claiming (p. 91) that:

"Es erweitert, trotz seinen Kürze, unsere Kenntnisse über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Jurisprudenz von Medina und gewährt einen bescheidenen Einblick in die innere Struktur eines bisher unbekannten alten Rechtswerk aus der Frühzeit".

M. J. L. YOUNG

THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES: THE NEAR EAST FROM THE ELEVENTH CENTURY TO 1517. By P. M. HOLT. (A History of the Near East). pp. xiii, 250, 4 maps. London and New York, Longman, 1986, £15.95.

This, the first to appear of a series under the general editorship of its author of six historical surveys which will deal with the history of the 'Near East' (*scil.*, apparently, the Islamic world west of India and north of the Sahara, but disregarding the Maghrib), from the era of the Prophet to the present day, has been given a main title which offers less, and a subtitle which promises more, than the work contains. It is, in fact, not in the history of the Crusades, but in the forcible

unification of the lands of the eastern Mediterranean by the Ottoman sultanate, in the sense, at least, of its successful and continuing imposition of more or less centralised political control and dynastic hegemony over a disparate congeries of provinces, tribes, ethnic and religious groups and imperfectly assimilated old ascendancies — the ostensible fulfilment of which process by the Ottoman sultan Selīm I forms the terminus of the work — that the disparate sections of Professor Holt's narrative cohere and find a common ground.

The structure of the work, as befits the tortuous and fragmented political history of the period, is complex. On a framework of twenty-one short but intensely-written and factually detailed chapters the author has hung what are in effect four long and subdivided essays and two historical excursions. The long essays are shared, geographically, between Syria — in the sense of the Mediterranean littoral and its hinterland from Alexandretta to Gaza — and Egypt, from the advent of the Saljūqs and the Crusaders, and the establishment, successively, of Zangid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rule, to the rise and fall of the Kipchak and Circassian Mamlūk hegemonies and the Ottoman conquest. The two excursions deal with areas which in the author's context appear as both peripheral and of roughly equal historical importance: Nubia, Christian and Muslim, in isolation and decline; and Anatolia under the Saljūqs of Rūm and, fleetingly, their successors and political heirs.

Within this historically conservative framework the individual chapters are admirably organised and, as one would expect, do well what they set out to do. Chapters 1-4 form, in effect, a forty-page extended survey of the Crusades and Crusading settlement and government, and the indigenous response — Christian as well as Muslim — to these untoward events, down to the rise of 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī. The following four chapters (5-8) succeed in integrating the tortuous dynastic history of Ayyūbids with the later history of the Crusading states: the emphasis, throughout, is on events in Syria. A bridging chapter (9) on the institutions of government in the Islamic Near East from the Saljūqs to the Ayyūbids makes an adroit transition, under the shock of the Mongol invasions, to developments in Egypt and to what is by far the most valuable section of the work. This takes the form of an extended survey and analysis of the Mamlūk Sultanate and its institutions during the two-and-a-half centuries of its chequered existence. Chapters 10 to 15 offer a detailed survey of the political history of the Mamlūk state from its inception to the supersession of the Kipchak ascendancy by that of the Circassians, at which point the narrative is interrupted by an excursus on relations between Egypt and Nubia during the first century and a half of Mamlūk rule, and by two valuable chapters on the institutions of the Mamlūk sultanate and on its diplomatic and commercial relations, principally with the kings of Aragon and with the Italian trading states. The second and final excursus, which deals in a relatively short compass with the Saljūq Sultanate of Rūm and its successors down to the early XVth century, is followed by the final two chapters of the work. These chart the steady decline of the Mamlūk state under the Circassians until its final act, the not ignoble end in Cairo on 2 April 1517 of the last Mamlūk sultan Tuman Bay. With the vivid and sympathetic description by Ibn Iyās of this event, and with a final "Retrospect and Prospect" by the author, the work ends. Appended is a bibliographical survey, which most usefully disentangles the overlapping contemporary Arabic chronicle sources on which the author has very largely drawn for those sections of the work where he writes with first-hand authority.

Thus, as is perhaps only just for much of the period under review, we have been given the history of the Near East from the political vantage-point of Cairo. This is, however, a perspective which generates its own anomalies in the light of hindsight. To sultan Baybars, no doubt, the doomed Christian kingdoms of Nubia, and the Mongol-dominated puppet sultanate of the Rūm Saljūqs in Anatolia were equally peripheral areas, debatable lands where political and military advantages might be sought and gained or lost. From the one came little but black slaves; from the other, ultimately for Mamlūk rule, nemesis. The perspective, nonetheless, has its unexpected vistas. The proclamation of the Mamlūk al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh as sultan in Kayseri in 882/1419, or the report made to Barsbay in 839/1435 that along with the rulers of Karaman, the Ak-Koyunlu and Dulgadir, the Ottoman sultan Murād II had accepted investiture as a provincial governor of the Timurid Shāh Rukh, are useful reminders to the Ottoman historian of this period, often too much obsessed with affairs of Rumeli, of the ultramontane connections east and south of Anatolia that were again to loom large in Ottoman affairs before the XVth century had run its course. That said, although it is perhaps arguable that, in the context of a survey of Near Eastern

history, Nubia and Anatolia should not be given equal billing, a forthcoming volume in the series (by Colin Imber) on the rise of the Ottoman Empire ought to provide the necessary corrective.

This is a work which will commend itself to more than one group of readers. To the intelligent undergraduate, or to the non-specialist, it will serve as a comprehensive and (as one would expect) reliable survey of a complicated and difficult period. To the historians toiling in adjacent vineyards it offers insights into the nature of Mamlūk society. The deception perpetrated in 817/1414, for example, by sultan Shaykh on his rival Nawrūz, who had gone to ground in the citadel of Damascus, in offering him a safe-conduct under oath, to be read by his secretary in a deliberately faulty Arabic unperceived by Nawrūz's ignorant Turkish jurists, and thus rendered invalid, before putting his unsuspecting opponent to death, is an anecdote worth of Burckhardt (*Renaissance*, not Arabian) in the complexity of the insight which it offers.

In another sense Holt's work is less Burckhardtian. Its emphases are heavily political; to a lesser extent but often illuminatingly, social, and only marginally economic. Cultural history, as such, does not get much of a look in. As military leaders, as political faction-fighters, as a ruling élite of outlanders, the Mamlūks figure largely; as patrons of literature and the fine arts, or as builders of the magnificent tombs which they bequeathed to the Cairo skyline, they remain without honour.

Perhaps this is to be too negative. Political history, *l'histoire événementielle*, has its place, nor do we criticise Namier for not mentioning George III's conversations with Johnson. What we have here, in fact, is that uncommon phenomenon, a historical survey (in no pejorative sense) written largely from the sources with all the virtues and defects which this entails. To one reviewer at least, who long ago was obliged to grapple with the obscurities of Wiet, or to sustain himself with the stale crust of Lane-Poole, the present work would have been a welcome aid. Present-day students of Middle Eastern history, with the remainder of the series also in the offing, may consider themselves as significantly more fortunate than their predecessors.

C. J. HEYWOOD

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE MIDDLE AGES: THE EARLY MAMLUK SULTANATE 1250-1382. By ROBERT IRWIN. pp. xiv, 180, map. London and Sydney, Croom Helm, 1986. £19.95.

The author says in his postscript, "If one studies any subject for a great length of time, one is likely to become unreasonably fond of the subject-matter." One may well think that "unreasonably" is the *mot juste* in the case of the Mamluks. At first sight, the unending saga of internal strife and the minute record of appointments to military, civil and religious offices which make up the staple diet of the Mamluk chronicles do not offer the sort of historical material of which one may easily become "fond". But that was only a throw-away comment by the author and one knows what he means. There is after all a fascination in the course of Mamluk history and the unfolding of its bizarre system. The period has many stirring events, an intriguing and quite complex economic history, impressive artistic achievements, and a weighty (though perhaps repetitive) range of historical sources, supported by the first glimmerings of a body of archival material which whets the appetite for the Ottoman period.

This book confines itself to the first half of Mamluk rule. When already deep into the text (pp. 140 and 159), one learns, with some surprise but with pleased anticipation, that a sequel is planned to take the story down to the Ottoman conquest. The story in this volume is a clear and lively narrative of the political history of the so-called Bahri period, all of which is handled more than competently, so that, in the classic phrase, this is a book that one can safely put into the hands of students.

Just possibly one might think that the book falls between two stools. In its modest length it neither allows the narrative to expand and convince with a wealth of colour and detail, nor does it succinctly propose radical and challenging interpretations.

There is a quirkiness in the writing, and perhaps a penchant for the bathetic, that is not to my taste, but *de gustibus* etc. It is certainly precious to include Barrie's *Peter Pan* in the bibliography of secondary sources, because of a fleeting comparison of mamluks with the "lost boys" on p. 80.

The most interesting section of the book is the postscript (pp. 152-159), where the author allows himself the general speculation on the nature and the dynamics of the Mamluk state, for which one had been waiting with some impatience. He dismisses — and then partially reinstates — the old notions of the social cement of the Mamluks, the bond with the *ustādh* and the group loyalty of jointly trained and manumitted mamluks, the *khushdāshiyya*. Of course, these ideals were disregarded on many a page of Mamluk history. However, Irwin's view of the operation of faction — "each member of a faction *simply* calculated his own best selfish interest", while the changing kaleidoscope of politics was just "a product of a multiplicity of *entirely* rational decisions" (p. 154 and my italics) — is surely overstated. I doubt the ubiquitousness of such rationality. Indeed, what is "rationality" in such a context? And if we accept with Irwin that the Mamluk emirs preferred "to acclaim achievement", we need to remember that the best could not always have come to the top. It was not always a case of the best of all possible sultans in the most meritocratic of all polities. There was some role for opportunism and sheer luck, as there was generally for sentiment and irrationality.

D. S. RICHARDS

INDEX DES ḤIṬAṬ. INDEX ANALYTIQUE DES OUVRAGES D'IBN DUQMĀQ ET DE MAQRĪZĪ SUR LE CAIRE. Préparé par DR AHMAD 'ABD AL-MAGĪD HARĪDĪ. (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques, Tome XX/1-3.) Vol. I, pp. xii, x, 462. Vol. II, pp. vi, vi, 219. Vol. III, pp. vi, 388. Le Caire, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. 1983, 1984.

These are the first three of what are intended to be four volumes of indexes to two Arabic works, Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, usually known as the *Khiṭaṭ*, and what has survived of Ibn Duqmāq's *Kitāb al-inṣār fī'l-amṣār*. The indexes refer to the Būlāq editions of both works (1853 and 1893 respectively), and an appendix to vol. I supplies a concordance of three editions of the *Khiṭaṭ*, those published by Būlāq and Maṭba'at al-Nīl and the critical text edited by Wiet and published in the *Mémoires* of the Institut. This last, though a greatly superior text, could not be used as the basis for an index as it is incomplete. Dr Harīdī is fully conscious of the inaccuracies of the text he was obliged to use, and modestly disclaims any pretention to have corrected them all. There are concise introductions to each volume in French and in Arabic, the Arabic introduction to vol. I being slightly more ample than the French. The standard of printing appears to be as high as is customary in I.F.A.O. publications, but the title of the *Khiṭaṭ* has been slightly misquoted, though in different ways, in both the French and the Arabic introductions to vol. I.

Vol. I contains an index of the names of persons, tribes, races, and sects. Vol. II contains indexes of (1) *hijrī* dates; (2) books quoted or mentioned; (3) letters, archival, legal and commercial documents, inscriptions, etc.; (4) quotations from the Qur'ān; (5) Prophetic *ḥadīths*; (6) proverbs and popular sayings; and (7) the rhymes in verses quoted. Vol. III is an index of place names. Vol. IV is to contain indexes of technical terms, names of social groupings, and of terms relating to the natural sciences.

The indexes have been compiled with impressive industry and care. There is a profusion of valuable cross-references. Thus under *qādī al-quḍāt* there are references to entries for 72 named holders of the office. *Laqabs* have been similarly treated. The index of *hijrī* dates, which lists years and months of the years mentioned, will be of obvious use to anyone requiring information about events or conditions at a specified time. Named buildings, streets and canals are all listed so that there are numerous entries beginning with words like *masjid*, *dār*, *shārī'*, *zuqāq*, *khalīf*, etc. The whole work constitutes a superb and much needed *instrument de travail* for historians of medieval Egypt.

When we are given so much it must seem ungracious to cavil about one feature of the indexes. The lists of page references are not sub-divided or differentiated in any way, as, for example, by the use of heavy type for those of greater importance. It is recommended by recognised exponents of indexing that, if it can possibly be avoided, no entry should consist of more than five or six undifferentiated page numbers. Even in vol. I of this work Zāhir al-dīn Baybars and al-Yahūd each have 91 references, while al-Naṣrāniyyah has 153. Matters become much worse

with the toponyms in vol. III. Al-Shām has 277, al-Qāhirah 325 and Miṣr 439. Such entries are a monument to the zeal of the indexer, but they are almost useless. It would not take much longer, and would be much less tedious, to read through the book than to follow up hundreds of such references.

This, however, is a small defect in a book for which generations of scholars will surely be grateful. One must hope that others will be found willing to emulate Dr Ḥarīdī's devoted application, and who will render more manageable some of the other vast and disorderly records of medieval Arabic erudition.

C. F. BECKINGHAM

MASĀLIK AL-ABSĀR FĪ MAMĀLIK AL-AMṢĀR D'IBN FAḌL ALLĀH AL-UMARĪ. ŠIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. FAḌL ALLĀH M. 749/1349. L'ÉGYPTÉ, LA SYRIE, LE HĪJĀZ ET LE YÉMEN. Edited with introduction and notes by AYMAN FU'ĀD SAYYID. (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques, Tome XXIII, 1985.) pp. xlv, 203 (Arabic text). Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1985.

Most of al-'Umarī's twenty volume encyclopedia, "Ways of seeing, regarding provinces which have cities in them", still remains unpublished and untranslated. But translated sections of the *Masālik* have been published: on North Africa (by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes), on Anatolia (by F. Taeschner), on India (by O. Spies) and on the Mongol lands (by K. Lech). Additionally Ahmad Zaki published an Arabic edition of volume 1 of the *Masālik* (Cairo, 1924). However Zaki's volume covered such topics as the shape of the Earth, rivers, mountains and holy shrines. Its value to a historian studying the XIVth century was relatively slight compared to the material now published by Sayyid. The section of the text Sayyid has edited in Arabic covers Egypt, Syria, the Yemen, and, in principle, the Hijaz. It is based on two manuscripts, one in Paris and one in Istanbul.

Since it is well known that a great deal of al-'Umarī's information on Mamluk administration and protocol was used by al-Maqrīzī in the *Mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār* and by al-Qalqashandī in the *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, usually without acknowledgement, and since L. A. Mayer plundered the Paris manuscript for its wealth of information on ceremonial dress, I opened this volume of the *Masālik* with very little expectation of being entertained or of learning anything new. But I was pleasantly surprised, and, of course, even if a great deal of this part of the *Masālik* can be found somewhere or other in al-Qalqashandī's XVth century chancery encyclopaedia, it is nevertheless valuable to learn at last which parts of the *Ṣubḥ* really refer to al-Qalqashandī's own time and which parts have been plagiarised from the *Masālik* and refer to Bahārī practice. Although al-'Umarī makes quite a lot of use of earlier sources for topographical descriptions, most of his information on administration, entitlement and protocol is clearly and explicitly of al-'Umarī's own time. He makes frequent reference to his oral sources of information, including officials who went to work in Barqa and the Yemen and, most interestingly, the famous merchant, Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī (p. 66), al-'Umarī refers to a Mamluk expedition sent there in the year 738 AH and says that this is the year in which he is writing. We know from other sources that this was also the year he fell out with Tankīz, the Governor of Damascus, and was dismissed from his post in the Damascus chancery. It is possible that this volume of the *Masālik*, at least, was written in the hope of attracting attention and regaining favour. Since he later returned to official service, perhaps it succeeded.

Al-'Umarī worked and wrote in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn and he makes it quite explicit that he is aware that he is writing in a period of transition. When talking about senior officers for example, he refers to the Sultan's suppression of the *Niyāba* (Vicerency) in Egypt and explains that many of the duties have been taken over by the Chief *Hajib*. A particularly useful aspect of the Egyptian section of the *Masālik* is its information on the value of money, the average price of fruit and vegetables and the standard values of *iqṭā's*. This sort of information is hard to extract from contemporary annals. Generally, there is quite a lot of economic information, not I think, reproduced by al-Qalqashandī. Some of it is a little surprising, as when he talks about the high rents and prices of property in Fustāt. Other sources have implied that Fustāt was underpopulated and unfashionable from Ayyubid times onwards. As a

chancery man, al-'Umārī worked with al-Ṣafadī, the author of the biographical dictionary *al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt* and they seem to have shared notes on many topics. Their observations on the Sultan's keenness for horses and buildings and the welcome he gave to foreign merchants are remarkably similar.

Al-'Umārī came from a family who specialised in work for the chancery. He wrote a very short chancery manual, the *Ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, and his *Masālik* was plagiarised by al-Qalqashandī. Even so, I am doubtful whether the *Masālik* should really be regarded as a chancery encyclopaedia. In the volume under review there is very little indeed that is of direct and specialised use for a government scribe. Although there is a great deal on court ceremonial and ranks, much of this is by way of pompous boasting. The court establishment and processions of the Mamluk Sultan were among the wonders and excellences of Egypt — like the Pyramids and the Balsam Garden. Much of the *Masālik* really deserves to be considered under the more general heading of *adab*, for no one in the administration can have had much practical use for al-'Umārī's obsession with emeralds or his fascination with talismans and spells to control scorpions. The book al-'Umārī refers to more than any other in this volume is the *Surār al-Nafs*, an *adab* anthology on things that delight the five senses by the XIIIth century lapidary *belletrist* Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tayfashī.

There is much in the Egyptian and Syrian sections to clarify our picture of how things worked in the XIVth century. For example clarifying the role of certain Mamluk officers, al-'Umārī makes it clear that the *Amīr Jāndār* was the Lord High Executioner and Senior Jailer and that a *naqīb al-jaysh* was responsible for supervising the equipment and uniforms of the troopers and for liaising between them and the senior officers. Although a section on the Hijaz is listed in al-'Umārī's contents, in fact he seems never to have written it, but there are some fascinating remarks made *en passant* about disaffection among the Arab Emirs of the Hijaz and the Ilkhan Abū Sa'id's former ambitions in the area. The final section on the Yemen, the Rasulids and the Zaydis, based largely on named oral sources, is the richest in original and valuable information and should not be neglected by any historian interested in the area. Sayyid's annotation is fairly thorough, though there is a great deal of relevant secondary material of whose existence he seems unaware. There are a few misprints, but none likely to cause serious difficulties. In future it should be impossible to write on the history of the Near East in the early XIVth century without referring to this important source.

ROBERT IRWIN

THE PHYSICIANS' DINNER PARTY. By IBN BUṬLĀN. Edited from Arabic manuscripts and with an introduction by FELIX KLEIN-FRANKE. pp. viii, 16, 92 (Arabic text). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1985.

It has been said that members of the medical profession, who have attained distinction in other ways than the practice of medicine, fall roughly into two categories; first, there are those who, having trained as doctors, abandoned their profession for some other pursuit, such as, law, literature, or politics; and secondly, there are those who stuck to medicine as a profession or as a means of livelihood, and yet earned distinction through their achievements in some other direction. Ibn Buṭlān, one of the medical *literati*, falls into the second group; for while medicine was his vocation, he, like many of his colleagues in medieval Islam, saw that he should have some intellectual pastime serving to keep him in touch with the world outside his profession; and so, in the evening of his life, he ventured to travel. During his sojourn in Mayyafarīqīn he wrote his interesting piece of literature "The Physicians' Dinner Party", known in Arabic as *Da'wah al-Aṭibbā*, in the style of a *maqāma* — a literary genre in *saj'* first introduced or at least made famous by the then well-known poet Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 1007).

The present editor, Klein-Franke, offers us a new critical edition of the text with a short preface and a comprehensive introduction comprising a short biography of Ibn Buṭlān and an adequate description of his work, which Ibn al-Qifṭī is quoted as having dubbed "The Physicians' Dinner Party", a charming *maqāma*.

In "The Physicians' Dinner Party", Ibn Buṭlān set out to tackle every aspect of the medical

profession of his day and those who practised it. He describes his encounter with his host, the old established doctor, and the new enthusiastic apprentice who was in attendance. He lists, among other practitioners, pharmacists, oculists, phlebotomists, and surgeons; and to each he assigns a chapter.

There is good reason to believe that most of the hostile criticism of the medical profession in this book, of which some issues from the public, may be traced to inadequacies of the various branches of the medical profession and the attitudes of the doctors themselves and their relationship to each other. Ibn Buṭlān, in his witty and satirical style, brings out the connection between the medical profession as it stood and the social events in which the doctors find themselves. He warns that, when some doctors fail in their duties towards their patients, then medicine, as a profession, in such cases, should put its ethical house in order. The shifts and dishonesties that he describes, are said to have been imported by outsiders such as quacks and charlatans in a profession which should be wholly exempt from them. He condemns the practice of those doctors whose only aim is to get rich on the misery of their patients (p. 7), and he describes them as being sick themselves in the following verse: "Can he who is sick hope to be healed when his doctor is the cause of his sickness?" (p. 7:6). He also attacks doctors of multiple interests (p. 57), and those who demean themselves by trying to amass wealth by any means even by trading in shrouds, or having shares in a pharmacist's shop (p. 58).

Here and there one comes across pearls of wisdom in the form of remarks, warnings, anecdotes or advice; for example, one must be careful in his diet, eat to live and not live to eat (p. 18). A doctor should be careful in his approach to the treatment of his patients, not too drastic in his methods (p. 15). He should be particularly on guard in his relationship with his female patients (p. 59), and not take sides in family squabbles. He warns against the consumption of sweets (p. 22), especially when followed by cold drinks (p. 23), and criticises the dentist who extracts the healthy tooth and leaves the decayed one behind (p. 62). He emphasises that surgeons should be well versed in anatomy (p. 38).

The penultimate chapter (p. 78) is a timeless commentary on the state of medicine and the public. The author warns against the cynics who deny medicine all positive meaning, and others who ridicule doctors, insisting that medicine is quite unable to cure diseases and that patients would be better if left to benevolent Nature. (How aptly might one compare such men to the therapeutic nihilists of the XIXth century on the one hand, and today's believers in faith healing and naturopathy, on the other). Ibn Buṭlān grew old in an age he condemned and came to regard the new entrants into the profession as ill informed upstarts compared with the old giants who had passed away (p. 84). As a pious Christian he retired to a monastery to live the life of a monk.

There is one serious criticism the reviewer would make: in transcribing the Arabic text in his own hand, the editor has made some scribal errors. Some are due to misplaced diacritical points: thus, read *hinṭa* for *khinṭa* (p. 14:11), *al-ma'isha* for *al-ma'isa* (p. 28:17), *birāzahu* for *bizārahu* (p. 53:13), *yukhaṣṣibu* for *yukhaṣṣibu* (p. 59:18), and *khibratihim* for *ḥibratihim* (p. 84:11). Errors of other kinds: read *khalat* for *khallat* (p. 84:13), *'idmihlāl* for *'idmihāl* (p. 82:10), *kāhilihā* for *ka'āhlihā* (p. 55:17), and *jushā* for *jushā* (p. 75:13), for *jushā* means 'belching' and thus fits in well with other complaints listed in the same line, namely, *su'āl*, *buṣāq*, and *fuwāq*.

Criticism apart, the title of this book is alluring as well as informative, and the contents are entertaining as well as witty. The book should provide anyone interested in the history of medicine from Arabic sources with pleasant reading material and will certainly whet his appetite to read more.

HASKELL D. ISAACS

AL QUDS AL-MAMLŪKIYYA: A HISTORY OF MAMLŪK JERUSALEM BASED ON THE ḤARAM DOCUMENTS. By HUDA LUTFI. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 113.) pp. vii. 387, 2 maps. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1985.

The Ḥaram documents came to light in Jerusalem in 1974 and 1976. They number over 1,000 and are almost all of a legal nature. Huda Lutfi speculates that they might constitute part of a Shāfi'ī qādī's court records. Although the documents range in time from the early XIIIth to the

late XVth century, most of them come from the years 1390-3, during the troubled reign of Barqūq. Apart from the Ḥaram documents, our chief literary source for the history of Jerusalem in the late XIVth century is *Al-Uns al-jalīl bi-tārīkh Quds wa'l-Khalīl* which was written by Muḥīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī in the 1490's. Muḥīr al-Dīn's chronicle is useful for the reign of Qaytbāy and for the careers of Ḥanbalī worthies in particular, but the picture it offers of late XIVth century Jerusalem is very patchy, though, of course, that picture can be filled out a little by occasional references in Mamluk chronicles of more general scope and by the accounts of Christian and Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem. But references in Mamluk chronicles are very sparse. Jerusalem was a backwater in this period and Lutfi describes it as being almost neutral territory during the civil wars that raged during Barqūq's reign. Mamluk emirs whose health or political fortunes were failing went there to rest or to die. One would be tempted to describe XIVth century Jerusalem as a spa town were it not for the fact that Jerusalem suffered from a perennial shortage of water, something which the Emir Tankiz's construction of an aqueduct in the early XIVth century only partially remedied.

Lutfi has used Muḥīr al-Dīn, Mamluk chronicles and pilgrim sources as well as the Ḥaram documents relating to the settlement of estates in an attempt at a detailed social history of the place. Surprisingly however, no use has been made of the work done on the architecture and topography of Mamluk Jerusalem by M. Burgoyne, A. G. Walls, C. M. Kessler and others, much of which has appeared in *Levant* and elsewhere. Lutfi's book may be used in conjunction with D. P. Little's *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram aṣ-Ṣarīf in Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1984). The Ḥaram documents are less easy to use as the basis of a picture of a social world than the older cache of Jewish-Arabic *Geniza* documents from Egypt. First, the scribes' use of *siyāqat* script makes the Ḥaram documents at least as difficult to decipher as the *Geniza* papers. Secondly, the Ḥaram documents cover a more limited time-span and are less varied in their nature (and in fact Lutfi has concentrated on estate inventories to the exclusion of other types of legal and official documents in the hoard). Thirdly and most crucially, it remains uncertain why this collection of documents was preserved and how representative these cases (relating to estates and legacies) are of the totality of the cases brought before the Shāfi'ī *qāḍī* and uncertain, too, whether some or all categories of estate would have come before the *qāḍī* to be witnessed. Obviously, the destitute of Jerusalem are not covered in the Ḥaram sample and neither are the estates of the very wealthy nor any of the Mamluk élite, and Lutfi further argues that there are some grounds for believing that most of the papers in the sample cover the estates of people who were not native to Jerusalem and who had no unchallenged natural heirs or those whose heirs were not present at the time in the town.

Lutfi is properly cautious about the limitations of this source material. Despite the skewed perspective of the Ḥaram papers, *Al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya* does produce interesting and valuable, if tentative, conclusions. Cotton was the basis of the area's economy and its importance seems to have grown in the XIVth century. An interesting economic sideline in Jerusalem itself was the sale of curiosities and antiquities to the tourists and there was a special quarter for the dealers in curiosities. Lapidus's views on the ethnic and partisan homogeneity of urban quarters, put forward in *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* in 1967 are not really supported by Lutfi. Maghribis stuck together and so did Christians and Jews on the whole. Otherwise, people lived where they could find accommodation. There were far more quarters in Jerusalem than would appear from Muḥīr al-Dīn's account, though *ḥāra*, "quarter", was a fairly vague concept then as now. The administrative structure of the town was more elaborate than one could have gathered from Muḥīr al-Dīn, and, in the late XIVth century, this administration increasingly had to report back to Cairo rather than Damascus. There are signs of rural indebtedness to the townsfolk. The mamluk élite in the provinces may not have been an entirely alien body. Lutfi notes how many of the *nawāb*'s mamlūks have Arab names. Although the *wagfs* of great institutions and the endowments of Sultans and courtiers in the Middle Ages have received a lot of attention, this is the first book that I have seen which focuses on the religious endowments of lesser folk, their procedures and motives. Lutfi's book is not just a valuable contribution to social history; it will also be of interest to students of medieval Islamic legal and testamentary procedure.

JEWISH LIFE UNDER ISLAM: JERUSALEM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By AMNON COHEN. pp. xiv, 267, map. Cambridge, Mass. and London, Harvard University Press, 1984, (first pub. in Hebrew, 1982 by Yad Ben Zvi, Jerusalem). £26.50.

This book is a most welcome addition to the history of Jerusalem in the XVIth century as of its Jewish population. The foundation of the book's merit is the documentation which is very largely drawn from the *siyill* volumes in the archives of the Muslim court, to which the Muslim Court in East Jerusalem gave Professor Cohen access. These volumes not only recorded all the court's proceedings and judgements but also the instructions and decrees received from Istanbul; no less importantly, in his capacity as notary public the Muslim judge also entered into his records the various permits and appointments received in his city and district. Given the very broad competence of the court as the sole official legal body in the land, the data of one sort and another that it accumulated make it possible to build up a detailed picture of the multifarious activities of the Jerusalem population. Professor Cohen's concern is of course with the Jews of Jerusalem and here his book clearly constitutes a noteworthy addition to the history of the period. What stands out is the unimportance of the distinction between the status of the Jerusalem Jews as a tolerated minority, "a protected people", with its implication of some degree of subjection, and their actual status. Thus, although there was genuine discrimination against the Jews in the enforcement of laws and regulations and in the levying of certain taxes, and, moreover, their very existence in the city was considered to be less authentic than that of the Muslims, the facts of their situation do not bear out the negative impression that their "protected status" and these other disabilities suggest. Perhaps the most eloquent testimony to the confidence of the Jews in Muslim society was their willingness to take to the Muslim courts disputes between Jew and Jew and to disregard the rabbinical edicts prohibiting this practice. If the Jews were socially isolated, they were not for this reason economically handicapped. The records testify to a wide range of activity in commerce and crafts. There were also some Jews who held high public office. This happy situation did not long outlast the XVIth century. Jerusalem entered a period of decline which adversely affected its Jewish inhabitants. These later centuries would no doubt have a less happy tale to tell. For the present however, the records, so happily discovered and skilfully exploited by Professor Cohen, whet the appetite for more.

LIONEL KOCHAN

MUQARNAS: AN ANNUAL ON ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE. VOLUME 3. pp. 165, illus. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985. Guilders 74.

The third volume of *Muqarnas* carries the second part of Caroline Williams' study of "The Cult of the 'Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo" which with the cult of the dead reflected the outlook of the dynasty, while Jonathan Bloom's "The Origins of Fatimid Art" is a perspicacious exploration of the historical and intellectual forebears of the splendid Fatimid court.

A similar study of ideas that underpin architecture is Yasser Tabbaa's "The Muqarnas Dome", an art form unique to Islam developed in late Xth century Baghdad as a symbol of the atomist-occasionalist universe formulated by Al-Baqillani. The multifaceted dome appears to be supported by the will of God. Tradition is myth emergent from forgotten roots but Tabbaa arrestingly revitalizes that root so that even the domes of the Alhambra will not seem the same again. Yet how effective was this symbolism in promoting the Abbasid cause and how soon overtaken by simple delight in the challenge of the new form? The emergence of windowless muqarnas semidomes suggests that sectarian ideas were soon forgotten.

Gülkü Necipoğlu-Kafadar writing on the "Süleymaniye Complex" implies that historians have underestimated its political and spiritual symbolism. This is untrue. She herself describes the present interior decoration of the mosque erroneously and mislays a madrasa. She believes the listing and transportation of columns to be imagination; it is simply careful planning. She ignores the long association of the garden of paradise with mosques and mausoleums or that brigades of rulers have been compared to Solomon before Süleyman Kanuni who could hardly reject his own name. Her quotation from Thevet is inapposite and we do not know if Süleyman prayed in

his mosque regularly. The Mehmediye with eight madrasas was no less an expression of the ulema's political power than the Süleymaniye: they continued meeting in the former mosque. Şeyhs determined the position of mihrabs in consultation with the Zodiac and some with weak mathematics account for misorientated mescids. They also assisted in placing the foundation stone. Certainly every wise and intelligent man — and one hopes woman — knows as Mustafa Ali courteously points out that architectural monuments are political symbols. The problem is the blindness of contemporary historians, nobody more so than that cheerful Newbolt, Tursan Bey.

Whatever happened to the architect of the Mehmediye, given his knowledge of engineering, he could not achieve a dome of 56.08 metres without the support of a second semidome and the enlargement of the dimensions of the mosque which would certainly have lost him his head. Are we to suppose that Mehmed II did not see the plans of his mosque before building started?

Two important scholarly contributions are the Fishers' "Location of the Royal Ottoman Ateliers" and Ülkü Bates' "Two Ottoman Documents on Architects in Egypt". James Dickie's prose makes sweet reading leading to a revised vision of the "Mughal Garden" but one feels sorry for poor Mr Mori, disgraced for ever. Helen Jessup's "Dutch Architectural Visions of the Indonesian Tradition" is equally illuminating. If at times more energetic than spiritual, never were roofs more expressive.

Sheila Blair's "The Madrasa at Zuzan" with exemplary scholarship conclusively establishes the date of the monument while Eva Baer with equal authority establishes provenance and date for "The Mihrab in the Cave of the Dome of the Rock".

Finally, but first in this issue, Oleg Grabar analyses Al-Azraqi's work as an invaluable source for architectural historians. It needs a properly annotated translation and one hopes that students will rally to the call to duty by such a pre-eminent master.

GODFREY GOODWIN

AZBAKIYYA AND ITS ENVIRONS FROM AZBAK TO ISMĀ'IL 1476-1879. By DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF. (Supplément aux Annales Islamologiques, Cahier No. 6.) pp. xxii, 129, 18 figs., 23 pls. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1985.

The complete survey of Cairo by members of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale continues with this historical study of the wealthy suburb centred on the erstwhile lake, later a park, round which the Amir Azbak established his quarter in the XVth century. Dr Behrens-Abouseif maintains the tradition of fully researched factual information with the addition of fascinating off-shoots of information which bring the record to life. Thus we hear of billiard tables imported by Napoleon for his garrison and how the elaborate cascades worked in the lakeside garden of Qāsim Bey Abū Sayf, open to the public in the best Islamic tradition.

The neighbourhood was artificially planted because of the attraction of the pond and if it always attracted the rich until the XIXth century it had no fundamental social cohesion. The story is one of ups and downs until the growth of modern Cairo overwhelmed it and left not one single mansion from the grander days.

They were always fine residences but reached their apogee in the XVIIIth century when the rich could afford to glaze as well as lattice the tall windows of their lofty rooms and make life comfortable in winter as well as summer. The tradition of the *qā'a* or hall reaching the height of the house looking out onto the lake filled with boats was enhanced by the addition of open verandahs at the water's edge in order to catch every breeze. At certain seasons when the water was low, however, the air cannot have been celestial.

The wealth that created these mansions was first established by the coffee trade which brought about the economic recovery of Cairo under the Ottomans after the damage inflicted on the eastern trade by the opening of Vasco da Gama's route round the Cape of Good Hope. In Mamluk times the shore had been the residence of eminent and exceedingly wealthy jurists such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Sunbāṭi or the Shaykhs of the Sufi Bakrī order. Later, Copts moved in and weaving workshops were established. In the XIXth century the pond became a park in the Parisian manner including a certain loucheness particularly at the somewhat early hour of four o'clock in the afternoon. This haven of music and illicit love was entirely surrounded by

consulates and the best hotels. Since La Belle Époque did not last anywhere else, it has not survived in Cairo either.

GODFREY GOODWIN

MARCHANDS D'ÉTOFFES DU FAYYOUN AU III^e/IX^e SIÈCLE : D'APRÈS LEURS ARCHIVES (ACTES ET LETTRES). II. LA CORRESPONDANCE ADMINISTRATIVE ET PRIVÉE DES BANŪ 'ABD AL-MU'MIN. By YŪSUF RAĠIB. (Supplément aux Annales Islamologiques, Cahier No. 5). pp. vi, 106, 37 pl. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1985.

Yūsuf Rāghib's second volume continues the study, elucidation and publication of the Banū 'Abd al-Mu'min family of the Fayyum, preserved in the Louvre, Berlin and Vienna. Here are examined in all 42 letters on 31 pieces of papyrus, following the same techniques and patterns as the first volume of the series. The classification of the first 28 is made according to the *destinataire*, the person addressed, or presumed to be so. Of these letters 32 deal with strictly family matters, others are addressed to persons outside the family. As before, problems arise from the difficulties in dealing with the lacunae, the faded ink, awkward or clumsy orthography and the confusion created by corrections and additions; some are merely rough drafts. Some have few *nuqaṭ*.

The actual content of the letters is mundane enough and as in personal correspondence today much is taken up with greetings and good wishes, pious phrases and the like. Yet they sometimes bring vividly into life human situations of some eleven centuries ago. Letter II in which a wife complains of her husband's absence and his not being present at home for the 'Īd al-Fiṭr might have been written today and the little commissions to purchase articles for members of the family might be compared with similar requests in the Genizah correspondence of a later period. Letter XXIX addressed to an authority unknown asks for action to be taken against neighbours who had assaulted Abū Hurayrah's brother.

The colloquial style has many "grammatical errors" and one notes mis-spellings, e.g. *a'awāmm* for *'awāmm*, etc. Yūsuf Rāghib points to several idiomatic expressions still current in colloquial Egyptian and to be understood in their colloquial sense. *Nabaṭī* (pp. 23 and 26) means in its contexts a Coptic peasant, but of course the term is also used in 'Abbāsīd Iraq. Rāghib quotes a late source which suggests that the term which occurs in the Ḥadīth collections was applied to them because the *Nabaṭī yastanbiṭu*, draws water, but this seems to the reviewer a false etymology of the type beloved by early Arab writers — why not simply understand it as an epithet transferred to them from the name Nabateans? Does *qirās naḡiyy* (p. 24), which the writer of the letter says he lacks, mean papyrus that is not palimpsest? Rāghib remarks that *Allāh Allāh fī-nā* means, in Egyptian dialect, "God have pity on us", but does this not also occur in classical sources such as al-Jāhiz?

Arabists and historians will look forward to the appearance of further interesting and finely presented volumes in this series.

R. B. SERJEANT

MUSLIM LAW COURTS AND THE FRENCH COLONIAL STATE IN ALGERIA. By ALLAN CHRISTELOW. pp. xxii, 311, map. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1985. £43.40.

This is an ambitious book which addresses an important subject, the place of Islamic law in the French colonial system in Algeria. Based upon the author's doctoral dissertation (circulated as a University Microfilm reprint), and preceded by a number of articles around its theme, it has been awaited with some anticipation as a major English language contribution to the modern history of North Africa. It will have a mixed reception.

The core of the thesis remains the core of the book, namely the constitution of a Muslim judiciary as a branch of the French colonial administration; from 1854 to about 1890. This is the tale of the way in which a traditional institution was reconstructed as a modern bureaucracy, while the original masters of Muslim science and sanctity were converted from men of high

prestige as the arbiters of their society into men of much less power as salaried officials of its new rulers. Withal, they prospered, at least for a time; Chapter 7, entitled "Those who succeeded", describes the new élite which came into being in this fashion. "Most of these men", writes Christelow on p. 84, "seemed intent primarily on pursuing individual interests, rather than formulating a common and coherent response to new problems. I want to stress, however, that there were some outstanding individuals who went beyond such a superficial adaptation and who sought to articulate coherent stances on critical questions." We are presented, in other words, with a picture both plausible and convincing, of persons who in the first place saw their own advantage in collaboration with the French régime. Some were Islamic modernists, who welcomed the opportunity to adapt Islam to the modern world, while others argued with the French on behalf of the old ways. The obvious comparison here is with the Tunisian *'ulamā'* described by Arnold Green, a similar group offered similar chances, who ended by rejecting the thoroughgoing reorganisation of their profession which the Algerians were obliged to accept. Christelow provides a comparable study, of similar value, for the same class in the different circumstances of Tunisia's neighbour. Like Green, he too looks beyond his immediate subject to the growth of nationalism; meanwhile, however, he illustrates the transformation of Algerian society in the colonial period at the top rather than the bottom of the social scale. His work adds a new dimension to our understanding of the colonial experience of the country.

What it does not do is situate the Muslim law courts of the title, the focal institution of the group, securely in the context of the French colonial state, or describe their precolonial origins in the traditional system of "qāḍī justice" with any clarity. Tersely, allusively, inconsequentially, the argument hurries along, elliptical in the sense that time after time, essential steps are omitted, and essential information is given in passing, if at all. I doubt if anyone who did not already know the literature of the subject would gain a clear understanding of traditional society from Christelow's exposition, or of the traditional nature of Islamic law, or of its role and that of its exponents. This is a pity, for Christelow has surely fastened on a real and important distinction between the precolonial societies of eastern and western Algeria which illuminates the history of the Islamic law and its administration under the French. But when the discussion arrives at the French, we find an impatience with explanation which creates its own problems.

Emile Larcher, in his authoritative textbook *Traité élémentaire de législation algérienne*, observed that in Algeria, "la justice musulmane" was "la justice rendue aux musulmans", and meant not simply Islamic law as applied to the Muslim population, but French laws applicable only to Muslims; moreover, it meant the law as administered by the French magistrate as well as by the Muslim *cadi*. When Christelow begins his story with the decree of 1 October 1854, legislating for the application of Muslim law by Muslim judges, he gives no hint that the decree was at the same time the definitive act which deprived both the Muslim law and the Muslim judge of any competence in criminal matters, restricting the one and the other to civil matters. The decree itself is not quoted, in whole or in part, in the text or in an appendix, nor is there any reference that I have found in the footnotes as to where it may be consulted. The same is true of the three other salient decrees, of 1859, 1866 and 1886, on which the argument turns. Only that of 1859 is referred to the *Bulletin officiel des actes du gouvernement*; but who would know that the passing remark at the bottom of p. 170, to the effect that a Muslim litigant might take his land dispute to a French tribunal, must refer to a provision of that decree, modified in 1866? As to land, we are told in various places that a principal object of French policy was to appropriate territory in Muslim possession; but not in so many words that this involved a major trespass upon the civil domain of the Islamic law, and in particular upon the jurisdiction of the *cadi*. Much of the point of the 1886 decree, that among other things it turned over to the French *juge de paix* the division of landed property among the heirs to a deceased Muslim's estate, is therefore lost. There is no mention at all of the decree of 17 April 1889, which was taken by subsequent French treatises on the subject as the definitive act governing the reduced competence of the *cadi*.

Much the same can be said of "the compromise embodied in the decree of 1892", which is never actually described, and like those of 1866 and 1886, does not appear in the Index. As I understand Christelow, however, the compromise in question was a somewhat one-sided transaction in which the French refrained from abolishing the jurisdiction of the *cadi* altogether, in order to avoid the question of granting citizenship *en masse* to their Muslim subjects. There is of course a connection here: French citizens, it was alleged, should be entirely under French

law; Muslims in family matters were not under French law; therefore Muslims could not be French citizens. A strictly limited category of Islamic law reserved to the Muslim population was thus held to create a class of non-citizens with fewer rights, different obligations and less favourable treatment in matters far outside the restricted area to which that Islamic law was confined. But important as this theme may be, the reader is hardly prepared for its appearance; and the only reference I have found to the crucial act governing nationality and citizenship, the *Sénatus-Consulte* of 14 July 1865, is in parenthesis, and not even by name.

Had Christelow made more extensive use of the juridical literature quoted, with odd omissions, in the bibliography, some of this might have been avoided. Relying heavily on archival material, he prefers to build his picture from the cases in the files of the administration. This leads to a certain amount of speculation, where what is on file does not tell the whole story, or where general conclusions are drawn from particular instances — pp. 93, 118, 121, 128, 215–6, for example. Sometimes, however, it is once again the author who neglects to tell his readers exactly what happened. Just what was the Miliana affair, p. 229? What did the Guelma “conspirators” actually do, p. 235? Such things might be looked up, although the only footnote to the Guelma affair (p. 234, n. 27) omits to say where the “entire dossier” may be found. But what is the “key piece of information buried in the newspaper collection at the Wilaya of Constantine” (p. 224)? “It is”, says the next sentence, “this: the well-known wave of petitions of 1887 was made possible by an accord between the Muslim notables and the *colons*”; but that of course is Christelow’s conclusion. The information itself, the evidence for the accord and its consequences, would appear to be two quotations on pp. 240–1 from the deliberations of the Constantine municipal council, seeming to approve the idea of a Muslim petition in favour of a repeal of the 1886 decree. But will these two quotations, suggestive as they may be, bear the weight of the inference that the petition was not only prompted by an accord between Muslims and *colons*, but led to its translation into statutory terms as “the compromise embodied in the decree of 1892”? The inference may very well be correct, but the demonstration is not sufficient. For reasons like these, a book which promises so well can be recommended only with considerable reservations.

MICHAEL BRETT

BEITRÄGE ZUR ETHNOGRAPHIE DER PROVINZ ŠA'DA (NORDJEMEN). ASPEKTE DER TRADITIONELLEN MATERIELLEN KULTUR IN BÄUERLICHEN STAMMESGESELLSCHAFTEN. By ANDRE GINGRICH and JOHANN HEISS. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 462 Band. Veröffentlichungen der Ethnologischen Kommission Nr. 3.) pp. 186, 17, 17 figs., 18 diagrams, 4 plans, 9 tables, 28 pl. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986. DM 50.

This is a neatly produced little book by two young Austrian scholars who have had the good fortune to have been trained in anthropology and allied disciplines by Professor Walter Dostal at the University of Vienna. Their academic and thoroughly professional approach to the ethnography of the province of Ša'dah in the north of the Yemen Arab Republic shines through on every page of the work. Not only is their expertise in ethnography evident, but they have also been reared in the school of thought that insists that social scientists have competence in the language of the area of their study. This philosophy, alas, seems to be all too little practised in this country, and yet again our continental colleagues have shown us the right path. The authors' linguistic ability has enabled them in this book both to use Arabic literary sources to excellent effect and also to compile some useful lists of vernacular technical terms.

Their fieldwork in 1980 and 1983 took them to the areas of Munabbih (Munebbih), Rāziḥ, Šaḥār and Wā'ilah of the Ša'dah province. The book is conveniently divided into these areas and each then treated under such headings as environment, architecture, living conditions and household effects, division of labour and bartering, gardens, grape production, fruit growing, palms, crafts etc. One must frankly thank the gods that they have resisted the temptation of an excursion into the subject of *qār*! Their lucid text is well supported by figures (including maps), diagrams, plans, tables and plates. The maps are, however, a little disappointing. Occasionally direction indicators are missing (e.g. fig. 2) and the scale not expressed in actual distance measurements

makes the map less useful. The diagrams are truly superb; they are clear, well labelled and provided with technical terms and with a scale indicating a precise measurement. They are neatly positioned opposite the explanation of the subject. Architectural plans too are excellent and their lay-out similar to the diagrams. The plates, assembled near the end of the book before the Arabic summary, are small, though clear and give an excellent impression of the area of Ṣa'dah and everyday life there. The whole is carefully annotated and the bibliography is right up-to-date and of great value. Highlights for the reviewer include a discussion (pp. 42-44) with two diagrams of terrace agriculture and of grape growing (pp. 98-101) with the invaluable fig. 11. The former in diagram 6. 2, p. 43, provides the reader with the reminder that *darb* meaning "ownership boundary" (*Besitzgrenze*) is entirely in keeping with the word's Yemeni connotation, "wall". It has nothing of course to do with "road", "street", though it is used frequently in the Yemen for the circular tower-house (also called *nōba*) and those reading early and medieval historiography should look out too for the meaning of "citadel".

May the reviewer be permitted one or two grouses, even when writing of such an excellent book? The heading "Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Region Ṣa'da (4.-11. Jh.)" (p. 14) looks inviting. In fact it turns out to be a sad couple of pages with extremely little historical information. This is indeed a lost opportunity to provide an essential historical introduction. The authors also clearly have the expertise to use the primary Arabic sources in order to do this. In this connection too Ṣa'dah as the centre *par excellence* of Zaydism requires a more forceful message than the isolated "Durch Jahrhunderte hindurch blieb Ṣa'da das religiöse und oft auch politische Zentrum der zayditischen Imame" (p. 15). Perhaps a brief introduction to Zaydism too would not come amiss to many readers. After the excellent individual lists of technical terms a union glossary is a priority here. Alas, none is provided. The book sadly lacks an index also.

The good news for all readers of this book is that one at least of the authors is continuing his work on the Ṣa'dah area. After congratulating the authors warmly on this highly commendable performance, we can therefore look forward to further academic gems from these gifted young scholars.

G. REX SMITH

THE YEMEN IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES: A POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By HUSAYN B. 'ABDULLAH AL-'AMRI. (Durham Middle East Monographs No.1.) pp. xiii, 225, map. London, The Ithaca Press for the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, 1985. £15.00.

This detailed and careful study centres on the works and other contributions by a leading authority and personality of XIXth century Yemen, namely Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), recognized in and out of the country as one of the top authorities of his age in Islamic jurisprudence. The versatility of his writings (many of them utilized in this study) emerges from a perusal of the topics treated in this book, first submitted as a Ph.D. dissertation to the University of Durham.

Divided into two equal parts, each of five chapters, the author presents in the first a synopsis of Yemen's political history from 1161 to 1251 (1753 to 1835), encompassing the reigns of four Imams: al-Manṣūr 'Alī (1189-1224/1775-1809), al-Mahdī 'Abbās (1161-89/1745-75), al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad (1224-31/1809-16), and al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh (1231-51/1816-35). As the narrative illustrates more often than not, these were troubled times, filled with rebellions and strife, aggression and suppression, punitive expeditions and general uncertainty. Accounts of such conditions are thoroughly detailed, to the extent that they are often difficult to digest or derive meaningful conclusions therefrom. In reading this part, one has the impression that the destiny of the country was shaped by the politics of the ruling élite, be they the Imam and his entourage or the tribal chiefs and their supporters. Their actions determined events, the full impact of which on the populace — besides being negative and detrimental to its well being — is not easily discernible because not enough emphasis is placed on their role. One assumes that disruptions in social and agricultural life are necessary results of political and tribal strife. Intrigues thus receive considerable attention, as do the brighter aspects of life, albeit confined to weddings and feasts.

Much of the information on which this historical analysis rests derives from the works of al-Shawkānī, like his *al-Badr al-Tālī* and its *dhayls*, *al-Sayl al-Jarrār*, and *Nayl al-Husnayn*. There is recourse also to other primary works such as al-Jahhāf's biographies of the Imams Maṣṣūr 'Alī and al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh, and to such significant printed works as Muḥammad Zabārah's *A'immat al-Yaman* (Cairo, n.d.)

This part is enhanced by detailed charts reflecting the lineage of the branch of the Imamate (al-Qāsim of Saba') to which the Imams dealt with in the study belonged.

Part two focuses on al-Shawkānī's life and thought, his role as chief qāḍī under the Imām al-Maṣṣūr 'Alī, as mediator in the conflicts between the extremists among sectarians (Zaydis and other Shī'ahs), as critic of the Imam's taxation policies and his proposed remedies, and the important decisions made by him as they related to important administrative matters. Al-Shawkānī's own concept of the imam's function is given some consideration in this book.

This part treats also al-Shawkānī's own background and training, listing the numerous shaykhs under whom he studied (elaborately displayed in chart form) as well as the equally numerous disciples who trained with him. Besides the chapters dealing with al-Shawkānī's administrative and intellectual preparation, the author summarizes in succeeding ones al-Shawkānī's role as *mujtahid* and *faqīh*, as *muḥaddith*, Qur'ānic commentator, historian/biographer and poet. The author highlights al-Shawkānī's views, particularly in the department of exceptions or disagreement with his peers. While his contributions to scholarship in all such fields are substantial (given the bibliography of published and unpublished works), one has the impression that al-Shawkānī was long on interpretation but short on originality. Yet the fact that a good many of his works were published provides evidence of his importance among the spokesmen of his age, both in and out of Yemen.

In the select bibliography we have a list of unpublished works which Dr. al-'Amri found and utilized courtesy of the valuable manuscript collection in the Great Mosque of Ṣan'ā'. Besides these, the bibliography lists also significant primary and secondary works, published and unpublished, both in Arabic and English, as well as a number of Ph.D. theses.

The work under review makes a valuable contribution to scholarship on XIXth century Yemen, but it would be difficult for the non-specialist to appreciate fully its value given the fact that it has preserved in published form much of its original dissertational character, done as it was directly from typescript with unjustified margins. Moreover, transcribed Arabic terms abound (between 17 and 21 on some pages), far beyond what Western readers expect, let alone what would satisfy the intellectual demands of scholars and researchers.

Scholars should welcome the number of aids employed in the text: map, charts, glossary of basic terms, a substantial well-organized bibliography and extensive end notes which reflect positively on the meticulous scholarship underpinning this study. I found no typographical errors, not even inconsistency or error in the mode of transcription pursued. The English translation of Arabic terms is equally accurate and expressive of the original meaning.

The author of this study should be commended for his substantial contribution to scholarship on XIXth century Yemen as represented in the writings of perhaps the outstanding Yemeni personality of this period. The book should aid researchers in understanding better some of the intricate detail surrounding political events and intellectual undertakings.

CAESAR E. FARAH

TUYUR 'UMĀN. By MICHAEL GALLAGHER and MARTIN W. WOODCOCK. pp. 308, 134 pl., 4 maps. London, Quartet Books Ltd., 1985. £35.00.

The book under review is a faithful translation of the English version of Gallagher's and Woodcock's *Birds of Oman*, published in 1980. With very minor differences the Arabic translation follows the English text with its useful introduction to Oman, its climate, water resources etc., its fascinating introduction to the birds of Oman, their habitats, breeding, migration etc., as well as some invaluable tips on the relaxing pastime of birdwatching: including equipment, binoculars, cameras etc. Almost page for page also, the superb photographs and coloured paintings are reproduced in this Arabic translation.

The entries are grouped in families, then species, then individual birds, each one carefully

arranged opposite the excellently produced coloured paintings on the left hand page. A length from tip of bill to tip of tail follows the main Arabic entry and the Latin name. Each entry includes world wide distribution, as well as comments on the bird's status within Oman.

On the whole the translated Arabic reads satisfactorily. When one arrives at certain bird names, however, one quickly realises that the translation is purely functional and that no attempt has been made by the anonymous translator(s) either to find local Omani terms, where these exist for birds found commonly in the Sultanate, or to seek out correct Arabic terms from the vast literature available on the subject. The former task would not have been difficult, though, it must be confessed, it would still leave the problem of the short-stay visitors. Again it might be unreasonable to expect a non-specialist translator to spend the time necessary in sifting the ornithological (in its widest sense) literature in Arabic. He might, however, be expected to consult such excellent sources as Bashīr al-Lūs (*al-Ṭuyūr al-ʿiraqiyyah*, Baghdad, 1960-62, 3 vols.) and François Viré (*Le traité de l'art de voler*, Leiden, 1967, "index ornithologique", etc.). The following are just some of the queries the reviewer wishes to raise and some of the downright errors which occur in the Arabic translation.

Page 54 — all the herons are called *balashūn*, a dubious nomenclature which leads to the preposterous *balashūn al-baqar* (p. 58), cattle egret, universally termed Abū Qirdān ("father of ticks") in Arabic.

Page 72 — the somewhat ridiculous *al-baṭṭ al-ṭawīl al-dhayl* is used for the pintail, for which Abū Zallah (occasionally *bulbūl*) is a well known term.

Page 88 — harrriers are *murz* in Arabic and *ṣuqūr al-arānib* will not do. *Ṣaqr* is used in Arabic only to denote a true falcon or the saker. More on this below.

Page 92 — *ṣuqūr* are not members of the *Accipiter* family, but are Falconidae (see comments on p. 102 below). The former are *bāziyāt*. *Al-ṣaqr al-kabīr* is again quite unacceptable for the goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*) which is *bāz(ī)* (female) and *zurraq* (male) in Arabic. Similarly the sparrowhawk (*Accipiter nisus*) is *bāshiq/bāshaq* and *al-ṣaqr al-ṣaghīr* just will not do!

Page 102 — *Bāziyāt* are members of the *Accipiter* family, not Falconidae (cf. comments on p. 92 above). The kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*) is termed *awsaq* or *āsūq* in Arabic, not *bāshiq/bāshaq* which is the sparrowhawk (see above, comments on p. 92).

Page 104 — the hobby (*Falco subbuteo*) is *kawinj*, not *al-bāz al-aswad al-janāh*! The merlin (*Falco columbarius*) is *yu'yu'*, not *al-bāz al-aḥmar al-ṭawq*!

Page 106 — the lanner (*Falco biarmicus*) is *burnī* or *saqāwā* ((*shāhūn*) *wakrī* in the Arabian Peninsula, cf. M. J. S. Allen and G. R. Smith, "Some notes on hunting techniques and practices in the Arabian Peninsula", *Arabian Studies*, II, 1975, pp. 108-47, especially p. 116 and glossary), not *al-bāz al-aḥmar al-ra's*! *Al-bāz al-ṣaqr* for the saker (*Falco cherrug*) is a contradiction in terms (an *Accipiter* falcon!) and is nothing short of perverse.

These problems of nomenclature aside, this Arabic translation is every bit as useful and exciting as its English original. It will be invaluable to the Arabic-speaking ornithologist and to the Arabist.

G. REX SMITH

MUHIMME DEFTERI: DOKUMENTI O NAŠIM KRAJEVIMA. By KOVAČEVIĆ ESREF (Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, Monumenta Turcica, No. 4, Series III, Knjiga 1, Svezak 1.) pp. 230. Sarajevo, Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, 1985.

The Mühimme Defteri is a collection of Ottoman documents deposited in the archives of the Turkish Republic in Ankara; they contain a great deal of information about the everyday life of the Ottoman empire. The Oriental Institute in Sarajevo has published translations of a collection of documents relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the Balkans which were under Ottoman rule between 1554 and 1566, a period of considerable importance in Ottoman history. This was the time of Süleyman the Magnificent, and the documents provide a useful insight into the functioning of the central government and the Ottoman chancery, which attained considerable sophistication in their continuation of Byzantine and Persian models.

Some of the documents give us an insight into the functioning of such Ottoman institutions as the Devshirme. There is a *Hüküm* (instruction) to the Kadi of Yeni Pazar (Novi Pazar) in 1559; a special emissary was sent there to organize the collection of young men for the janissary

corps and to circumvent those inhabitants who tried to avoid this. Miners of Yeni Pazar refused to send their children, on the grounds of their status and exemption from that duty. The *Hüküm* instructs the collectors to send all related documents to Istanbul for further consideration (pp. 27-8).

Another document tells of a special escort ordered to accompany a messenger from Istanbul who was transporting a money safe to the Beylerbey of Budim. Their duties included a watch for dangerous passes and difficult places, in order to ensure a safe passage. Some of the documents are related to the direct intervention of the central government in the decisions of local authorities, particularly if some representatives of local authorities misbehaved or appointed unsuitable people to high positions. There is the case of the appointment of a local *ayan* in Skopje in 1560; he is deemed unsuitable because of his involvement in robberies and a murder. The kadi of Skopje was instructed to replace him with a more suitable individual (pp. 37-8).

Some documents initiate action against the misdeeds of officials who misused their power and subjected the people to chicanery and the malpractices of local authorities. Instructions were sent to local judges to intervene against such individuals and restore order and justice. It seems that the Ottoman administration was plagued by illegal collections of taxes by some dishonest tax-collectors, and instructions were sent to stop such malpractices and punish the offenders. These documents date from 1560.

A number of documents are concerned with appointments and the salaries of fortress garrisons, showing the tight control central government exercised over remote outposts of the empire. Such material illustrates the efficient functioning of the central government and how extensive was the knowledge available about even minor happenings in those remote but vital fortresses.

A number of *Hüküms* are related to military campaigns and the preparations for them. For example, numerous instructions are given to the Beylerbey of Budim to send out spies and informants in order to discover the intentions of the enemy. These documents give us an interesting insight into the techniques of Ottoman military organisation, particularly that related to the campaign of 1566 in which Süleyman died and an important era of Ottoman history ended. A number of instructions also refer to the behaviour of the frontier commanders and their relationship with the local population.

This book contains 465 documents altogether, giving us unique inside knowledge of the day-to-day functioning of a powerful state, with all its advantages and shortcomings. It is a great pity that the documents were not given in the original, in order to afford an opportunity to Turcologists to see the original text, but this practice was abandoned as in the two other books reviewed below, for reasons of high costs.

ALEXANDER LOPASIC

VAKUFNAME IZ BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE (XV I XVI VIEK). (Orientalni Institut u Sarajevu, Monumenta Turcica No. 5, Series III, Knjiga 1). pp. 278. Sarajevo, Orientalni Institut 1985.

Vakufnames are documents relating to the building of objects of religious, cultural or social importance serving the upkeep of *wakfs* (pious endowments) by various wealthy Muslims who left part of their property for pious purposes.

These documents are very important as they show how Muslim society and life developed in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the XVth and XVIth centuries. There are altogether 27 such documents, well provided with information about the individuals who bequeathed the *wakfs*. We encounter a series of famous names, all closely related to Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina such as, 'Isa Bey', the famous military commander and governor of the Ottoman frontier march of Macedonia, dating from 1469, or Ghazi Khusrew Bey of Sarajevo, the best known governor of Bosnia and a wealthy individual who left a huge *wakf* consisting of extensive landed property for that purpose. Here one should particularly mention Ghazi Khusrew Bey's medrese with its considerable architectural importance. The two documents concerned are dated 1531 and 1537, showing considerable accumulation of property and wealth by the new Ottoman-Muslim elite in Bosnia. A similar but not so spectacular development can be observed in Herzegovina, a good example being the *wakf* of Haji Mohammed Bey, no doubt the most popular

Muslim personality of Mostar and Herzegovina; this is dated 1570. He was very much involved in the building of the famous Mostar bridge and, according to an inscription in his mosque in Mostar, he had a brother who at that time was a grand-vizier, Rüstem Pasha. Some of these leading Muslims were of Christian origin, such as Nesuh Aga Vučjak, who originated from the well-known Catholic Herzegovinian noble family of Vučjaković. Nesuh Aga built mosques for himself in Ljubuški and amassed considerable property in Mostar, including 28 shops and 10 mills.

All the documents are well provided with information about the donors, and also included are details related to previous translations and their corrections. The book represents a welcome contribution to our knowledge about Muslim Ottoman society in the XVth and XVIth centuries.

ALEXANDER LOPASIC

TRAGOM POEZIJE BOSANSKO HERCEGOVAČKIH MUSLIMANA NA TURSKOM JEZIKU. Trans. by HADŽIOSMANOVIĆ LAMIJA and TRAKO SALIH. pp. 143. Sarajevo, Gazi Husrevbegova Biblioteka, 1985.

The introduction of Islam into the Balkans and particularly in Bosnia meant also the introduction of the written word in oriental languages such as Ottoman Turkish, the official language of the empire, Arabic and Persian. The written language became an important expression of the newly established religion, Islam, as other artistic expressions were limited or even non-existent. At first books in these languages were imported from other Muslim centres such as Istanbul, Cairo, Damascus or Baghdad, and became part of the many private and public libraries developing in Bosnia. Later such books were copied in Bosnia, as printing in Turkish did not start in Istanbul until the XVIIIth century. The translators tried to give a selection of different types of literary works, among which the *tarih* should be particularly mentioned. It is not easy to translate; it is an epitaph, epigram or even chronogram. All important events in Bosnia or in the empire were recorded, for example, the birth of an important personality, his death, the starting of a war or military campaign, the appointment of a new pasha, etc. *Tarihs* had to be short and demanded a good knowledge of Ottoman Turkish; such poets enjoyed considerable respect and popularity in their local communities.

One example of such a *tarih* will illustrate the poetic form; it was dedicated to the building of the famous bridge on the Neretva in Mostar, and was composed by Dervish Pasha Bajezidagić, himself a native of Mostar and respected for his poetic achievements. It dates from 1576/77. The bridge was built between 1556 and 1566 under the supervision of the above mentioned Hadji Mohammed Bey by order of Süleyman the Magnificent;

"The bridge is erected, reminding us of a rainbow arch,

My God, is there a more beautiful one in the world?

A dervish stood amazed and said the following words:

"The bridge will remain and we shall pass".

Important also are *tarihs* dedicated to famous battles, like the one by an unknown author on the battle at Krbavo Polje in 1493, in which the Ottoman army under the Bosnian commander Jakub Pasha won a great victory and took prisoner even the Croatian *banus* Emerik Derenčin. The poem shows a number of elements of the Slavonic poetic tradition, to which the Muslim morality of Ottoman superiority was added, so that it concludes: "the barbarians' souls have deserved their punishment" or "Infidel flags were broken down and the sign of the faith (Islam) was erected on the highest peak". The collection also includes some examples of the classical "Divan poetry", and a selection of *tarihs* composed by a famous poet in Ottoman Turkish, Mohammed Enveri Kadić (1855-1931) who, in addition, collected material on the history of Bosnia for many years and wrote it down in 20 volumes which are still in manuscript form. Some parts of these have been published in this collection.

This book is a serious attempt to give us a selection of the poetic achievements of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 300 years of Ottoman rule, and to introduce us the lesser known literary world of Muslim Bosnia.

ALEXANDER LOPASIC

ART AND SOCIETY OF BULGARIA IN THE TURKISH PERIOD. By MACHIEL KIEL. pp. 400, 77 illus. 7 facsimilies, 9 maps. Assen/Maastricht, Van Gorcum, 1985.

The publisher states that this is a controversial book and it certainly reverses the roles of villain and hero in the conflict between Islamic and Christian interests in the Balkans. But one may hope that there is nothing controversial in the disposal of a false and mythical view of history. With this work Dr Kiel reinforces his authority as the most important scholar of Christian Balkan history during the Ottoman period. He is unbesmirched by myopic nationalist views or such distractions as the *catastrophe theory* which still keeps more local historians submerged in the stews of late XIXth century romantic history. This may seem astonishing when they work for a Marxist republic but then Marx, in a racist mood, made clear that he thought the people of the Balkans deserved Ottoman rule.

Many shadow puppets are disposed of by Dr Kiel including the claim that the Mesembria Palaeologan churches were the swansong of medieval Bulgarian architecture or that Ottoman konaks were part of the so-called Bulgarian revival. He makes clear that Bulgarian life was not smothered by the Sultan's government. Details are given that show the growth of prosperous Christian villages and the importance of sheep rearing. Thus it was that rich Christian craftsmen, traders and merchants were able to endow new churches and new frescoes and icons throughout the Ottoman period.

Byzantine forms of art and architecture survived and these may be called Bulgarian even if they receive only modest support from the state. Such masterpieces as the portrait of Ivan Rilski, painted in 1799 in the Metoch of St. Luke of Rila monastery or the much earlier, 1491, Dormition in the Metoch of Orlitsa are a proof of this. Kiel discusses every aspect of his studies in depth: the arrival of the Cretan style, the Macedonian Renaissance, the reasons for the rare appearance of the Heavenly Liturgy in Bulgarian churches and so on.

Church architecture was simple and based on rectangles and modest apses. But some examples developed small transepts and were more than twenty metres long. Additions were made over the years including narthexes while the quality of the ashlar was excellent. In the XVIth century a curious blend united Armenian, Ottoman and local decorative elements in single buildings in Macedonia, as with the village churches of Miado Magoricane or Žegljane.

This is no coffee table book but there are enough black and white illustrations to support the text besides a comprehensive bibliography and a good index. The text demands attention but there are moments of wit and the occasional misprint adds to the comedy. It will be the standard work for a long time to come.

GODFREY GOODWIN

RUSSIA AND THE GOLDEN HORDE: THE MONGOL IMPACT ON MEDIEVAL RUSSIAN HISTORY. By Charles J. Halperin, pp. xii, 180, front 2 maps. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1985. US \$22.50. London, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1987. £19.50 (cloth), £9.50 (paper).

This is not a history of the Russian principalities in the XIII-XVth centuries or of the Moscow which emerged paramount among them by the end of that period. Nor is it a history of the Golden Horde: important khans such as Berke and Tokhta are mentioned only in a list of Mongol rulers quoted from a chronicle (p. 105); Janibek once besides, and that incidentally (p. 69). Nor yet does it chart in appreciable detail the political interaction of the Horde and the Russian princes. For these purposes, we shall remain dependent on B. Spuler's *Die Goldene Horde* (2nd ed. 1965) and on the work of J. L. I. Fennell, whose *The crisis of medieval Russia 1200-1304* (1983), like H. Paszkiewicz's posthumous *The rise of Moscow's power* (1983), seems to have appeared too late to be used by Halperin. His book is concerned rather with ideological and institutional history, with the medieval (and inevitably also the modern) Russian view of the Mongols, and with what might be called the Mongol contribution to Russia's development.

This slant reflects Halperin's main strength, his mastery of the primary and secondary material in Russian. He begins by developing a number of theses adumbrated in 1983 in his article "Russia

in the Mongol empire in comparative perspective" in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. One is that medieval Russian chroniclers, confronted with a steppe power considerably greater than its predecessors the Pechenegs and the Polovtsy, wrote about Russian dealings with the Mongols in terms which they were accustomed to use of those earlier, more ambivalent encounters. They ignored the awkward circumstance that their country had undergone a military conquest and their princes had become Mongol tributaries; and this "ideology of silence," of course, is hardly calculated to provide an answer to the vexed question of the Mongol impact on Russia. Another thesis is that the forest zone of European Russia enjoyed merely a secondary status in the eyes of the Horde's rulers, whose attention was focussed above all on the Volga trade-route and on the rich pasturelands that lay south of the Caucasus and under the sway of their cousins the Īl-khāns. In a systematic appraisal of the Mongol impact, Halperin examines the character of the steppe empire, the administrative mechanisms of the Golden Horde, the debt owed to past Mongol overlordship by the Muscovite autocracy, the Mongols' effect upon Russian society and the Orthodox Church, and (the briefest chapter of all) their impact on Russian cultural life. His conclusions are largely balanced and judicious, in particular on the origins of Chinggis Khan's empire, on the scale of the destructiveness of the initial invasions, on the opportunism of the Russian and Lithuanian princes, and on the flexibility of Horde policy, which made the harshness of the "Tatar yoke" so variable in its incidence both over the course of time and between one principality and another.

This is a thought-provoking book. Yet it is almost as if in the very abundance of his ideas the author has been obliged to sacrifice detail. In the Russian context his grasp on the evidence appears sure throughout; though even here there is the occasional oddity. If Daniil of Galicia was involved in the disaffection of Andrei of Vladimir in 1252 (and it is open to doubt), Mikhail of Chernigov must surely be absolved of complicity in such a "concerted rebellion" (p. 49), having been executed in 1246. Outside Russian matters, Halperin is on less sure ground, and there are a number of errors, albeit minor and peripheral to his argument. Batu is confused with his father Jochi, and the rape of Jochi's mother is attributed to Jamuqa of the Jajerat (who in fact assisted in her rescue) rather than to the Merkit tribe (p. 146, n. 31). There is no reason to question Noghai's Chinggisid descent (pp. 28, 29). The compilers of the Chinese dynastic histories [*sic*: this can only mean the *Yüan Shih*] and the Persian historian Juwaynī did not use a version of the Mongol *Secret History* (p. 100). Nor is it quite true to claim (p. 29) that two hundred years after the Mongol empire had split (c. 1260?) all the successor-states had disappeared except the Golden Horde: in the late XVth century the Chaghatayids in Turkestan were still a power to be reckoned with. It seems, moreover, that Halperin has misunderstood the relationship of the Horde's khans to the Great Khan in the Far East. We are told (p. 145, n. 13) that the term *yarliki* does not appear in XIIIth-century chronicles and that their issue was a prerogative of the Great Khan which the ruler of the Golden Horde would not have infringed. Now Batu may have been acting illegally in issuing *yarlig*s to several subordinate rulers (though admittedly none from Russia) in the interregnum prior to the accession of the Great Khan Güyük in 1246 (Juwaynī, trans. Boyle, p. 267). But after 1260 the Golden Horde stood in opposition to the Great Khan Qubilai and from the death of his rival Arigh-Böke in 1264 it seems to have recognized no Great Khan for two decades. In these circumstances Batu's successors would naturally have issued patents of authority on their own account. The situation in the late XIIIth century is obscure; doubtless Halperin is nearer the truth earlier, when he describes the Golden Horde's allegiance as "largely symbolic and ceremonial" (p. 25). Whatever the case, the Horde's hostility to the Great Khan need not be adduced to explain its failure to avenge the expulsion of the tax-farmers in 1262 (pp. 137, n. 14, and 142, n. 12). We have no evidence that they were sent by Qubilai, and the reason surely lies rather in the war which had broken out with the Īl-khān in the Caucasus and with the Chaghatayids in Transoxiana (Bartold, *Turkestan*, 3rd ed., 1968, pp. 489-91; Jackson, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, xxii, 1978, pp. 232-5) and which was bound to absorb Berke's energies.

PETER JACKSON

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES IRAN: NACH DEN ÜCHERN MIT IRANISTISCHEN THEMEN IN DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, DER BIBLIOTHEK DER UNIVERSITÄT WIEN UND DER BIBLIOTHEK DER ÖSTER-

REICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN. By REINHARD POHANKA. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 454. Band.) pp. 309. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985.

This is a bibliography based on the holdings of the three major Viennese libraries, those of the Austrian National Library, Vienna University, and the Austrian Academy of Sciences. It includes 2008 classified entries, an index of authors, and a further index to facilitate finding the exact location of all the items listed.

The system of classification sometimes seems a trifle odd. The works of the Ilkhanid historian Rashid al-Dīn are a case in point. Jahn's edition of his history of the period from Abaqa to Geikhatu is listed (correctly) in the Ilkhanid part of the History section; but the sequel, on the reign of Ghazan, is listed under the Timurids; whereas Alizade's edition, which includes both these parts of the text and more, is found at the other end of the book, in the Literature section. The Art section also contains some surprising entries, including Algar's study of the Qājār politician Mīrzā Malkum Khān, and that well known travel book, Gertrude Bell's *Persian Pictures*.

This does not, then, appear to be an enormously reliable book. Nor is it easy to see that it is likely to prove a very useful one, except for anyone who happened to be contemplating working on Persian subjects in Vienna. But on this evidence the resources available in Vienna do not seem to be very extensive.

D. O. MORGAN

SRAOŠA IN THE ZOROASTRIAN TRADITION. By G. KREYENBROEK. (*Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina*, Vol. 28) pp. xiii, 200. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985. Guilders 68.

Although Sraoša is only one of many *yazatas* in Zoroastrianism, his place is central in the faith. Dr Kreyenbroek has provided a most important piece in the unfinished puzzle of reconstructing the history of Zoroastrianism. The basis of this study was approved as a doctoral thesis by the University of Leiden, having been supervised by Professor Mary Boyce; and Dr Kreyenbroek acknowledges that "some of the views of his book are based on the assumption that the Zoroastrian sources reflect . . . a continuous and essentially unbroken tradition, subject to evolutionary changes rather than radical breaks" (p. 1), a view which has been very fully substantiated in his supervisor's *History of Zoroastrianism* and in her other works. Previous treatments of Sraoša have, with few exceptions, been fragmentary, because scholars have ignored Zoroastrian devotional practice and failed to acknowledge the full importance of the evidence of the Pahlavi books. Dr Kreyenbroek surveys all the available material in Gāthic Avestan, Younger Avestan and Pahlavi, aiming at "a comprehensive analysis of Sraoša's character, functions and development" (*loc cit.*). In his careful analysis of the seven Gāthic passages the author understands *sraoša* as "Hearkening", i.e. as personifying "the obedient frame of mind" which allows the prophet Zarathushtra to receive revelation from Ahura Mazdā and also to defeat the forces of evil. "Hearkening" is thus at the same time an immanent and an external reality, for in the *Gāthās*, it is argued, "concept and divinity were still felt to be very closely linked" (p. 29), an idea which few Gāthic or Vedic scholars would disagree with. The second chapter gives the parallel texts in transcription and translation of the hymns to Sraoša in Avestan and Pahlavi (*Yasna* 57, *Yast* 11, *Yasna* 56); and with the learned discussions of his commentary, Dr Kreyenbroek has made a substantial scholarly contribution. Whilst some general points emerge from the close study of the text (e.g. pp. 76–7, n.1.9), the discussion of Sraoša's character is left to the concluding chapter.

Next we have an exhaustive compilation of Pahlavi texts on Sroš. Here, however, where the material is so rich, the author was constrained, by his higher aim of achieving a comprehensive survey of the different stages of Zoroastrian development, to confine himself to two concluding paragraphs of discussion, having cited some eighty passages under twenty three headings cataloguing the various roles of Sroš in the Pahlavi books. Chapter four is a systematic study of the many prayers and rituals in which Sraoša is featured. The advantage of treating the ritual dimension alongside the theological is that one can see how each is a reflection and dramatisation of the other. For example, Dr Kreyenbroek is able to suggest that the reason why Ohrmazd cannot be

worshipped together with Sroš is that the latter, in opposing the Drug, embodiment of evil, comes directly into contact with pollution (p. 145). Sroš is a barrier against evil in ritual and theology alike, confronting manifestations of evil directly. The Gāthic Sraoša has developed into the many forms and functions of the *yazad* Sroš, and the author shows how evolution and change in this figure reflect various stages of development in the circumstances of the religion; e.g. the rise in Sraoša's popularity and his association with the concern for scrupulous performance of rites and observances according to the laws of purity are attributed to the deliberate efforts of the priesthood who wished to increase standards of orthopraxy so as to improve their own standing. Sraoša is thus virtually an embodiment of the religious tradition, as the power of the sacred word, obedience, discipline, authority and purity, as *xwadāy ud dahibed ī gēhān* "lord and ruler of the world". Dr Kreyenbroek's fine study will be warmly welcomed by Iranists and by others interested in the question of continuity and change in a religious tradition.

A. V. WILLIAMS

THE MANTLE OF THE PROPHET: LEARNING AND POWER IN MODERN IRAN. By ROY MOTTAHEDEH. pp. 416. London, Chatto and Windus, 1986. £12.95.

Understanding other peoples' cultures, be they of strangers or even one's own ancestors, is extraordinarily difficult. Outside observers all too frequently prevent intimacy by the deployment of an entirely proper scholarly detachment or of a less proper respectful deference which can transform a vibrant, living culture teeming with cross-currents of passionate dissent into a mausoleum. The literature produced from within the culture tends to frustrate either by its unacknowledged partisan stance or because it deploys a restricted code of cultural idiom which defies comprehension by all but the most well-equipped scholar. It is a rare book that recognises both the need for communicating the essence of a culture and perceives a way of doing it without being either facile or patronising. Roy Mottahedeh's remarkable book is a triumphant vindication of the possibility of opening up a culture for the better understanding of both specialists and non-specialists alike and creates standards which future scholars with similar wishes will find hard to emulate.

Mottahedeh's intentions are relatively straightforward. In 1978 whilst teaching at Princeton he was visited by an imposing Iranian *mullah* whose training had included a period at the feet of Ayatollah Khomeini in exile. The *mullah*, concealed behind the pseudonym of Ali Hashemi, began to share with Mottahedeh his intellectual and personal history. It is to the author's eternal credit that he recognised what a rare jewel this biography was. Thus in part *Mantle of the Prophet* is an undemanding, frequently engaging and always revealing story of a career in Islamic intellection followed by the manifestly very clever son of a very clever *mullah* of Qom. Ali Hashemi is followed through a childhood in Qom; a city marvellously evoked without any descent into the purple prose of the travelogue. Home, mosque and bazaar, and the subtle inter-play between them, the city and its history and the pulsing context of erudition and incessant learning shape Ali Hashemi. We follow him through state school, then *madreseh*, on pilgrimage and to Najaf where he studied with Khomeini for two years. The book begins with Ali Hashemi's reactions to the events of February 1979 and ends, tantalisingly, without telling the reader what his role in subsequent events was to be.

Were this all there was to *The Mantle of the Prophet* it would have stood as an admirable and often fascinating biography of a clearly important learned man of Shi'ite Islam, made all the more important for its rarity. Ali Hashemi is clearly no ordinary *mullah*. He is an aristocrat of the intellect who inherited status and his black turban along with his brains. His contacts with the all too real world of less well-endowed Qom tend to occur at second hand, through the eyes of his school-friend Parviz. Their bond, born of Parviz' squint and Ali's obsessive swotting and the amusement they aroused in their class-mates, persists as Ali rises to great heights of learning whilst Parviz becomes a radical, Paris trained engineer. Parviz is a not entirely convincing creation and it might be suspected that a number of friends are rolled into one for the sake of narrative flow. He is, however, important for it is from his long account of his political career towards the

end of the book, that the author furnishes us with clues about the drift of some technocratic young radicals from the radical *marxisante* left into a closer relationship with an older tradition enshrined, in part, in Qom.

As a biography it is, then, well-written and always interesting. It is also startling in the biographer's ability to demand unobtrusively that the reader accept this distinctly unglamorous career on its own terms. It is a hard and joyless road in which women and, excepting Parviz, friendship play little part. Ali Hashemi's life, Mottahedeh implies, is, like the life of many another *sayyed*, to be understood within the context of Shi'ism and Iran and cannot be routinised by specious and glib comparisons with western cultural experience. Being a *mullah* is not like being a Jesuit in another language.

Thus Mottahedeh turns to the second item on his daunting agenda. How do you get across what Ali Hashemi would mean by "its own terms"? He answers this splendidly. The biography is interleaved, without any damage to the flow of the narrative or any discernible disjunctures in style, with an equally remarkable account of what Shi'ism means. He spends little time on the well-known history of the schism within Islam although he is always at pains to show just how important that history is to the faithful. He dwells rather on the intellectual history of this branch of the faith. This is achieved, very skilfully, by a series of detailed sketches of major figures in the development of that intellectual tradition including the heretics as well as the more obviously revered figures and their thought. Although each of these portraits is contained within a biographic shell, the intention of the author is to build up an understanding of the development of the tradition of intellectual form and content which eventually come together in the training of Ali Hashemi. Mottahedeh is far too good a scholar to relax when he has unravelled the creation of Ali Hashemi's syllabus. Unlike his blurb writer who perversely insists that study in Shi'ite seminaries is: "still based . . . on grammar, rhetoric and logic, the trivium of mediaeval scholarship", Mottahedeh sees, surely correctly, that the dynamic of that tradition has involved constant and exponential change. Some of this has emerged from a dialectic internal to Shi'ism itself and there are valuable insights into the role of the Sufi tradition at many stages of the analysis. It has also been a tradition powerfully influenced by its relationship with the traditions of others; thus he shows how Islamic intellectuals handled the Graeco-Roman inheritance and later how the no less challenging and more physically daunting intellectual impact of the West was confronted by a variety of scholars, some departing towards materialist heresies of one sort or another, others having to redefine their Islam in less universalist and more culturalist or even nationalist fashions.

Not the least interesting aspect of this odyssey through what is often a quite justifiably demanding set of discourses (how else are we to get some glimpse of the intellectual mountains the revered *mullah* must climb?) is Mottahedeh's analysis of the role of the Iranian state. He shows very clearly how some radical '*ulamā*' were in part responsible for the hectic westernisation of Iranian education. But he also shows how the encroachment of the state, rather than obliterating the demanding and in some senses unworldly tradition of centres like Qom, significantly radicalised and strengthened an entire universe of learning condemned by overhasty Iranian modernisers as dusty and essentially anachronistic. The history of the Shi'a tradition, Mottahedeh shows, always managed to adapt to the times in one way or another and it had not lost its capacity to do so in the 1960s and 1970s.

Mottahedeh clearly knew that his book was somehow "different" when he started writing it. It is a scholarly book, well indexed and replete with a useful guide to sources. But he knew that footnotes would be out of place in such a radical departure from the perhaps tamer tenets of western scholarship. This absence caused this reviewer no pain whatsoever. This is a skilfully crafted book, entwining as it does complex themes and levels of narration. The nuts and bolts never show. It is a particularly well-written book, the expression being consistently apt and often captivating. He creates mood and feeling without straining at the metaphors. It is also an engagingly modest book. Whilst it deserves to be enjoyed for the very significant step it takes in allowing strangers to a culture, about which a great deal of misinformation has been generated, to understand that culture at least a little better it is commendable in other ways. Throughout the volume Mottahedeh is careful to convey but never to romanticise the texture of the society he writes about. Islam is correctly seen as a deeply socially pervasive faith and this is brought across without sentimentality or elaboration. Mottahedeh deserves a wide audience for this

achievement and it is unlikely that non-specialists like this reviewer, and, one hopes, students, will find such unobtrusive and subtle introductions to another culture elsewhere.

RICHARD RATHBONE

ELLIPSIS AND SYNTACTIC OVERLAPPING: CURRENT ISSUES IN PĀṆINIAN SYNTACTIC THEORY. By MADHAV M. DESHPANDE. (Post-graduate and Research Department Series No. 24. Pandit Shripad Shastri Deodhar Memorial Lectures, Second Series.) pp. x, 94. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1985.

In this set of three lectures delivered at Poona in June 1985, Deshpande uses certain problems of sentence interpretation and their handling by the Sanskrit grammarians as a focus for the wider issue of the relevance of modern Western linguistics to Pāṇinian studies, or more exactly their applicability as an interpretational tool. He disagrees in particular with the application by Paul Kiparsky and S. D. Joshi of transformational grammar to the specific issue involved, while acknowledging the stimulus of their ideas. But he is certainly not advocating any simplistic reversion to an interpretation purely from within the Pāṇinian tradition, since one of his own main emphases is to discern, beneath the avowedly non-historical approach of the tradition itself, a change in attitudes produced by "the shift of Sanskrit from being a first language of the ancient Aryas to a learned second language of the Prakrit-speaking Brahmins of Āryāvartta".

Deshpande is concerned, therefore, to make a number of distinctions which he sees as necessary to a proper understanding of the question. Thus, he distinguishes even in his title between ellipsis, operating within a given syntactical unit, and syntactic overlapping, when an item occurs in both main and subordinate clauses but is expressed only in the main clause. He argues that the "natural ellipse" implicit in Pāṇini's description is not at all the same as the deletion rules postulated in transformational grammar. More positively, and helpfully, he draws attention to the differences between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, characterising Pāṇini's grammar as "representing the direction of encoding meaning into a surface-structure, and not that of decoding a given surface-structure to discover its meaning" (p. 76). Basically, that is, Pāṇini's approach to language is to proceed from meaning to its grammatical expression, in accordance with his own position as a native speaker, whereas Kātyāyana and later grammarians, speaking Prakrit as their first language rather than Sanskrit, were seeking to establish the meaning of an already given expression, the extant texts. Essentially, in Deshpande's view, this serves to explain the much wider use by Kātyāyana of ellipse as an exegetical device. He draws an interesting parallel with the differing applications of structural linguistics to non-native languages and of generative grammar to one's own language. In this, as in his comparison with the shift of emphasis from the meaning of the Vedic texts to their surface-forms, their actual expression, he is drawing our attention to an important point and his view that the semantics of Sanskrit changed as it moved from being a first language to a learned second language is worth emphasising. To my mind, this point about "studying Sanskrit grammarians within the larger context of the evolution of Indo-Aryan languages" is in fact the most significant point developed within these lectures and merits further exploration.

One blemish on the book's presentation is the omission from the bibliography of the work referred to on p. 2 simply as Grinder and Elgin (1973); however, the production is generally satisfactory. All in all, this is a worthwhile and stimulating work within its inevitably small compass.

J. L. BRÖCKINGTON

THE ORIGIN OF THE YOUNG GOD: KĀLIDĀSA'S KUMĀRASAMBHAVA. Translated, with annotation and an introduction, by HANK HEIFETZ. pp. xii, 178. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985. £21.25.

In making this translation of the eight authentic cantos of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, the author has had two aims: "to create a poem in modern American English that conveys some of

the greatness of the original through means available in living speech", and, by "paying attention to the rhythmic effects of individual stanzas and continuous sequences, . . . to convey the rhythmic import of Kālidāsa's poetry, . . . the emotional content of [its] rhythms".

The author, in his introduction, shows himself aware of the shortcomings to be found in most translations of Sanskrit literature and rightly points to the higher standards attained by translators of Far Eastern poetry. To some extent he has succeeded in his first aim, the avoidance of what he calls "the subliterary banalities of Indologese". If many of his verses still sound rather peculiar it is because he has not distanced himself sufficiently from the original and so has failed to re-create it in his own language. "The activity of the world's creator most often/turns away from giving every excellence" (3.28), or "He who can hold you in his mind/is most blessed. How much more/it is to be remembered within/your mind where the Vedas are born!" (6.18) are both examples of that all-too-familiar "translationese" which will convince no one that he is reading a masterpiece.

This incomplete transference from one language to the other shows itself in single words as well as in phrases, and each time the poetic impetus is checked. For example: in 1.43 the key word of the stanza, *lolā* "restless" has been omitted and replaced by a redundant "goddess"; in 1.22 *aparīkṣatāyām nītau* "(grounded) in sound sense" is translated "from a body of freeflowing politics" (whatever that may mean); in 3.75 *sūnyā* which here means "distracted" or "despondent", is automatically translated "empty" — "the daughter of The Mountain . . . turned her face toward home and, somehow, empty, moved along"; in the next verse, 3.76, *pratipathagatir* "re-traced his steps" would have more point than the limp "went down the road"; in 6.14 *ucchvasitaṃ manaḥ* would be better as "(Kāma's) spirits revived" than "the mind (of Kāma) . . . breathed with hope"; and so on.

The translation keeps closely, too closely, to the original (in the edition of Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍuraṅg Parab, published by the Nīṃaya-sāgara Press), taking intelligent and not uncritical account of the commentaries of Aruṇagirinātha and Nārāyaṇa, as well as that of Mallinātha. There is a bare minimum of extra words to help out the meaning, no padding, and often a deft concision of phrase. The notes go some way to elucidating the seemingly unavoidable obscurities of the translation: mythological allusions are explained, attention is drawn to the varying metres of the original, and deviations from the literal meaning of the Sanskrit are conscientiously accounted for. Unfortunately there are a fair number of misprints (usually the omission of macrons) in the Sanskrit words quoted. However trivial, these somehow undermine one's confidence in a book. On p. 147, note to 2.61, *mokṣyate* surely refers to the loosening of the *ekaveṇī* by the *virahinī*; on p. 148, note to 3.8, an unattested reading *hrdānutāpam* (an impossible form anyway), said to mean "with remorse/sorrow at the heart", has somehow intruded in place of the correct *dṛḍhānutāpam*, rendered "great regret" in the translation (p. 45), better "keen remorse" or something similar; on p. 150, note to 3.32, the meaning "clear, melodious" of *kaṣṭhā* is confirmed by *kala* in an identical context (4.14); on p. 151, note to 3.37, the commentator's far-fetched explanation of *rathāṅga* as "whose limbs are as a chariot" hardly deserves mention: *rathāṅga* is simply an equivalent for *cakra*. In the translation itself, at 3.50, *aṣṭaram* qualifies *ātmānam*. It is not an epithet of Śiva.

The language of the translation is kept resolutely plain, presumably in the belief that the inherent power of the original Sanskrit will somehow transmute the English and raise it to a higher level than prose. Maybe. But hardly to the level of poetry, where scrupulous literalism is no longer adequate or even appropriate. Kālidāsa did not exercise a cautious restraint when describing the terrible majesty of the Himālaya or the fantastic cloud-effects of a sunset. No more must his translator. If he really wants to be faithful he must pull out all the stops: "cascading" not "descending" to describe the waters of the Ganges (1.15 *bhāgrathinirjhara*), "blood-soaked scimitar" not "a curving sword, soaked in blood" (8.54 *saṣṇitaṃ maṇḍalāgram*). It is not for me to instruct Mr. Heifetz in the art of poetry. But since it is poetry that he aims at, it is in terms of poetry that he must be judged. And it must be said that opportunities are missed in the choice of words to heighten the effect of sound and rhythm, the translator's second main preoccupation.

Regular metres, not to speak of rhyme, have wisely been avoided as unsuitable and misleading. But *vers libre* requires an equal, if not greater, skill in handling if it is to be told apart from its notoriously close counterfeit, arbitrarily chopped-up prose. The translator has not managed to sustain that verbal intensity and rhythmic inevitability which distinguish poetry from prose. But

what can one expect? "The use of harsh guttural sounds in the original closely fits the subject" says the note to 1.6 — information more likely to frustrate than satisfy the reader, and surely a cry of despair at the impossible demands Kālidāsa makes on his would-be translator. As he tries to wend his way deftly through the dense thickets of mythological allusion or searches for some sort of equivalent to the word-play and subtle sound-effects of the original, he must sometimes wonder whether his attempts are not a little foolhardy. Sylvain Lévi, who could hardly be accused of a narrow scholasticism, wrote of Sanskrit literature: "Les conceptions d'où elle procède, la société qu'elle dépeint, les conventions et les symboles dont elle vit sont trop spéciaux, trop particuliers à l'Inde pour qu'ils puissent jamais entrer dans le domaine de l'humanité" (*L'Inde et le Monde*, 1925, pp. 86–7). Nonetheless one is grateful for any attempt to make the beauties of Sanskrit poetry more widely known and appreciated, and must commend Mr Heifetz for tackling such a difficult task with enthusiasm and seriousness.

PETER KHOROCHE

THE BRIDGE TO THE THREE HOLY CITIES. THE SĀMĀNYA-PRAGHAṬṬAKA OF NĀRĀYAṆA BHATTA'S *TRISTHALISETU*. Critically edited and translated by Richard Salomon. pp. lvi, 524. Delhi, etc., Motilal Banarsidass, 1985. Rs. 150.

The text of the three specific sections of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Tristhalisetu* on Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā is relatively accessible in the Ānandāśrama Press edition but the earlier edition (Kāśī, 1908) of the preceding general section, the *Sāmānyapraghaṭṭaka*, has long been virtually unobtainable. Salomon's edition and translation is therefore welcome for making it again accessible as well as for its own merits. The book is based on his Pennsylvania doctoral thesis and, besides the critically edited text and the translation, contains a substantial introduction and several useful appendixes. It concludes with two pages of additions and corrections, which unfortunately are not complete but do, I think, include all the major ones; however, Appendix G, listed in the table of contents as on p. 521, in fact immediately precedes the text.

In his introduction Salomon reviews the main themes of the *Sāmānyapraghaṭṭaka* (the basic theory and rules of pilgrimages and *tīrtha* rituals), the relationship of the *Tristhalisetu* to other texts about *tīrthas*, the influence of Mīmāṃsā concepts on its presentation (backed up by two of the appendixes, which list Mīmāṃsā and other technical terms and the Mīmāṃsā texts cited), some biographical detail on its author, definitions of the key terms *tīrtha*, *śrāddha* and *tarpaṇa* (then left untranslated), a clearly presented synopsis of the text, a description of the manuscripts used and of their interrelations, together with a statement of the principles followed in constituting the text. Salomon's assessment of the manuscripts is carefully done and cogent. The location of his MS. C1 is not given (presumably another printing gremlin) but can readily be inferred as the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. In view of the evidence that the earlier Kāśī edition derives from his MS. P3, now in Pennsylvania, it would have been interesting to know more about the latter's history but presumably — though Salomon does not explicitly say so — this is not available. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's extensive use of Mīmāṃsā rules and techniques is well illustrated in the relevant section of the introduction and is particularly necessary to an adequate appreciation of the text.

The text, printed in *devanāgarī*, and the critical apparatus are clearly laid out and carefully executed, while a helpful reference system has been incorporated by numbering sequentially (in "Arabic" numerals) all quotations from other works and giving a sub-numeration to all sentences of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's intervening text; this system shows its usefulness particularly in the various cross-references in the translation. Salomon has endeavoured to identify exactly as many of these quotations as possible, with considerable success. I would just add that no. 43 is Mbh. 3 App. I. 13. 15–16 (with *yathā* for *tathā*, as in MS. P2) and no. 44 is Mbh. 13. 111, 17 (where the NE readings are nearer to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's text). It is interesting to note, from Appendix B, that the Mahābhārata (more exactly the Tīrthayātrāparvan and parts of Anuśāsanaparvan) is the second most frequently cited text after the Skanda Purāṇa, while Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *gotra* affiliation is reflected in the frequency of Rgveda quotations and some citations from the Āśvalāyana sūtras. Incidentally, the abbreviation or not of names of texts is rather haphazard (for example,

both Mahābhārata and Ma. Bhā., or Kāśīkhaṇḍa and Kā° Kha° — in each case in *devanāgarī*) but raises no problem.

The translation is obviously intended to be intelligible rather than stylish and succeeds very well in its aim of rendering clearly the meaning of the text, with the inclusion sometimes of an element of explanation to amplify a terse original. Personally, I found "Enough said!" (p. 201) rather too colloquial but have no quarrel with its accuracy. Equally, I had to re-read the following in order to grasp its meaning: "from that very moment, all sins done your life-long will vanish" (p. 281 no. 239, cf. no. 240); but that is just, I suspect, the difference between American and English idiom. In all essentials the translation cannot be faulted, while the numerous footnotes add substantially to the elucidation of the material.

All in all, this work represents a welcome addition to the total of adequately edited and translated Sanskrit texts. Its subject matter should be of interest to a range of scholars and provides, in particular, a valuable historical and theoretical dimension to the number of recent studies on pilgrimage; Salomon is to be congratulated on his handling of it.

J. L. BROCKINGTON

THE HINDI ORAL EPIC CANAINI. (The tale of Lorik and Candā). By SHYAM MANOHAR PANDEY. pp. 82 [in Arabic numerals], 627 [in Devanagari numerals], 1 pl. Allahabad, Sahitya Bhavan Pvt. Ltd., 1982. Rs. 150, £12.00.

The tale of Lorik and Candā is a folk-epic which has been long known in north India, attaining literary status from at least the late XIVth century with Maulānā Dā'ūd's *Candāyan*, a classic of mediaeval Hindī Śūfī literature, which in its turn inspired a fine and important set of miniature paintings to illuminate a XVIth century production of the text (the Laur-Candā paintings, found in MS. Hindustani 1 of the John Rylands Library, with further scenes in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay). Literary versions spread as far as the Deccan and Bengal; but the basis remained the popular story which, as Crooke noted in his *Popular religion and folklore of northern India* of 1894, is "very popular among the Ahir tribe and has been localized in the Mirzāpur district . . .". But Dr Pandey's researches, which are still proceeding, have found Ahir (milkman) singers still reciting the tale in other districts of the eastern U. P. and Bihar, in the Avadhī and Chattisgarhī dialects of eastern Hindī and in the Maithilī, Magahī and Bhojpuri dialects of Bihārī.

Of the eight versions which Dr Pandey has so far collected, a Bhojpuri (of Banaras) version has already been published as *The Hindī oral epic Lorikī* (1979); the present version is in Avadhī of Allahabad, and while essentially the same story is followed there is not one line the same in the two versions. The text published here is the version of a single singer, called Rāmāvatār Yādav, illiterate, aged about 72 when the recordings were made, an Ahir himself although taught to sing *Canainī* primarily by a Garerīya (shepherd); Dr Pandey detects other influences (e.g. the Ālhā cycle) in his style of singing.

Rāmāvatār is said to have been "not a religious man", although he had learnt many devotional songs, from Kabīrpanthīs among others; he disregarded the major orthodox Hindu festivals, but joined other Ahirs of his village in the worship of Ghāzī Miyān (i.q. Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd, a nephew of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, martyred fighting against the Hindus at Bahraich in 1034). This and other popular cults, once in a loose borderland between popular Hinduism and popular Indian Islam, are now becoming progressively Hinduized. The Śūfī spirit which gave rise to Maulānā Dā'ūd's *Candāyan* is not detectable in the present text; the gods of Hinduism, however, occur as occasional participants in the story. The value of the text lies in its status as a repository of social history, of the Ahirs in particular, and in the way it illustrates the difficult art of collecting folk-epics: for Dr Pandey shows us that a singer never gives precisely the same performance twice, varying both his content and his style with his audience and with the time of day.

After Dr Pandey's English introductory chapter (82 pp.) he gives the entire text as recorded, which runs to 450 pages of verse; he then provides his own modern Hindī summaries of the text, with commentary, and adds a short index of proper names and a select bibliography. The printing and binding are good; but there are many infelicities, inaccuracies and prolix repetitions in the English text. These may jar on the nice reader, but they cannot detract from the value of the

study of this largely unexplored demotic literature. This is the second text of the Lorik story which Dr Pandey has published; we look forward to the appearance of the six remaining versions which he has collected.

JOHN BURTON-PAGE

THE KING AND THE CLOWN IN SOUTH INDIAN MYTH AND POETRY. By DAVID DEAN SHULMAN. pp. xvi. 447, 4 illus. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1985. £40.90.

This is one of those splendid books which effortlessly bridge the gap between two alien cultures, and bring a different level of perception within our own periphery, while at the same time making it intelligible not only to the scholar but also to the average intellectually informed reader. Indian culture, if one can venture to use so laboured a term, has far too long been identified with Vedic/Aryan/Indo-European/Sanskritic ways of thought, leaving the Dravidian South and its rich images to the understanding of just a small and by necessity at times intellectually incestuous group of specialists.

The present study examines medieval South Indian society on the basis of Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit texts concentrating especially on the king and the essential role he plays in the continuous dynamic tension which keeps society alive and functional. The king (with his Brahmin advisor to whom he is bound in an ambivalent marriage-like relationship), stands at the centre of day to day reality, he is both powerful and insecure, heroic and pathetic, a renouncer and surrounded by women, a giver of alms and like the heroes of folktales, a thief. To justify his existence he must submit to a continuous cycle of transformation which takes him from icon to clown, from protector to destroyer, from sacrificer to sacrifice, from purity to pollution, from union with the divine to isolation and exile. It is especially the latter, the simultaneous presence and absence of the divine which lies at the root of the self-perpetuating tragedy of his archetypal life. All revelation, Shulman argues, can at best be partial and paradoxical, the transcendent can never be contained in our reality. This is both the strength and the inherent danger (and without danger there can be no true strength) of South Indian society. Every experience of the absolute is conceived as unique and as such valuable only in itself, and only for one particular occasion, in one particular context. The great mistake the three Mosaic religions (Islam, Christianity and Judaism) made was to believe that one, by necessity unique breakthrough, could form the basis for laws which promised both a permanent answer and ultimately a permanent, universally available salvation.

Shulman divides his material into eight basic chapters: (1) labyrinths and mirrors; (2) royal masks; (3) Brahmin gatekeepers; (4) a kingdom of clowns: Brahmins, jesters, and magicians; (5) royal comedies of errors; (6) all the king's women; (7) bandits and other tragic heroes; and (8) postscript: in the absence of the king of kings. A glossary of Tamil words, an extensive bibliography of Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit texts and of works in western languages, and an index complete the work.

ALBERTINE GAUR

COMMENTARY ON HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS. By N. R. CHAKRABORTY. pp. 321. Calcutta, S. C. Sarkar & Sons (P) Ltd., 1986. Rs. 110.

Since C. J. Fuller's *Servants of the Goddess* (Cambridge, 1984) and related studies, interest has revived in Indian religious endowments which uniquely combine immense antiquity and contemporary functions (not without scandals). The material concerns anthropologists and others. A live interest in Sanskrit studies survives in the activities of the hereditary priesthood. Alongside public, Hindus maintain private, religious endowments (for which various Maharsis are grateful). These also are legal "perpetuities". They have served, despite the heroic efforts of the revenue,

as a means of spiriting away funds, and to some extent lands also, beyond the covetous gaze of the state. They can be used to disappoint heirs, and even creditors. The immunities which such endowments enjoy are determined by the law, which has long played a controversial and ambivalent role. The manager of a family can constitute himself trustee for the family deity, who may be wealthy while the family appears to be indigent. The assessment of deities to income tax has not gone unchallenged by the pious. In 1979 Parliament had the courage to abolish the former fundamental right to property, and this, at a stroke, deprived trustees of part of their protection; but it does not follow that the courts will not give gods and goddesses a fair crack of the whip (quite the contrary). The conditions attached to this Asian survival, typically Hindu in its incomplete up-dating, and typically indebted to the British for its ethos, are handled exhaustively in this treatise which started life as a London doctoral thesis. It is exceptional for its thoroughness, its modest yet reasonable suggestions, and its implicit humour. In exchange for these we forgive the occasional vagary in the production. Comparative students of the fate of the Islamic *wafk* will find food for thought in this book.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE ECONOMY OF BENGAL. 1630-1720. By OM PRAKASH. pp. xii, 291, map. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press. 1985. £27.70.

Nicolaus de Graaf, a much-travelled surgeon in the employment of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) during the second half of the XVIIth century, observed in his *Oost-Indise Spiegel* ("East India Mirror") of 1703, that Japan and Bengal were the most profitable markets for the Company in a trading area which extended from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to Japan and the Moluccas. He also explained that it was even more profitable for the V.O.C.'s employees who were stationed in Bengal and at Nagasaki, since private trade and contraband flourished in both these places despite the fulminations of the Directors in the Netherlands against them.

In this well written, well argued and well documented book, Om Prakash, a leading light at the Delhi School of Economics, has used his familiarity with the V.O.C. archival sources at The Hague and the E.I.C. sources at London, to demonstrate the central role played by Bengal in the V.O.C.'s activities in India from the 1630s to the 1720s, and the resulting integration of Bengal into the world economy. Successive chapters deal with the Dutch East India Company in Asian trade in general; the Company in Bengal and the politics of trade; the Bengal trade and its long-term trends, including the import and export trades, rivalry with the E.I.C. and dishonest practices by the V.O.C. employees (or "servants" as they were termed, like those of the E.I.C.); the commercial organization; the intra-Asian trade of the V.O.C. with Japan, the Indonesian Archipelago, Persia; and the coastal trade with Ceylon, Coromandel, and Malabar. The trade with Europe is discussed and analysed in two phases: consolidation, 1630-1678, and growth, 1679-1720. A final chapter deals successively with the displacement effect of the V.O.C.'s trade in so far as Indian and other Asian merchants in Bengal were concerned, with trade as an instrument of growth, and with the monetary aspects of the V.O.C.'s trade.

Om Prakash argues that the most distinguishing feature of the V.O.C.'s trading strategy was its extensive participation in the Asian trade, which refined, developed and greatly expanded what its Portuguese predecessors had been able to achieve in this sphere. There are also extended comments on the role of the rival E.I.C. in Bengal, which, although it was still behind the V.O.C. in 1720, would soon overtake and surpass it. The servants of the E.I.C. enjoyed greater initiative and flexibility than their Dutch counterparts, who had to refer all major policy decisions to Batavia for approval. The English on the other hand could take such decisions locally without prior reference to Madras. But the V.O.C. was still ahead in 1720. Dutch exports from Bengal grew from an annual average of Dfl. 1.5 million in 1662-70, to 3.6 million in 1711-20. The figures for the E.I.C. during the same two periods were 0.25 and 2.7 million respectively. Om Prakash shares K. N. Chaudhuri's view that the effect of the imports of American and Japanese precious metals into Mughal India was to stimulate output and employment through rising exports. Bengal

also furnished an industrious and normally docile workforce, recruited from the "sooty slaves of Hindustan" as Cobbett contemptuously termed them.

Among many interesting sidelights in this excellent book, I may mention the methods used by the V.O.C. servants to gip the Company (pp. 83-89); the introduction of European dyers and weavers from Holland and England to prepare new designs and samples of textiles (pp. 101-102); the innovative importance of the establishment by the V.O.C. of a silk-reeling unit at Kassimbazar, which could accommodate 4,000 workers in 1715 (an anticipation of industrial England's "dark satanic mills"?), and the increasingly important part played by the production and export of opium, whether legal or illegal (pp. 141, 145, 164-65). In short, this long-awaited work fulfills the highest expectations.

C. R. BOXER

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA. 1707-1858. By STEPHEN NEILL. pp. xvii, 578. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press, 1985. £45.00.

The first volume of this work by the late Anglican Bishop Stephen Neill was reviewed in *JRAS*, 1984, Vol. 2, pp. 296-97. The author had substantially completed the present volume at the time of his death. An editorial note by the CUP states that the present volume was prepared for publication mainly through the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Allister McGrath of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford — a very worthwhile task.

As can be seen from the dates in the title, the period covered is from the death of Aurangzib to the Indian Mutiny (or Indian War of Independence, according to taste). This volume is written with the same impartiality, scholarship and readability which characterised the first. The various forms of the Christian faith and their respective vicissitudes are analysed and documented. The author's long association with the Syriac Churches and the St Thomas Christians make what he has to say about the fortunes and misfortunes of their community particularly valuable. The rise and expansion of British power after the victories of Clive and Coote, and the ambivalent attitude of the E.I.C., whether in the directors at Leadenhall Street, or in Clive, Hastings, and other proconsuls towards Christian missions are duly recounted. The work of the Danish-German Lutheran missionaries among the Tamils in the extreme south is discussed at some length. The efforts of the Jesuits and (more perseveringly) of the Capuchins to work in Tibet and Nepal are more briefly described.

Neill frequently reminds us of the contribution made by the more intelligent and perceptive missionaries to promoting a better understanding between East and West. He states (p. 73): "a number of missionaries in the eighteenth century, not having very much else to do, plunged deeply into the languages and cultures of India, believing that this too was a service to the Gospel which they had come to proclaim". The Italian Capuchin, Fr. Orazio della Penna, produced one of the best and most complete accounts of Tibetan Lamaism ever written. The French Jesuit, Jean Calmette, who worked in India 1725-40, acquired the first copy of the Vedas ever to come into the hands of a European. The Italian Jesuit, Cortanzo Giuseppi Beschi, who worked in India even longer, 1710-47, attained extraordinary prowess in the Tamil language, which he wrote better than almost any Tamil of his time. The French Jesuit, Gaston Coeurdoux (in India 1732-99) put forward views on the interconnections between languages of the Indo-European family, which anticipated the observations made later by Sir William Jones and other Orientalists.

As indicated above, a very interesting chapter is devoted to the Danish-German Tranquebar Lutheran mission, 1706-1801. By the end of the XVIIIth century, there was a community of at least 36,970 converts and probably considerably more. They had been provided with numerous books, and especially the Bible, in the Tamil language. Indian pastors had been ordained and given a considerable measure of independence, each in his own sphere. Neill does not think, however, that the missionaries looked forward to a time when the Indian church would be able to dispense altogether with the foreigners and to stand entirely on its own feet. Central direction remained in the hands of the missionaries, in several instances in the hands of a single missionary

ruling without rival in his own field. For recruitment and financial aid, the Indian church was dependent on a distant body in Europe, the decisions of which were at times made in total ignorance of Indian conditions. No comprehensive plan was ever worked out for transferring the central direction from Denmark and Germany to India. When England became the dominant power, the Lutheran missionaries co-operated closely and (after some preliminary differences) cordially with the government at Madras. They received large sums of money from the English military and civil authorities for their services as chaplains to the troops and other European residents. It does not appear from the records that the spiritual character of the Lutheran missionaries was prejudiced in the eyes of the Indians by their association with the English and the services which they rendered to them.

The missionaries of all denominations faced an uphill task in competing with Hinduism for many reasons, not least between the Hindu concept that "truth is a jewel which has many facets", as a rajah once observed, with the Christian conviction that "straight is the way and narrow is the path that leadeth to salvation". Neill understandably devotes much space to describing Anglican developments in the mission field which really date from the late XVIIIth century. There was little interest in England in missionary work in India before then, and it was the rise of the Evangelicals which changed the prospects for Protestant missionary efforts. One of the most influential was Claudius Buchanan, who arrived in India in 1796, when he was appointed by Wellesley as Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Calcutta. His *Christian Researches in Asia* (8th edition, Cambridge, 1811) and *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India both as the means of Perpetuating the Christian Religion among our own Countrymen and as a Foundation for the Ultimate Civilisation of the Natives* (1805) were very influential in arousing and maintaining support for Protestant missions in India. Much of their work in the field, however admirable in some ways, was large vitiated by a disagreeable narrowness, exemplified among others by Charles Grant. He was not himself a missionary, but an influential E.I.C. official who arrived in Bengal in 1768 and returned to England after twenty-two years service, where he exercised a powerful influence in all the affairs of the E.I.C. until his death in 1823. An unfriendly critic described him as being "a most canting Presbyterian, a methodical snivelling Oliverian"; but what Grant advocated was that India could not be governed in its own best interests without strong Christian principles in the minds of the rulers and the injection of Christian ideas into the minds of the subjects.

I think that it was the Rev. Charles Kingsley who proclaimed "I hate Baptists like poison." The Anglican missionaries in India did not go as far as that; but Neill comments that Claudius Buchanan, courteous as he always was to the Baptists, never imagined that they could be on an equality with a graduate of the University of Cambridge who was also Vice-Provost of the Fort William College. Anglicans tended to look down on dissenters socially, as well as theologically, but they could do each other justice on occasion. The relationship between Protestant missionaries and their Roman Catholic rivals was more abrasive; but there were instances of friendly feelings, as exemplified by the cordial hospitality extended by the Baptist missionary John Clark Marshman to the exiled French Vicar-Apostolic of Cochin-China in 1838-40. The work of the Baptist missionaries in India and the results of their labours, particularly at Serampore, are fully described on pp. 186-205. William Carey, the humble cobbler turned classical scholar and Baptist missionary in India, was perhaps the most outstanding personality.

The Hindu caste system proved a formidable obstacle to both Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Portuguese at first tried to abolish it among their converts but eventually settled for a compromise; in practice if not in theory. Daniel Wilson, the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, thundered in 1833 that the distinction of caste "must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally." Many of the higher caste converts abandoned Christianity as a result, although some returned to the fold later on. Bishop Wilson fully realised that he was only at the beginning of long, hard and uphill struggle. The author notes that even after a century and a half, it is not possible to say that all caste distinction has been eliminated from the Church. But where it still persists, Christians do have an uneasy conscience about it, especially where Hindus have gone beyond Christians in taking against caste feeling and caste prejudice. Islam has proved an even tougher nut to crack; converts to Christianity being limited to a few isolated individuals, such as Shaikh Salih, a Muslim of good family who was converted in 1811. The influence of Christianity was felt

in many spheres, including schools and education; but the conversion of India as a whole seemed as far off in 1857 as it did in 1707, or as it does in 1987.

There is an immense amount of new material in this book, but there are some minor factual errors which might have been avoided if the author had lived to revise it. The account given of the Swedish East India Company (which had nothing whatever to do with Christian missions) on pp. 432-33 is very misleading. Far from "collapsing ignominiously" in 1734-35, it continued to trade intermittently at Surat, and it was the best organised and most successful of all the European companies in the Canton trade, which was always its main *raison d'être*. The account of the literary works of the Capuchins in Tibet (p. 439), is hopelessly inadequate, and makes no mention of one of the most penetrating observers of Tibetan society, Fr. Cassiano da Macerata, described by a modern expert on Tibet as "a born anthropologist". Incidentally, Neill had an irritating habit of Anglicising the Christian names of all non-English missionaries. Thus, the Italian Capuchin missionary in Tibet, Francesco Orazio della Penna, appears as Francis Horace della Penna, and (worse still), the French Capuchin François Marie de Tours, as Francis Mary of Tours. Other niggling criticisms might be made; but they are more than offset by a very wide-ranging and admirable bibliography, and by a balanced discussion of works which are critical of the missionaries, such as Presanna Sen Gupta, *The Christian Missions in Bengal, 1793-1832* (Calcutta, 1971). Neill's book is very well printed, produced, annotated and indexed, although the notes are inconveniently placed at the end instead of at the foot of the page.

C. R. BOXER

LEGITIMACY AND SYMBOLS: THE SOUTH ASIAN WRITINGS OF F. W. BUCKLER. Edited by M. N. Pearson. (Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, No. 26.) pp. 193. Ann Arbor, Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1985. US\$ 18.95 (cloth), US\$ 8.95 (paper).

F. W. Buckler was a serious scholar who published a substantial number of papers, not merely on South Asian history but also on church history. Those on South Asian history appeared in the 1920s, and were distinguished by linguistic scholarship and an originality that provoked some controversy at the time. He argued, in brief, that the historian should understand the ideas and assumptions of Indian Muslims before he could begin to study their behaviour in a crisis such as that of the Mutiny and revolt in 1857. Such papers are still worth our attention, and the present volume will be particularly useful for those undergraduates who have no taste for looking up past periodicals.

The editor begins with "The Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny", which Buckler read to the Royal Historical Society in 1922. His general argument was that the East India Company was the Mughal Emperor's vassal and had no right to try him for rebellion: this shocked many servants of the British Raj, and the editor presents us with responses from S. M. Edwardes, Douglas Dewar and H. L. Garrett, followed by a spirited rejoinder from Buckler himself. All this still has considerable interest. Finally we have some articles, which now seem rather less significant, on the relations between Muslim India and the wider world of Islam.

Pearson also tries to startle us with challenging assertions about the significance of his venture. He asserts that subsequent historians of Muslim India have ignored Buckler and so have been obliged, in his impolite words, "to reinvent the wheel". He even claims that Peter Hardy and Francis Robinson show no knowledge of Buckler's work. In fact, many scholars have shown their awareness of Buckler, from Percival Spear's *Twilight of the Mughuls* (Cambridge, 1951) onwards. In *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge, 1972) Hardy himself specifically made due acknowledgement of Spear's book. Should he also have listed all Spear's sources? To anyone with any knowledge of Hardy or Robinson the notion that they could have been ignorant of Buckler must seem ludicrous. Pearson further suggests that Buckler remained a marginal figure because of his provocative and iconoclastic views. In fact his career was unsurprising. With an Upper Second in the Cambridge Tripos he taught first at Madras Christian College and then at Muir Central College, Allahabad. We are told, as if this were another achievement, that Buckler

subsequently "gained his M.A. from Cambridge"! However, he did serve as an extension lecturer, and eventually migrated to the United States, where he served as Professor of Church History at Oberlin College from 1925 to 1951. All things considered, this seems a respectable enough career. As further evidence of Buckler's originality Pearson tells us that in one of his overtly Christian writings he asserted that the Industrial Revolution had reduced man to servitude to the machine and to a mechanical timetable. In this way, Pearson concludes admiringly, Buckler foreshadowed "the findings of the British labor historian, E. P. Thompson"! Perhaps, however, Marx foreshadowed both of them, at least in making statements such as this?

KENNETH BALLHATCHET

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. SECOND SERIES. Vols. 1 and 2 Edited by S. GOPAL. pp. xxx, 653, front. 26 pl.: pp. xxx, 660, front. 14 pl. Published by Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund and distributed by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1984. Rs 150 or £18.00 each volume. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. By the JAWAHARLAL NEHRU MEMORIAL FUND. pp. 407, 641 pl. Published by Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund and distributed by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983. £28.00.

CALENDAR OF THE 'QQUIT INDIA' MOVEMENT IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. Edited by SANJIV P. DESAI. General Editor BHASKAR DHATAVKAR. (Maharashtra Archives Bulletin No. 15 & 16. Indian National Congress Centenary Commemoration Volume.) pp. iii, 383. Bombay, Department of Archives, Government of Maharashtra, 1985.

One of the most remarkable publishing ventures in any historical field in recent years has been the series of volumes documenting the British side of the negotiations which led eventually to the transfer of power in India and the partition of the subcontinent. We shall not see their like again, but the historian of South Asia can look forward to a steady stream of valuable material coming from Indian and, to a small extent, Pakistani sources. Besides the many volumes of the collected works of Gandhi, there are major projects under way to publish material relating to Nehru and Patel, while from time to time thematic selections of documents are published, especially with reference to the nationalist movement. It is not possible for any of these series to have the same sense that some of the Transfer of Power volumes have of a single, tightly bound narrative, for the strategy of the nationalist movement was not thrashed out in exchanges of telegrams between London and New Delhi, nor were there the same bureaucratic compulsions to commit everything to paper. Periods of imprisonment and seizures of party records, too, punch holes in the sequence of documents. Nevertheless, the material that is now becoming available adds substantially to our understanding of the dynamics of the nationalist movement and of the outlook of its leaders.

Jawaharlal Nehru was probably the most transparent of the major leaders of the Congress. He did not, as did Patel or Bose, keep his own counsel, at least in political matters, and he made his views generally known on most issues of the day, as too on his long-term hopes for India. Nevertheless, the preeminent position that he came to occupy gives a peculiar importance to the availability of all that he wrote, whether publicly or privately. Since 1972 the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has been engaged in the publication of what are described as his selected works. The description is in fact somewhat misleading for, as Mrs Gandhi wrote in the general foreword, the intention is to include "all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote". Thus not only are Nehru's literary works included but also a large quantity of personal and political correspondence, some of it in itself of somewhat ephemeral importance, although nevertheless significant for the historian. There are also newspaper reports of his speeches, and notes by others of their interviews with him. The editors have opted for a thematic arrangement of the material but with such a diverse corpus the arrangement has necessarily to be somewhat arbitrary. There is no more than a page of introduction to each volume to give the necessary historical background, but the notes and general index are helpful for those who already know the period. Although the dust-jackets of the volumes under review forbear to mention it, the first series contains fifteen volumes which cover the period from Nehru's childhood to the end

of August 1946. The second series, which is identical with the first in style and layout but has a different publisher, is intended to cover the years of power from Nehru's assumption of office in the interim government to his death in 1964.

The first two volumes of the second series reviewed here cover the period from September 1946 to the end of May 1947. At this time Nehru was busy both as the senior Indian member and vice-president of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the interim government, and as chief representative of the Congress in its complex negotiations with the British and the League, so that the material included in the volumes is almost exclusively political. As far as Nehru's relations with the British and his activities in the interim government are concerned, most of what is here has also been reproduced in the *Transfer of Power* volumes. Similarly his speeches in the Constituent Assembly are available in that body's proceedings. But we now have for the first time in published form his political correspondence, and also reports of his speeches which had previously languished in newspaper files. What we do not have, however, are any minutes of Congress Working Committee meetings, for they probably do not exist in more than fragmentary form. There are, too, only a very few letters between Nehru and his senior colleagues, again probably because very few were actually written.

Final authority was still some months away, but Nehru's official position in the interim government and later his personal relationship with Mountbatten gave him a considerable say in decisions. While unable to exert any control over the League representatives in the government, he was treated by the Congress members as their leader and sought to give overall guidance to the government's activities. From these volumes we see him slipping easily into the role of minister and statesman, for example in his stance on issues to do with the treatment of members of the Indian National Army. At the same time, while willing to cooperate with them, he remains suspicious of the motives and intentions of British officials. In a speech to Congress in November 1946 he commends a "kind of socialistic constitution" for India, while a few months later he writes to Ambedkar explaining why circumstances nevertheless require that the government must move slowly in implementing radical policies. The tide of communal violence is beginning to rise in this period and Nehru is prepared to endorse whatever coercive power is available to the government, but in private correspondence he confesses himself baffled by what he sees as utterly irrational violence. Foreign affairs are already drawing his attention and he appears anxious to push on with establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. His comments in various private letters, to Krishna Menon particularly and to his sister Mrs Pandit, show how his earlier intellectual commitments are becoming transformed into the idea of non-alignment. Taken as a whole, what perhaps comes out most strikingly from these volumes is how Nehru, at this point as throughout his career, had to strive, not always successfully, to reconcile his own instincts and vision with the realities of Indian and international politics.

The album of photographs which the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has produced is a fitting accompaniment to the selected works. In all 641 pictures, divided approximately equally between the pre- and post-independence periods, show Nehru in many different guises and degrees of formality from the conventional gentleman of Allahabad and Cambridge to the nationalist leader. A handful of photographs taken by Nehru himself adds to the interest of the collection.

One of the major events during the transfer of power period was the Quit India movement of 1942. Nehru of course had been one of the Congress leaders whose detention the government wrongly thought would nip the movement in the bud. Instead a local leadership emerged to lead a challenge to the government that was more vigorous and widespread than anything that had been seen in the earlier phases of nationalist activity. The Maharashtra State Department of Archives, in order to mark the centenary in 1985 of the Indian National Congress, has issued what it terms a calendar of the movement. It is not in fact a calendar in the archival sense of being an ordered list of documents with a brief description of the contents of each one but is rather a chronology of the movement derived from the reports submitted to the government of the then Bombay presidency by district magistrates and police officers. Against each day is entered, apparently in the words of the original reports, the main instances of sabotage, strikes and demonstrations, and other activities. As Bombay city and other parts of the presidency were among the major centres of the movement, there is much to report, especially in the period up to the end of 1942 but also as late as early 1944. The volume is, however, much less useful than

it would have been if sufficient time had been allowed for adequate editing. We are not told, in the first instance, whether the calendar is intended to include every significant episode to be found in the official reports, nor is there any indication as to the source of individual reports. The index, as the editor frankly admits in the introduction, is very limited. The volume as it stands confines itself to a chronology of events, but one imagines that the district magistrates and police superintendents would also have included their own assessments of the individuals who were prominent as local leaders, and extracts from these too would have been very welcome.

DAVID TAYLOR

THE INDIANNESS OF RUDYARD KIPLING : A STUDY IN STYLISTICS. By S. A. AZFAR HUSAIN (Asian Impact on Europe Series.) pp. 223, London, Cosmic Press, 1983. £15.00.

The purpose of speech, spoken or written, is to be understood: that much is simple, and Kipling knew it well. Yet anyone who aspires, as Professor Husain does in this ambitious and interesting but irritating book, to explore and explain in writing the inner springs of speech, must inevitably strain the resources of language. If he then proceeds, like a surgeon, to dissect the body of a writer's work, extracting bits for biopsy before listing them statistically to support a theory about their author's condition, even with a view, as he says disarmingly, to "bridging the gulf that exists between linguistics and literary criticism", he will be skilful indeed if he contrives it in terms that the common reader can understand. This is unfortunate, but unavoidable: the linguistic approach is far more exacting and clinical than that of the intuitive and uninstructed reader, who merely enjoys Kipling, and had not thought in terms of diagnosis or of surgery.

Professor Husain is concerned with three phases of Kipling's India-related writing: first of the young journalist in India in the 1880s, then of the famous writer of the next decade still producing some stories about the India he had left, and finally, in 1901, of the indisputably great author of *Kim*, his *chef d'oeuvre*. Throughout this period Kipling wrote emphatically for the common reader. The Professor's book however, a solemn weighing and measuring of aspects of Kipling's style, could only be endured by a specialist reader. Here is palpable irony, to which I fear not a few linguists might be impervious.

For me, the elusive inwardness of language — found, if at all, not just by parsing but by probing deeper — defies neat analysis. For the linguistician, it demands it. I do not deride him for this urge. The dedicated quest for the loftier aridities of scholarship commands respect, in the spirit of Browning's tribute to the dying Grammarian:

So, with the throttling hands of death at strife,
Ground he at grammar;
Still, thro' the rattle, parts of speech were rife:
While he could stammer . . .

However, if writers about esoteric matters are prudent, or well advised by their publishers, they will take care to be as readable as possible, as Kipling in "The Fabulists" would warn them —

And this they needs must do, or it will fall
Unless they please they are not heard at all.

Modern linguistics is a new science: its principles seem to have hardly had time to shake down. They are unfamiliar to the ageing non-specialist like myself who, as he struggles through a book like this, badly needing clues to the opaque terminology of the art, must presumably think himself lucky to find the naked machinery of technical analysis occasionally displayed, in what

its operators hopefully call "explication". However, to master their basic precepts will be an effort, doubtless salutary, probably necessary, but still daunting.

In one luminous passage, in the early chapters which set the guidelines for the anaesthetising definitions and formidable charts and lists that occupy the substance of his book, Professor Husain expresses some divergence from the views of a fellow-practitioner. We are told that B. B. Kachru's

programmatic framework may be used with some modification to isolate the Indianness of Kipling's texts, although it is hard to agree with him when he insists on the existence of "Indian English". [Kachru] defines a contextual unit as an abstraction of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. Syntagmatically it is viewed as having definite end-points in the time dimension, and paradigmatically it comprises bundles of "features" which he calls "contextual parameters" and which we shall call "contextual factors".

In another passage we are warned that

the context of a language and the context of an utterance or a text in that language must be distinguished because all features of the context of a language are not relevant to the context of a given part of that language, although all features of the context of a given text in a language are drawn from the context of that language.

From another, which cites J. R. Firth, we learn that

to account for the total meaning of an utterance, one should make abstractions from the data at different levels of analysis (phonetic and phonological; grammatical, lexical and semantic) and describe the 'meaning' of units of each level in terms of their 'function' as elements of structures of units of the level above . . . Phonology states the phonematic and prosodic processes within the word and sentence. The phonetician links all this with the processes and features of utterance.

To do the book justice, such passages do mean something. Indeed, without this ponderous scene-setting, the listing and categorising that follows would be wholly futile instead of occasionally informative. However, my temperament and training being ill attuned to such abstractions, it has been an odd experience to read this laboriously compiled book, original as it is in concept but limping in presentation. Yet I did start with some advantage, if it is an advantage to be familiar with Kipling's whole enormous range of writing, including that small part of it, stories about India in standard editions, at which the Professor, lens in hand, directs his serious gaze.

What he shows is that the sedulous analyst, after counting and tabulating the incidence of, for example, every Hindustani word and every echo of vernacular idiom in a select range of Kipling's prose, and converting them into statistics, can offer them as an adjunct to more normal critical scrutiny. In this case the end-product supports the view, which many of us held already, that the young writer's style developed, the maturing man's sensitivity became more refined, as he grew from precocious reporter to author of world stature. In one sense Professor Husain's effort is a *tour de force*: in another it seems excessive. His approach is an interesting one; his assiduity is formidable, he comes forward with some comments which, given his grasp of the Indian language background, are worth having. Yet most of these are not dredged from the sludge of his statistics but are offered in human terms when he permits himself, too rarely, an intuitive judgment or appreciation — as when he pays tribute to Kipling's remarkable sensitivity to Indian idiom and thought in the moving story, "Without Benefit of Clergy".

I am sorry to seem sceptical of the mincing-machine of his analysis, through which he so conscientiously pushes Kipling's stories. I am sure a fellow-linguistician would appreciate it more warmly. For me, as I comb gloomily through the lists of hundreds of vernacular words that Kipling borrowed, and see how each is apportioned between the periods under review, and how each is further categorised, down to the last instance according to whether it was Kipling the narrator who used it or one of Kipling's fictional characters, I am left with a sense of anticlimax. *Parturiunt montes*, and if the outcome is better than a *ridiculus mus* it is still disappointingly

insubstantial. The ponderousness of reasoning and the slenderness of conclusions must narrow the appeal of the book. I would like to see it boiled down to an essay a tenth as long, expressed in less specialised language — with a quicker pace, a greater impact, and its findings not much diminished when shorn of the present great mass of repetitive evidence.

As it stands, the book demands much. The ordinary reader must acquire a linguistic grounding, must accept the pretension of Stylistics to be a genuine help in the analysis of style, and must tolerate the obtrusive apparatus of Stylostatistics, which is at the heart of Professor Husain's theme.

Regarding statistical tools, even literary generalists know that the analyst with a computer is apt to offer fascinating evidence, not always lightly gainsaid, that Homer was a partnership or that Bacon wrote *Macbeth*. For such detective work, statistics have their value. But do they here, where authorship is not in question, and where nothing more substantial than pointers to a maturing mind are to be gleaned from the logarithmic tabulations? Similar doubt might be expressed by an admirer of, say, Elgar, on putting down a mathematician's researches on the early Malvern period, in which the researcher in his zeal to prove measurable shifts in style by analysis of notation, seems oblivious that music is composed for our delight, and that inspiration transcends arithmetic.

Admittedly, our general cultural drift seems to be in the direction of more exacting criticism, judgment eventually by slide-rule or computer. In Dryden's view, three centuries ago, the critic needed "to observe those excellencies which should delight a reasonable reader". That, of course, was a concept too naive to last for ever, but it still lingered at Cambridge when I read English there after the second World War. My tutor, the redoubtable F. L. Lucas, viewed the rising cult of intensive literary analysis as a perversion, calling it, in his book *Style*, a "disastrous mistake" all too apt to seduce a critic, himself "incapable of writing a living sentence", into the sorry trap of "enjoying nothing in literature except his own opinions". But how I give myself away! What is a student of Lucas doing, reviewing a book on linguistics in Kipling? Knowledge of Kipling is irrelevant if not injurious: as well ask Soapy Sam to review *The Origin of Species*.

Let me, unlike Wilberforce, give some praise. Professor Husain is a serious scholar, and devoid of arrogance. He has tried to make this book assimilable to generalists, and, if he has only partly succeeded, anyone who reaches the end will give him marks for industry and impartiality. Though the Professor obviously regards Kipling as a racist and imperialist tainted by the Europe-centred values of his generation, he does not belittle his towering stature as a writer.

What the Professor totally lacks is lightness of touch, and what he should never have done (it is a well known error) was turn his 1978 London Ph.D. thesis into a book, without adequate alteration and disguise. It smells of the lamp. Also, so numerate a study carries a sad air of antiseptis and sterility. The springs of literate appreciation in the author, of which a hint is visible here and there, are not allowed to gush. Some occasional effusion would have helped. The reader may be reminded of the over-exactitude of Mr Collins in *Pride and Prejudice*, relentlessly displaying his parsonage garden to his visitors:

every view was pointed out with a minuteness that left beauty entirely behind. He could number the fields in every direction, and could tell how many trees there were in the most distant clump.

However, my concluding remarks, my harshest criticism, are to the address of the publishers. This book is grossly disfigured throughout by an astounding profusion of avoidable errors. The slips in dates and names, spelling and typesetting, are on a wholesale scale, and are in some cases grotesque. If Cosmic Press desire, I can send them a list of dozens of mistakes that arrested me like tripwires as I read, but they do not deserve it. Their carelessness is an unpardonable insult to the reader.

G. H. WEBB

BRICK TEMPLES OF BENGAL. FROM THE ARCHIVES OF DAVID MCCUTCHION. Edited by George Michell. pp. xviii, 254, [12] maps, 178 pl. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, [1983]. £75.00.

To those of us who had the privilege of knowing David McCutcheon the news of his untimely

death in 1972 came as a profound shock, almost an affront. We knew him as a sound and exacting scholar whose deep knowledge of the Bengal artistic tradition was matched by his untiring energy and his boundless enthusiasm for his subject. Perhaps one should say his adopted subject, for David went to Bengal as a lecturer in English, later to become Reader in Comparative Literature at Jadavpur University, and it was the illustrious film director Satyajit Ray who first kindled and later nurtured his interest in the brick temples with their wealth of terracottas, and who contributes, in an articulate preface, a sympathetic pen-picture of David which serves as an ideal introduction to the work he undertook. In barely ten years he had visited practically all the temples of West Bengal and what was then East Pakistan, in some cases many times, observing, photographing, measuring, recording details, and so gradually building up a vast, rich and varied archive. He studied his subject, too, in depth, and soon began travelling more widely in India for comparative studies, to determine the stylistic antecedents of his Bengal material. Before his death he had managed to publish, besides a few valuable articles, and short notes on temples contributed to the West Bengal Census Reports, one major monograph, *Late mediaeval temples of Bengal: origins and classifications*, ASB Calcutta 1972; but the great bulk of his archive material was still largely unused.

By great good fortune, the McCutcheon archive passed into the hands of Mr Robert Skelton, Keeper of the India Section at the Victoria and Albert Museum — already in a tidy condition, for McCutcheon was a methodical man; and with generous and imaginative funding from the JDR 3 Fund and elsewhere the task of arranging and publishing the material pertaining to the Bengal brick temples was entrusted to the able hands of Dr George Michell, whose well-documented work on the Early Western Cālukyas and on Vijayanagar needs no introduction (incidentally, his later publication *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO Paris, 1984, contains many photographs of mosques from the McCutcheon archives); and he made no fewer than four field trips to McCutcheon country to prepare for the task. The result is this book, superbly produced and lavishly illustrated (most of the 804 numbered illustrations are from McCutcheon's photographs, and if some of them are necessarily small their quality is good enough to allow detailed scrutiny through a strong lens), and no small credit is due to the imaginative publishing of the Princeton University Press.

Dr Michell contributes a liminary chapter, short but cogent, on the historical background to the study, with attention to the formation of a Bengali cultural identity and to the relations between society and the temple, and pointing out the debt of the unique Bengal temple architectural forms to both the uniquely Bengali Islamic architecture and to Bengali vernacular forms. The next two chapters are McCutcheon's own, reprinted from his 1972 work published by the Asiatic Society but now cross-referenced to the illustrations; the first examines the origins and developments of the Bengal temple styles, and the second is a masterly typological study of them, including 186 illustrations, well captioned and with a summary of the types concerned *en regard*, on 44 pages of plates; this is the kernel of McCutcheon's work, an excellent model which could be held sufficient, if appropriately expanded, for a typology of the Indian temple in general. Chapter 4, "Architects and builders", is contributed by Tarapada Santra, and examines the records of the *sūradhāra* community, and much of their social organization, through temple inscriptions; there is also much of interest concerning patronage; and for good measure there are two pages of plates of temple inscriptions.

Dr Michell returns with the next three chapters: "Materials and techniques", illustrated with temple plans and sketches of vaults and domes, which clearly owe much to his own measurements and observations in the field; "Style", a discussion arranged both chronologically and regionally, which thus complements McCutcheon's typology with the insight of a professional architect; and "Iconography", identifying the major iconographical themes — the epics *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, as well as the *Kṛṣṇalīlā*, are naturally well represented — and also the interesting "courtly, hunting and boating scenes" (although I did not find the terracotta panel showing a European riding a bicycle, which I remember seeing on one of David McCutcheon's slides), a register of animal and bird figures, and the omnipresent vegetal ornament. This is a most useful contribution to the Indian "grammar of ornament" which will one day have to be codified and written; and it was interesting to observe the (coincidental) correspondences with such a remote demotic art as Rājasthāni wall-painting. The iconography chapter subsumes much of sculpture, although there is in fact no formal discussion of sculpture as an art. Zulekha Haque contributes Chapter 8, "Literary sources", drawing our attention to the artists' inspiration from popular Bengali poetry and drama, including the *Mangala-Kāvya*, rather than from the more formal Sanskrit sources; and she suggests that the popular works influenced not only the terracotta artists but also the

painters of the *pata* scrolls — the latter, interestingly enough, a subject to which McCutcheon was beginning to turn his attention. Dr Michell considers these in the next chapter, "Related arts", together with textiles, manuscript painting, woodcuts, metalwork, etc., and "Sculpture and related arts" are copiously illustrated in the next large block of plates.

Documentation follows: a list of David McCutcheon's published works, a select general bibliography on Bengali temples, and shorter bibliographies to some of the chapters. Then a "List of principal temples and index" compiled by David McCutcheon, with additional information from the editor and other contributors, and cross-referenced both to text and to line drawings and photographs. These are followed by eleven excellent maps which show the locations of the temples discussed.

Such, then, is the measure of a valuable book built round the achievements of a remarkable man, to whom it stands as a tribute. But it is more than an exequy, for it is by no means the end. There is still all the Muslim material in the McCutcheon archive, for example, only a small amount of which has yet seen the light of day (in Michell's *Islamic heritage of Bengal*, mentioned above). There is much still to be obtained from further study of the detail of the terracottas, both Hindu and Muslim, which could add to our appreciation of Indian narrative and decorative sculpture, much comparative material still to be examined, and more besides: David McCutcheon's work can still live for us as long as we continue his work. One aspect of David McCutcheon, though, comes over only in the preface: David was a born raconteur. Perhaps Satyajit Ray and David's other friends could perpetuate some of David's accounts of his adventures against irrationality for the benefit of us all. For what, Satyajit Ray asks, could be more irrational in the scheme of things than the death of David McCutcheon himself?

JOHN BURTON-PAGE

ART OF NEPAL: A CATALOGUE OF THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART COLLECTION. BY PRATAPADITYA PAL. pp. 258, illus. in colour and black and white. 2 maps. Los Angeles, Calif., Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with University of California Press, Los Angeles and London, 1985. £18.95.

The small Himalayan kingdom of Nepal has produced highly skilled artists and craftsmen in excess of its size and past population. No iconoclastic invader ever conquered the country and though the ruling dynasties changed with occasional internal strife, the religion and culture of Nepal continued undisturbed while the traditional arts flourished.

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art has a truly enviable collection of Nepalese works. Their splendidly produced catalogue with an abundance of photographs has invaluable and detailed information by the Curator, Dr. Pratapaditya Pal. He has divided the Museum's exhibits into three parts — sculpture, drawings, (model-books and manuals), and paintings — each with a comprehensive introduction. These are preceded by concise chapters giving not only a short historical background of the country, but an insight into the sources and influences of Nepalese art and its form and function. The prologue states that most of the objects in the catalogue were the creation of artists in the Kathmandu Valley, the area of the old triple kingdoms of Kathmandu, Bhatgoan (Bhaktapur), and Patan (Lalitpur).

One of the special aspects of Nepalese art is the gentle intermingling of Hinduism and Buddhism. Dr. Pal has commented on the two faiths existing harmoniously for nigh on 2,000 years (p.16). The quotation from Percival Landon (p. 14) includes the words: "strange though it may seem, Buddhism and Hinduism have here met and kissed each other". To the ordinary Nepali it would not seem "strange". The mother of Gautama Buddha was a Nepalese Princess. He was born in Lumbini, southern Nepal, and the Nepalese Hindus revere him as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. To a Westerner, however, this enduring religious association might appear unusual. Dr. Pal has referred to Landon as "the British diplomat and author". (p. 15). Landon was not in the British Diplomatic Service.

The largest number of pages in the catalogue are devoted to sculpture. Dr. Pal praises "the technical dexterity of the Newari craftsman" and "their skill and aesthetic sensibility". (p. 87). The introductory chapter as well as the descriptions accompanying each illustration give full particulars of each object. The pieces date from the VIIth to the XIXth century and are unsigned

as was the custom. Besides stone, terra-cotta and ivory are wood carvings which include a richly ornamented representation of Chintamani Lokeshvara, (pp. 114-5), and a temple bracket adorned by the goddess Maheshvari (p. 138). The achievements of the metal-workers assume an advantage by their variety, from the ornate plaque of the god Vishnu (p. 94 and plate 46), through the intricate "Scenes from the life of Buddha" (p. 103), to the elegant Avalokitesvara (p. 108). (Happily these skills are being sustained and stimulated by the programme of restoration and repair to the ancient palaces, temples and shrines, both Hindu and Buddhist, which is being funded through UNESCO).

The Museum's most unusual acquisitions are the artists' model-books and the priests' manuals which are presented in the second section. The period extends from the XVth to early XXth century and Dr. Pal claims, with possible justification, that these form "the largest and most extensive group of such material in the world" and adds that the "sketches further demonstrate the breadth of the Nepali artist's repertoire, which can not be discerned by study of surviving sculptures and paintings alone" (p. 145). Some sketch books have over a hundred drawings, others have incomplete folios. Only a page or two from each manuscript is shown in the catalogue, but the introduction and the relevant documentation beside each drawing encompasses the contents of all the books and manuals. The books, which have been held by the same families for generations, should provide a unique opportunity for students of iconography to examine these interesting drawings.

The third part of the catalogue deals with paintings which are presented in black and white. Fortunately many are reproduced in colour in another part of the volume where their delicate details can be appreciated. The illuminated manuscripts, painted wood manuscript covers, mandalas, book illustrations, pictures on cloth and paper, and a royal portrait date from the XIth to the early XIXth century. There is a generous introduction to these works and full explanations of each print. Discussing the portrait of the young King Girvan Yuddha Vickram Shah, Dr. Pal writes: "His principal political act was to appoint as prime minister Bhimsen Thapa, who ruled Nepal with an iron hand from 1806 to 1837". (p. 231). Girvan Yuddha was barely nine years old when the appointment was made. It was the wise Queen Regent, Tripura Sundari, who chose a strong minister at a time of political uncertainty and when there was a minor on the throne.

An appendix, a sizeable glossary of Sanskrit and Newari terms, a bibliography and index complete this volume, the second in a series documenting the Museum's holdings. It bears the mark of the authoritative scholarship we have come to expect from Dr. Pal and is a book that will enlighten and delight those readers who are interested in Nepal and her art.

MAYURA JANG KUNWAR

SPLENDOURS OF THE RAJ: BRITISH ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA 1660-1947. By PHILIP DAVIES. pp. 257. 201 illus. London, John Murray, 1985. £25.00.

This is the most comprehensive book yet to appear on the subject of Anglo-Indian architecture. Over the past few years several books on this subject have appeared. Pioneers in this field were Sten Nilsson's *European Architecture in India 1700-1850* (1968) and Mark Bence-Jones' *Palaces of the Raj* (1973). An extremely detailed account of the building of New Delhi by Robert Grant Irving, called *Indian Summer* was published in 1981. Most recent is *Stones of Empire* (1983) by Jan Morris. But none of these have the range of Davies's book. Jan Morris's book covered similar territory but although beautifully written was deficient in hard facts.

The author covers many subjects, principally by showing how some of the major cities like Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and New Delhi developed, but also by dealing with problems of style and social divisions. In these ways he provides a good exposition of Palladianism in Bengal, the development of town planning, hill-stations and bungalows, and the emergence of Indo-British architecture.

Beneath the surface of the book there is a continuously evolving theme: that of how styles of architecture reflected the changing political concerns of an imperial power. In the late XVIIIth century as British power and confidence increased so did Company servants and merchants demand Palladian grandeur. This found a premature apotheosis in Captain Charles Wyatt's Gov-

ernment House, Calcutta which was based upon Robert Adam's designs for Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire. With few exceptions it was the engineer officers who gave British buildings in India their distinctive appearance. Indeed until the Mutiny the East India Company gave express instructions that civil architects were only to be used when no engineer was available. This is an aspect which is only fleetingly discussed by Davies. It would have been interesting to know in more detail what Company policy in India was towards architecture.

With an increase in power came a desire to instil Christian values in India. As a result Gothicism gradually appeared during the 1830s. Both St Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta and St John's church Bombay were built under the Anglicising influence of the Macaulay Education Minute of 1835.

After the Indian Mutiny a new generation of properly trained architects went out to India. This occurred because responsibility for building works passed from a military to a civilian body, the Public Works Department. Thus architects of the stature of Sir William Emerson and Robert Chisholm were needed in India. Their influence and the fact that they were also concerned with the promotion of an Indo-British style radically altered architecture on the sub-continent. Chisholm and later John Lockwood Kipling were largely responsible for the acceptance of Indian craft traditions. The development of a mixed Anglo-Indian style with its political and artistic implications was eventually to have a decisive effect on the work of Edwin Lutyens in Delhi. By 1910, when plans for a new capital city were being discussed it was almost inconceivable that a new major government building would not display some kind of Indian influence. New Delhi was a symbol of the Indian Empire at its height; confident, yet entirely dependent on the cooperation of Indians for its continued existence.

This is a very impressive book, well illustrated and produced. It is bound to remain the standard work on the subject for many years.

RAYMOND HEAD

MAX WEBER IN ASIAN STUDIES. Edited by ANDREAS E. BUSS. (International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology Vol. 42.) pp. [vi], 252. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985. Guilders 42.

The editor (and author of one essay) starts from the premise that, for all the frequency with which Weber is quoted on the sociology of India and China by English-speaking writers, the English translations of his work are at once incomplete, inaccurate, and detached from one another and the main corpus of ideas they were meant to be integral to. Weber never pretended to deal with the sociology of either Chinese or Indian religion for its own sake, but only to throw a light of comparison on his main theme of the connection between "the Protestant ethic" and "capitalism" in the history of ideas in Europe; admirers and detractors alike have got him wrong. Authors of the seven essays that follow — all distinguished sociologists — discuss the appositeness of Weber's interpretation (as it *ought* to be understood) of the *Geist* of capitalism in comparison with the *Geister* of Confucianism or Hinduism and Buddhism, with additional excursions to Japan and Southeast Asia. They do not all agree among themselves, in what orientalist may be forgiven for regarding as a private fight analogous to those of the Marxists. Non-sociologists may wonder whether the answer to Weber's question "Why no capitalism in China" (posed again here by Gary Hamilton, critically, as misconceived) is not rather less "The Institutionalization of the Perception of Tension between the Transcendental and the Mundane Orders and the Structure of the World" in "Axial Age Civilizations" (S. N. Eisenstadt) than Marco Polo's homelier omission, when imparting the "developmental" arts of Venice to the Yüan Court, to include double-entry book-keeping.

DENNIS DUNCANSON

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. BY H. B. SARKAR. pp. xxii, 355, 56 illus., 6 maps. New Delhi, Indian Council for Cultural Relations and Motilal Banarsidass, 1985. Rs. 400.

From the time of the earliest European adventurers and the East India Companies, their

enterprise and interests spanned not only the Indian sub-continent, but also the islands and mainland of South-East Asia. In the XIXth and XXth centuries, colonial administrations employed scholars to investigate all aspects of the life and cultures of the lands they governed, including language and literatures, history and religion, law, art and architecture. One of the major results of this research was to reveal how great the influence of Indian civilization had been in the countries of South-East Asia for many centuries. It was not till the present century, however, and more particularly till the time of growing active nationalism, that Indian scholars became involved in new discoveries and in the interpretation of the great phenomenon of Indian cultural expansion. This stage was marked by the development of the Greater India Society in the 1920s and 1930s, characterized by the scholarly work of R. C. Majumdar and his colleagues, and by a perception of the subject which was expressed through the idea of ancient Indian colonization of South-East Asia. However, since the independence of the former colonial countries of Asia, this notion has not been sustained, emphasis being placed rather on Indian influence on the cultures of South-East Asia, all achieved by peaceful means.

Raffles' *History of Java* (1817) was a substantial contribution to the study of Indo-Javanese culture, especially the art, architecture and literature. The Dutch scholar, J. H. C. Kern (1833-1917) was for a time Professor of Sanskrit in Benares before holding an equivalent position in Leiden: in addition to his work on Buddhism and Sanskrit literature, he did more than any predecessor to bring to the attention of the world the Hinduized literature of Old Javanese. In 1937, the popular work of H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Towards Angkor*, provided a Western exposition of the current Greater India view, while G. Coedès: *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (1948) summed up in a scholarly and succinct manner what was so far known of the history of the Indianized countries of South-East Asia. D. G. E. Hall's *A history of South-East Asia* (1955) was the most comprehensive general treatment of the region, and reflected both the old and the new perceptions: still, only a quarter of the book dealt with the long period of the early Indianized kingdoms, under the heading "The pre-European period", while the rest treated of European colonial history and latter-day nationalism, and was largely dependent on European sources.

H. B. Sarkar's present book is for the most part a popular, though scholarly and well-documented, survey of India's contribution to the cultures and history of the countries of South-East Asia. It also contains some personal speculations on as yet controversial matters, such as the precise provenance in India of the various South-East Asian scripts, which he believes to have been the Kalinga-Vidarbha region. He discusses the relationship between the Śailendras of Java and the kingdom of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra, and suggests that the founders of the latter may have been disinherited scions of the Ikṣvaku royal dynasty of Śrī Śailam, with their capital at Vijayapuri in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley. The Indonesian shadow play he attributes to an Indian origin; he is impatient of the freedom with which the Rāmāyaṇa has been handled in Indonesia, and attributes a late date to the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa.

Sarkar begins his work with a survey of the source materials and a history of the study, and in particular pays tribute to the scholarly researches of Kern, Coedès and Majumdar; but he distances himself from some of the attitudes formerly represented by the Greater India Society. He made his own contribution to the scholarship of that period with his *Indian influences on the literature of Java and Bali* (1934). In addition to many papers in journals, he published *Some contributions of India to the ancient civilizations of Indonesia and Malaysia* (1970), and his *Corpus of the inscriptions of Java* (2 vols., 1971-2). The author has brought his earlier work under contribution in the present volume, and his special interest in the literature and culture of Java and Bali is evident; but he has nevertheless covered fairly comprehensively the whole of the South-East Asian scene, surveying extensively the researches of the many scholars who have dealt with Burma, Thailand and Cambodia in particular. In his *Cultural Relations*, he takes a moderate view of the Indian contribution to the civilization of South-East Asia, stressing Indian influence through peaceful contact, rather than suggesting ideas of superiority; and he notes the probability of contacts and influence in the opposite direction as well.

In this book, Sarkar treats the early period under the themes of South-East Asia on the eve of Indian migration, the tribal matrix of South-East Asian societies, the early migrant communities, and the growth of native states. In the later chapters he discusses more specific matters: the introduction of Indian scripts, the role of the Dharmaśāstras in the law-making of the South-East Asian states, the origin of the Śailendra dynasty of Java, the beginnings of Sanskrit

and Pali studies in South-East Asia, Indian literary works and vernacular literature, the Indian epics in relation to the shadow play (*wayang*), and Hindu and Buddhist art in South-East Asia, with special reference to probable antecedents from the Eastern School of Indian art.

The comprehensiveness and diligence of the author's works are admirable: but he has not been able to avoid altogether some of the difficulties inherent in the exercise. The detailed and highly specialized researches of many generations of scholars are constantly referred to, with usually a necessarily brief mention, which does not always allow him to clarify obscure or controversial matters. Again, in the wider context of the history and cultures of South-East Asia, he refers from time to time to the indigenous elements, but they remain rather in the background, whereas the Indianized aspects of South-East Asian life, art and history tend to fill the stage. This, of course, is what the book is about: but it is a difficulty of the theme that could give the impression that Indian civilization was the dominant factor in the development of South-East Asia. However, to anyone living in, say, Java or Thailand, the matter would no doubt look somewhat different, with the indigenous elements of race, language, custom, ethos and manner of life determinative, even allowing for the modifications and developments which came from Indian, and later from European, cultures.

For every citation he makes, and these run into several hundreds, Sarkar gives a reference; but these are not always complete. He lists 80 bulletins, catalogues and standard reference works by abbreviated titles, but there is not a comprehensive articulated bibliography in the work. The book should indeed prove invaluable for following up lines of study, but one would need a general bibliography of South-East Asia to get at some of the sources which the author quotes. There are a good number of black-and-white photographs, mostly derived from earlier publications, representing especially the scripts, architecture and art of South-East Asia. In view of the splendour of many of the original buildings and sculptures, and indeed in consideration of the grandeur of Sarkar's theme, it is a pity that the reproductions are of an indifferent quality, and that where the Indian affiliations of South-East Asian works of art are discussed, the latter are illustrated, but not the former.

Sarkar's work surveys the South-East Asian scene and its varied Indian links in a broad view, but with patient attention to detail. He has written primarily for an Indian readership; but he takes fully into account the contributions and views of western scholars. Now it would be interesting to see how the same subject, assessing the same evidence, would be interpreted and presented by an Indonesian scholar. Sarkar's *Cultural Relations* will be a revelation to many, and a quarry for all concerned with research into the history and civilization of South-East Asia.

G. E. MARRISON.

PAGAN. THE ORIGINS OF MODERN BURMA. BY MICHAEL AUNG-THWIN. pp. xii, 264, 4 maps. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1985. \$25.00.

In a series of contributions to the *Journal of Asian Studies* in 1979-1980 (XXXVIII, 4; XXXIX, 4; XL, 1) Michael Aung-Thwin and Victor Lieberman debated the principal determinants of the recurrent cycle of political integration and disintegration which had characterized the history of Burma from the beginning of the second millennium A.D. to the modern period. Arguing primarily from detailed study of the Pagan period (c1044-1287) Aung-Thwin focused on a tension between secular and religious authority in the administration of the kingdom's land and labour resources. His essential argument was as follows: in order to accumulate religious merit the Burmese secular élite, most notably the king himself, was regularly required to patronize the Buddhist *sangha* with major donations of land and labour. But as the *sangha's* holdings of land and labour were exempt from taxation, this process progressively drained the crown's resource base. Thus there was a contradiction for the crown between its religious aspirations and administrative effectiveness. Periodically Burmese kings would seek to purify the Buddhist Order in an attempt to regain part of the resources which had been drawn to the *sangha*; but such reform could only temporarily interrupt the drain of land and labour in religious donations, until in time the political authority was so weakened that it could resist neither internal revolt nor external attack. Yet as a new dynasty emerged from political fragmentation it too would seek

merit (and legitimation) in large part through religious donations. Lieberman was also concerned with the erosion of the crown's control of land and (in particular) labour, but his analysis, drawn from detailed study of the Toungoo period (c1530-1752) argued that these resources drained not towards the *sangha* but towards private secular patrons. Once again central authority would disintegrate, until from political chaos a new dynastic founder (or restorer) would emerge to reimpose royal authority over manpower. Lieberman's position was fully stated in his *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, c1580-1760*, (Princeton, N.J., 1984), which I reviewed in *JRAS* 1985, Vol. 1, pp. 117-119. It is now followed by Aung-Thwin's full statement.

In the book under review Aung-Thwin provides a detailed study of the religious beliefs, political ideology, socio-economic organization, and administrative and political structures of the Pagan kingdom. This is meticulously researched and, in general, well presented. Yet his central argument remains, at least for this reviewer, less convincing than that of Lieberman, and for two principal reasons. The first concerns Aung-Thwin's sources. As the surviving records from the Pagan period consist almost exclusively of those for religious donations, it is not surprising that that practice should emerge as the focus of his analysis; but it does leave open the possibility that although the drain of religious donations did indeed weaken the Pagan kingdom other, perhaps more powerful, influences were also at work. The second concerns the usefulness of Aung-Thwin's model to explain dynastic decline and regeneration through the full span of Burmese history. Put briefly, it is difficult to accept that the process of religious donation, which had drained the resource base of one dynasty and brought it to collapse, could then almost immediately become a source of strength for a powerful successor.

IAN BROWN

THAILAND. Compiled by MICHAEL WATTS. (World Bibliographical Series, Volume 65.) pp. xlii, 275, map. Oxford etc., Clio Press, 1986. £38.25.

This bibliography of more than 800 items is a personal selection but the problems of a wide yet non-comprehensive approach are averted to a large extent by the great amount of studious work which has gone into the choice of titles, guided by a set of well-considered principles. Those who consult it may fairly put their trust in the compiler. An advantage of the limited size is that it is manageable. Moreover the titles are most attractively set out on the page in clear and suitably varied styles of type.

Michael Watts claims that this book is not for the specialist who will have access to more detailed bibliographic sources in his or her own subject, but it is good that he adds that even the specialist may be drawn into fresh fields through this compilation. This is important and it is achieved in two ways: by means of the wide range of 32 subject headings and then by exceptionally detailed annotations of the entries. This clearly presented information relating to so many different interests will attract the reader with no prior knowledge of the country for whom the bibliography is primarily intended. The annotations also refer to many works not included as main entries but the names of authors of such works have been usefully included in the index.

Even though the principle of limited selection is adopted a reviewer may comment on omissions. Works in Russian have been altogether excluded. A few important writers do not appear even in selection e.g. Klaus Rosenberg of Hamburg in the field of literature. Bishop Pallegoix's fundamentally important *Dictionarium linguae Thai*, 1854, (also with French and English) is not found, though his valuable *Description du Royaume Thai* does appear. For the most part the "grand masters" past and present have been well represented though there could always be argument over the range and nature of the choices. However it is also true to say that Mr. Watts has wasted no space on the trivial and ephemeral.

Modern subjects are given considerable attention and there are useful sections on newspapers, broadcasting, ethno-botany, cuisine and so on. In the section on Allied prisoners of war it is disappointing not to find the little-known *Gods without Reason* by Dan Blackater (1948) which contains useful documentary information about the P.O.W. situation.

The compiler has written a very comprehensive introduction. The difficulty with this kind of composition is the inevitable shortage of space which may readily produce misleading impressions. These are few. In these circumstances sections on language can be a pitfall. The relevant piece

in this book is well handled, though the statement that the script has remained virtually unchanged since the XIIIth Century needs expansion especially when it is accompanied by an example (p. xxi) which, though elegant, derives from advertising design and is hardly typical of Thai writing or printing.

Michael Watts, a former head of the Thai Language Service of the BBC, has a connexion with Thailand which reaches back to the Second World War when he was a prisoner of war of the Japanese. Thus his experience of Thailand is intimate in more than one sense of the word. His informed appreciation of the country and its peoples is obvious to see and enhances the worth of the book.

STUART SIMMONDS

THAILAND: A SHORT HISTORY. BY DAVID K. WYATT. pp. xviii, 351, 22, 13 maps. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1984. £27.50.

Professor Wyatt has written a succinct, lucid and comprehensive history of Thailand and the Thai people from their complex ethnic origins to the advent of General Prem in 1980. For the post-XVIth century historian the stability of the Chakri dynasty, apart from tensions with two *upparat* and a few executions of princes, contrasts sharply with the frequent usurpations of the throne before 1782. The collapse of Ayudhyan power at Burmese hands in the later XVIth and later XVIIIth centuries also has no parallel after the Thai victory of 1785-86. Certain rulers were clearly incapable of defending the realm or found their domestic position untenable against aspiring rivals, because of temporary Burmese cohesion and greater military competence, shifts in the control of Thai manpower, or a monarchical preference for Buddhist merit-making or other cultural activities rather than hard political management. No matter what the cause — and Professor Wyatt summarises the uneasy adjustments and cosmopolitan atmosphere of Ayudhyan government with great skill — a stable system of court government or of suzerainty over neighbouring states was clearly wanting before the XIXth century. The desolation and famine consequent upon defeat is mentioned not only by Thai chronicles, but by contemporary western visitors such as James Scott (1785). Abuses of subjects and foreign traders, recalled in French and Thai sources, under Taksin in 1778-82, are confirmed by Francis Light and suggest further cause for relief in the advent of the Chakri kings.

Rama I and Rama III were most impressive rulers, as David Wyatt demonstrates, Rama II a more shadowy, poetic figure. But the contention that Rama III was seen as a usurper by western contemporaries needs some qualification. Crawford was impressed by him as a prince handling foreign trade matters in 1822 and Burney in 1826 saw him as a more popular, proven king than Mongkut could then be. The charge of usurpation came later, with Roberts (1833), Balestier and Brooke (1850). Mongkut's letters to private western contacts in 1850 clearly identify Rama III as a truly absolute monarch opposed to further treaty concessions. Hence, perhaps, his change of status. Mongkut, as Wyatt is at pains to stress, brought a keen analytical mind to Buddhist doctrine and practice long before he added western scholarship to his repertoire.

In the Cambodian and Trengganu crises of the 1860s, the Bangkok government could not really balance the British Foreign Office, Colonial Office and India Government against each other, or the French Foreign Ministry against the French Navy men in Saigon. The Quai d'Orsay often had no idea what the Saigon admirals were up to in the 1860s and 1870s, and sometimes learned of it from the British ambassador in Paris. Napoleon III always supported his erring admirals after the event, whereas Cavanagh was severely reprimanded for the R.N. bombardment of Kuala Trengganu in 1862. Mongkut drew comfort from this knowledge when a British warship visited Kelantan in 1866, confident the incident would not be repeated. It is true also that the British Foreign Office, with Sir Andrew Clarke from Singapore, chose to regard the Front Palace Crisis of 1874-75 as "a purely domestic quarrel", but had Knox not been on leave from Bangkok, Chulalongkorn might not have been so supported, a fear clearly reflected in his letter to Clarke in 1877. The disillusionment of Chulalongkorn over British lack of support against France in 1893 was even more in evidence by 1902-04. Was national conscription then a reflection of this growing cynicism and an admission of the need to move resources from internal administrative reform to defence? The role of the king's brothers in achieving so much in government, diplomacy

and the army between 1885 and 1910 comes through clearly in Wyatt's book. Less obvious was princely involvement in shipping and land speculation, such as the Rangsit irrigation scheme mentioned by Professor Wyatt. The Thai élite saw land investment and sub-leasing as the most profitable activity at the end of the last century, which may cast a kinder light upon British governmental thinking which drew the Burmese peasant into massive rice-land development.

In assessing king Vajiravudh (1910–25) Professor Wyatt is perhaps a little kinder than others might be. He balances the unwise choice of favourites and related extravagance against the national purpose underlying the Wild Tiger Corps or the Royal Navy League. Siam's entry into World War I in July 1917 also anticipated some diplomatic benefits. But one might have stronger doubts, even within reforms attempted, about the gap between appearance and reality, of poor people pressed to provide money for one destroyer by such an extravagant king, of flamboyant "Tiger" exercises when it took a year to bring 1,300 men to France in 1917–18, and of new surnames whose application was indefinitely postponed. Prajadhipok, whose reign Professor Wyatt sees as the most controversial of the Chakri, was a much more likeable figure, as Batson suggests, and gradual change under him might have been ultimately preferable to the 1932 revolution. British intentions to break the military in Thailand in 1945 certainly reflected anger at the 1942 alliance with Japan, but also sprang from conviction that the 1932 constitution had been a farce. There might be a case for distinguishing, more rigorously than Professor Wyatt does, the attitudes of Phibun and his immediate cronies (Nai Wanid Pananom, Prayoon, Sinthu Songkramchaai for example) from Thailand as a nation in 1938–44. Thailand had no option in 1941–42, admittedly, but one suspects that Phibun did not need to have his arm twisted. Nai Wanid's attempt to commit Thai tin and rubber to Japan in 1940, Phibun's by-passing of Direk to deal directly with Tamura or the Japanese embassy, his private assurances in 1940 and 1941, before Pearl Harbour, that Japanese troops *could* move through Thailand, must cause doubts. British perceptions in 1941–45 were perhaps shrewder than American idealism.

This is an excellent and valuable book. Some of the qualifications expressed here are perhaps a tribute to the writer's impartiality and reflect the strong feelings which personalities of almost fifty years ago can still arouse.

D. K. BASSETT.

SIX DYNASTIES POETRY. By KANG-I SUN CHANG. pp. xviii, 216, illus. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1986, £21.50.

Dr. Chang's study of five major Chinese poets from the late IVth to the late VIth century marks a new departure in terms of the literary criticism of this period. Previously, only translations and/or biographies existed in book form on the selected poets. Now Dr. Chang has undertaken the task of interpreting some major poets of the period with the general aim of illustrating the variety of literary innovation and experimentation in this formative era. Her chronological survey of T'ao Ch'ien, Hsieh Ling-yün, Pao Chao, Hsieh T'iao, and Yü Hsin nicely orders the mass of extant material. Her chapter headings and sub-headings, articulated in a sophisticated manner, inspire confidence. In essence, her book constitutes an appraisal of existing sinological research, mostly Chinese and American, with some additional new research of her own. Dr. Chang's main objectives are to chart the broad lines of poetic development from T'ao Ch'ien to Yü Hsin, to define each poet's contribution to poetic art and aesthetics, and to analyse and characterise his individual mode of expression, especially his lyrical voice. Her imaginative and sensitive approach yields a wealth of perceptive conclusions.

Such an ambitiously conceived book has its own pitfalls. Since some important conclusions rest on knotty scholarly problems and since some general problems in methodology arise, I will discuss each chapter in turn, ending with some general remarks on presentation and translation.

The first of these problems arises in the first poem by T'ao Ch'ien to be cited and discussed by Dr. Chang, "An Outing to Hsieh Brook" (pp. 9–11). In the first place, the poem's preface is omitted. More importantly, the textual variant for "fifty" years of age, "five days", line 1, is not specified. It is disappointing that in her long footnote (no. 6, p. 11) the valuable research of the late A. R. Davis (*T'ao Yuan-ming... His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols., 1983) has been ignored, as it is throughout her essay. Another problem arises when Dr. Chang discusses T'ao's innovative

stylistic features. To support her conclusion that he deliberately used "expressions of daily conversation" to create "an easygoing style", she cites six couplets. Of these, five in fact represent clichés from Han *yüeh-fu* or folk-songs (p. 15). Therefore the opposite conclusion from Dr. Chang's is to be drawn: the six couplets illustrate not his colloquial style as such, but his allusive, literary style which in these instances drew on an original popular source. Throughout her essay nothing is said of T'ao Ch'ien's conventionality in terms of theme, diction, and expression, or the fact that often he was writing within the Wei-Chin literary tradition, a point emphasised by both J. R. Hightower (1954) and A. R. Davis (e.g. Vol. I, p. 126). Moreover, the author passes over in silence the important topos of wine in T'ao's poetry, and trots out the old-fashioned explanation for T'ao's self-portrayal as a failure "...that his deliberate choice of farming and poverty, rather than a life of moral compromise, is not to be regretted" (p. 35). It seems to me that the poet recognised that his chosen way of life created more of a source of inspiration than job security would have done.

A generally interesting essay on Hsieh Ling-yün is marred by some muddled passages. For example, the epithet "philosophical" (p. 74), should be modified to "religious," or "visionary." Dr. Chang's generalisation that Hsieh's poems mostly end with "Taoist reflections" (*ibid.*) should be modified to include "Buddhist closures." Here it is not admissible to relegate perfunctorily to a footnote Richard B. Mather's pioneering study of Buddhist features in Hsieh's landscape poetry (1958). Another problem of scholarship emerges in the concluding part of Dr. Chang's essay in which she cites a couplet from Hsieh's death poem prior to his execution. She omits any reference to the late Paul Demiéville's annotated translation of the poem. Dr. Chang concludes that Hsieh "...expressed his regrets that he had not persisted in being a recluse, and hence could not have died happily in retirement: 'I regret that my gentleman's sense of purpose/ Could not have been fully realized off in the mountains...' (p. 77). M. Paul Demiéville has: "Mon grief, c'est que mon idéal de gentilhomme/ Ne puisse être gravé au pied d'une falaise..." (p. 145), noting that this refers to Hsieh's grandfather, Hsieh Hsüan, whose military victory was immortalised by triumphant words incised in the cliff near his home (*Poèmes chinois d'avant la mort*, ed. J.-P. Diény, 1984, pp. 145, 147). Hsieh's regret, in other words, might refer to his failure to remain in safe seclusion (Chang), or, more convincingly, it might refer to his failure to equal the wordly fame of his grandfather (Demiéville). It is, in conclusion, disturbing not to find a single reference to J. D. Frodsham, whose two-volume work, *The Murmuring Stream, The Life and Works of Hsieh Ling-yün* (1967), is a pioneering study of the poet, in this essay.

Some errors of judgement appear in Dr. Chang's discussion of Pao Chao. By general agreement the poet's main achievement lay in his modern variations of folk-song (*yüeh-fu*) titles and themes, which account for about 50% of his opus. In determining his contribution to this ancient genre, it is important to distinguish between traditional techniques and Pao's innovations. Dr. Chang does not indicate that much of his diction and themes is derivative. For example, the phrase, "Haven't you seen..." is formulaic; similarly, "Let us fill our goblets with the best brews./ And not grudge the hundred cash lying at our beds..." echoes the *carpe diem* songs of Han *yüeh-fu* and Han "Nineteen Old Poems." Then there are the formulaic shifts in speaker, the dramatic mode of presentation familiar to the *yüeh-fu*, which cannot be said to originate with Pao Chao (p. 101). Finally, I would take issue with Dr. Chang's conclusion that "a new realism of description" may be ascribed to the poet. The evidence she provides, a narrative poem having as its central passage a description of two young beautiful girls, far from being "new", is modelled on prose-poems attributed to Sung Yü, pre-Han, and on long poems by such Wei-Chin authors as Fu Hsüan and Lu Chi (to be found in *New Songs from a Jade Terrace*, trans. this reviewer, pp. 75 and 92). Again, although it is nowhere indicated in Dr. Chang's essay, 17 of Pao Chao's poems appear in my translation, including one central to her discussion (p. 98). I find myself in disagreement with her interpretation of this poem. She sees the dream sequence as a device for expressing "the author's deep urge for social justice" (p. 99). I prefer to view the dream as a technique for presenting an erotic bedroom scene in an indirect manner — overt sexuality was not permitted in court love poetry in this period. His poem has nothing to do with "social justice." In the Bibliography Dr. Heike Kotzenberg's 1971 dissertation, *Der Dichter Pao Chao* is not listed, nor is it mentioned in the text.

The essay on Hsieh T'iao argues a progression from his *yung-wu* poetry (poems on objects) to his Ching-chou and Hsüan-ch'eng poems. His biography establishes the dates when the poet

lived and worked in these places, and so suggests, but does not prove, composition dates in approximate terms for those locally titled pieces. On the other hand, the *zung-wu* poems may not be dated as early pieces with any certainty. Dr. Chang does not raise the thorny problem of dating poems here or elsewhere in this book. Consequently, her large claim that the poet "discoun-
tinued his *zung-wu*... at the age of twenty-six, and moved gradually toward the cultivation of a lyrical voice in poetry" (p. 125), a claim purporting to demonstrate the underlying thesis of this book, remains unsubstantiated. Several footnotes on pp. 117-121 refer to Kūkai's *Bunkyo hifuron*, but do not mention Richard W. Bodman's pioneering dissertation on this difficult work. The reader might have been better informed about the "new style" poetry of Ho Hsün, also known as Ho Sun (pp. 121-22) had his 16 poems in the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* been referred to (trans. *New Songs*, Chapters 5 and 10).

Dr. Chang's last essay opens with an evaluation of the role of popular southern songs (known as Wu songs, Western melodies, *Ch'ing-shang*, or generally as Southern *yüeh-fu*) in the rise of courtly, or palace-style poetry, especially the quatrain form. She attributes much of the success of this originally popular art form to its social acceptance in court circles, especially by such influential patrons as Emperor Wu of the Liang, Hsiao Yen. In developing her argument she cites some songs as "the Emperor's poem," or "His song" (pp. 148, 149). In fact, both citations, "Lotus flowers" and "The morning sun" are of dubious attribution, and probably belong to the repertoire of Tzu-yeh, a female singer one century earlier than the emperor. (This caveat appeared some years ago in *New Songs*, p. 354.) Absent from this essay are appropriate references to the work of Marilyn J. Evans, *Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties* (Dissertation, Yale, 1966). William S. Graham, Jr., *The Lament for the South*, Appendix V on Yü Hsin's identification with the Han historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (1980), and J. R. Hightower's seminal study of genres in the *Wen hsüan* (1957).

In terms of general presentation I would have preferred more poem titles, a poem's series number, the poem's line length, and the line numbers cited in an excerpt. Most of the poems have been translated before. Dr. Chang's translation style is sometimes marred by a paraphrase, omitted key words, or over-translation. Textual variants are generally ignored, even when the sense of a reading is negated. On the other hand, I feel that the sensible variant has been adopted in her text. Some mistranslations occur. One example is *Yen-yü* (p. 158, line 2 of the Chinese text), an expression used by both Hsiao Kang and Yü Hsin. Dr. Chang takes the *Yen* of this phrase to mean Chao Fei-Yen, the Han dancer and imperial consort. I have checked all the occurrences of *Yen/yen* in the representative Southern Dynasties poetry anthology, *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*, but have found no instance where the character on its own may be taken to refer to Chao Fei-yen. Here it must mean Yen state, home of superlative female dancers. Finally, the Bibliography lacks the following items: Lu Ch'in-li's 3-volume collation of poetry from the Ch'in to the Southern Dynasties, showing textual variants and sources of the texts (1983). J.-P. Diény, *Les dix-neuf poèmes anciens* (1963). Paul Demiéville, *Poèmes chinois d'avant la mort*, ed. J.-P. Diény (1984). Dr. M. J. Evans's Yale dissertation (1966). Kiyohide Masuda, *Gafu no rekishiteki kenkyū* (1975), and Dr. H. Kotzenberg's dissertation (1971). It is a pleasure to read a printed book which is relatively free from typographical errors.

ANNE BIRRELL

MIRAGES ON THE SEA OF TIME: THE TAOIST POETRY OF TSAO T'ANG. BY EDWARD H. SCHAFER, pp. vii, 153. Berkeley etc, University of California Press. 1985. £15.25.

Professor Schafer's book is a conscious act of restoration. His stated aim is to counter centuries of bias against Taoist literature in China which has led to the neglect of a number of T'ang dynasty writers on Taoist themes. He triumphantly achieves this goal. His book's elegant title and handsome appearance promise, and yield far more. By introducing the reader to a representative of these neglected writers, Ts'ao T'ang, a minor poet of the IXth century, he opens up a new world of imaginative literature informed by Taoist religion and mythology and encourages readers to sample other poets treating similar themes. This is no mean feat, because the nomenclature, world view, and religious system of Taoism are very difficult aspects of Chinese culture to explain and comprehend. Professor Schafer's method is to present the main features of a

major sect of medieval religious Taoism as separate chapters, arranging Ts'ao T'ang's poetry within them. His translations of 33 quatrains are accompanied by learned, lucidly phrased explanations, with an occasional paraphrase. Without these prose reconstructions following each translation the reader would be quite lost.

Not much is known of Ts'ao T'ang, fl. A.D. 847-873. He was from China's deep south, modern Kwangsi. His career aspirations were reduced to minor provincial posts. While some of his work has not survived, at least 165 poems are extant. Of these 98 form a set of heptasyllabic quatrains, "The Minor 'Roaming Immortals'," from which Schafer made his selection in translation. There are besides 50 heptasyllabic 8-line poems which might represent his fugitive set, "The Major 'Roaming Immortals.'" The collection also includes 7 pentasyllabic 8-line poems and 4 pentasyllabic epigrammatic couplets. They are to be found in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, ch. 640-41 (Complete T'ang Poetry). Schafer's selection might well seem underrepresentative but for the fact that Ts'ao T'ang devoted his art more or less exclusively to a limited group of themes, so repetition here would serve no purpose.

His imaginative world drew on late Chou philosophical Taoism, shamanistic poems of the *Ch'u Tz'u* (Songs of Ch'u), prose-poems (*fu*) attributed to Sung Yü, prose literature of the fantastic, marvels and miracles, Taoist liturgical chant, and the anthology *Among the Flowers* (*Hua chien chi*), which provided some song-titles. One source, the early Bureau of Music (*Yüeh-fu*), is said to have provided the seminal title of Ts'ao T'ang opus, "Roaming Immortals" (p. 13), but the title *Yu hsien* does not exist as a *ku-tz'u* as such. The late to post-Han royal poet, Ts'ao Chih, composed verses with similar titles, such as "Five 'Roamings,'" "A 'Distant Roaming' Piece," and "An 'Immortal Man' Piece" (*Yüeh-fu shih chi*, ch. 64, Chung-hua, 1979, pp. 922-23).

As Professor Schafer states, to interpret and discover Ts'ao T'ang, "...we have to search for spiritual fingerprints with an iconographic lens." He explains that his poetry is to be read within the context of Mao Shan Taoism, a tradition originating in the IVth and Vth centuries when the Chinese court was forced into exile in the south. Mao Shan, a mountain near the southern capital (near modern Nanking), took its name from Mao Ying, the cult's founder. Mao Shan Taoism was an astral religion, the term astral embracing the sun and moon in Chinese. The initiate sought communion with astral divinities to energise his vital organs and to become immortal. Through specialised religious practices he tried to receive divine revelation and beatific visions suffused with genteel eroticism. His was a personal quest, not an institutional endeavour. The cult included alchemy, longevity regimens, diet, and the knowledge of arcane texts such as "Scripture of the Yellow Court" and "Stanzas of the Eight Immaculates." This cult was also known as Highest Clarity (*Shang Ch'ing*).

Many of Ts'ao T'ang's poems describe these specialised rites, for example no. 83, p.15, and no. 39, p. 107. The typical scenario was nature at midnight, moonlit mountains, dark caves and grottoes, and gardens. Ts'ao T'ang's journey to the stars, although thematically limited, is rich in verbal texture and imaginative expression. In Schafer's words, his was the "language of the heraldry of space," with "scenes of pageantry, pleasure, folly and regret." His personae, barely perceptible as humans, are reified evocations of the divine imbued with human frailty. By definition his fantasies of divine beings are not autobiographical. Yet through their very impersonality the poet conducts an elegantly wrought argument, half mocking, half serious, on profound questions: the paradox of anxiety in paradisaical perfection, the ambiguity of boredom in an ideal world, the concept of change and decay in the cosmic tide of time, the physical aspect of the philosophical idea of time. Although these are ideas expressed in the somewhat alien language of medieval Chinese Taoism of the Mao Shan cult, they are essentially modern, western preoccupations.

The deliberate, perhaps even ideologically motivated impersonality of Ts'ao T'ang's poems is accentuated by the book's structure, which is based on a desire to impart information. Excellent use is made of secondary source material. There are delightful excursions into etymology, such as the *p'eng* of the paradise *P'englai*. Elusive data are pursued, and we share the thrill of Professor Schafer's hunt for the botanical identity of "jade stamens" (*yü jui*). Citation from other T'ang poets nicely focusses and enlarges his analyses. Yet the emphasis on information about Taoism begs certain questions: Is this book about Taoism in poetry, or about a poet who is a Taoist? May one even speak of a Taoist poet? In the 98 quatrains there is no sense of a conscious quest for a personal salvation. Ts'ao T'ang, the man and the poet, remains elusive, almost impervious

to interpretation. His poetry, moreover, evinces a fusion of many cultural features which are not exclusively in the Taoist domain.

For all the brilliance of Professor Schafer's pioneering study, a few flaws emerge. His review of current, serious scholarship on Taoism (p. 4) does not specify actual publications. His bibliography reveals surprising lacunae: where is Lois Fusek on the *Hua chien chi*, or Michael Loewe on the world as a *hu* vessel, or Wolfgang Bauer on caves as entrances to utopian hollow worlds, David Hawkes on the *Ch'u Tz'u*, Stephen Owen on major T'ang poets, Jan W. Walls or Yokoyama Eisan on the Taoist poetess Yü Hsien-chi, to name but a few omissions. The proper reference to Ts'ao T'ang's opus in the *Ch'üan T'ang shih* (ch. 640-641) is not given in the Notes. The *Yüeh-fu shih chi* might have been listed in the bibliography. The plethora of capitals there and in the notes is distracting.

The translations are generally accurate and fairly faithful to the originals. Again, some flaws appear. Professor Schafer's prose style and translation style are too pedantic and archaic for my taste. I feel that the translator's purpose is to bring the medieval poet forward, not backward in time. A more modern Anglo-Saxon diction might have achieved this. As it is we are obliged to grapple with words like "gruine", "graupe", "pelagic", "scarrow", "watchet", "adit", and "aven". Some English items of vocabulary are even glossed in the notes. Besides unnecessary obfuscation, the heavily latinate diction makes for an unwieldy poetic line; for example, the heptasyllabic original is rendered by a 15-syllable line: "Daylight shatters the luminous auroras — an eight-zoned skirt!" which might have been expressed as "Noon tears bright dawn haze — an eight-panel skirt!" (no. 88, p. 110). Or "In the midst of pentachromatic clouds" might become "Among five-tone clouds" (no. 52, p. 97). Choice of diction is also debatable on occasion, such as "matron" for wife, "wags" for a dragon shaking its tail, "pelt" for a dragon's coat. In no. 52, p. 97, *tsu kuei* might read better as "prided himself on" instead of "a natural nobleman." No. 31, p. 120, contains a rare error, "eastward" for west. It also bears an alternative interpretation: the protagonist might be a young male sprite (*shao nien hsien tsu*) rather than Schafer's female "sylphing". The word order is sometimes needlessly rearranged within the line. Textual variants are seldom discussed, although the variant "jade" (*yü*) seems preferable to "kudzu" flower in no. 63, p. 45. Anachronisms jar: "space-car," "nylon" for silk, or "the acrylics, vinyls, and polyurethanes of the supernal world" (p. 67).

Professor Schafer's previous scholarship has in a sense led him to Ts'ao T'ang's "road to the stars." This is a brilliant, pioneering work which illuminates obscure poetry. Sinologists and comparativists will find much here to admire, and sinologists much to emulate.

ANNE BIRRELL

CLASSICAL CHINESE TALES OF THE SUPERNATURAL AND THE FANTASTIC. SELECTIONS FROM THE THIRD TO THE TENTH CENTURY. Edited by KARL S. Y. KAO. (Chinese Literature in Translation), pp. x, 405. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1985, \$27.50.

By a strange cultural quirk some forms of classical Chinese tales parallel the contemporary vogue in some sections of Western society for "video nasties" and for the paranormal. Sadistic torture, anal regression, and inexplicable phenomena such as poltergeists luridly reinforce this parallel in stories numbered 56, 63, and 70 in this book. Chinese readers became fascinated with fantastic fiction in the post-Han era known as the Six Dynasties. Such was their appetite for stories about black magic, ghosts, monsters, metamorphoses, alchemical marvels, dragon lore, fairies, resuscitation, aerial flight and other strange occurrences that numerous large anthologies began to appear from the IIIrd century A.D. The sheer volume of early Chinese fantastic fiction is illustrated by one statistic: *Record of the Search for Spirits (Sou shen chi)* alone, compiled by Kan Pao in the early IVth century, contains 464 stories in 20 chapters. While it is impossible to conjecture the number of such anthologies compiled in this period, somewhere between 32 and 64 partial or complete anthologies are extant, yielding a repertoire of about 3,000 stories from the centuries between A.D. 222 and 589. In this translation 13 of the early anthologies are represented by 60 stories.

Of course an interest in the supernatural long predated the Six Dynasties. In the late Chou chronicle the *Tso Commentary (Tso chuan)*, for example, ogres, revenants, and portents punctuate

the narrative. But their function is partly to entertain, partly to convey the message that evil brings its own retribution. The fantastic was subordinated to the narrative proper. In the Six Dynasties the fantastic became a literary value for its own sake, a literary artefact in its own right. Written in the literary language the stories are quite short, sometimes just a paragraph of two dozen characters, sometimes a longer text of 500 characters. Their structure, usually limited to a laconic record of an abnormal event, perhaps derived from the craft of the official historian. The use of a prosaic, literal-minded form to convey surreal content enhances the weird effect. These early pieces have an aura of credence, as if their creators, not necessarily the same as their compilers, believed in the recorded phenomena. The stories were given the generic title *chih-kuai*, to recount the weird, by the XVIth century Ming critic Hu Ying-lin. Whether or not this type of literature is popular or élitist is a question which the editor, Dr. Kao, does not settle, his contradictory statements being left unreconciled (pp. 4 and 17). The fact that the stories were written in the literary, not the vernacular language, together with the fact that many of their compilers were court historians or officials does not mean that they belong to élitist literature. As reading tastes in the West today reveal, an interest in Sci-Fi or the paranormal coexists with a penchant for esoteric authors such as Mallarmé or James Joyce. Fantastic fiction rejects both élitist and popular labels.

The vogue for *chih-kuai* stories flourished until the VIth century. T'ang writers, though attracted to the genre, dismissed much that was naive, superstitious, and non-literary in the earlier stories. As Dr. Kao points out, T'ang fiction writers no longer described the paranormal from first-hand experience, but developed the earlier material into a system of literary conventions. The T'ang genre of fantastic fiction became known as *ch'uan-ch'i*, to relate the extraordinary. Also written in the literary language, the classical T'ang tale acquired a more formal structure, a more imaginative style, and a more complex psychological mode of presentation than its predecessor. Unlike the early anonymous *chih-kuai*, T'ang tales were written by known, sometimes famous authors. Unfortunately, most of the masterpieces of the genre, such as "Golden Oriole" by Yüan Chen, "The Prefect of Nan-k'o" by Li Kung-tso, and "The Story of Li Wa" attributed to Po Hsing-chien, are not included in Dr. Kao's selection. Still, his selection of 36 T'ang tales, mostly translated into English for the first time, is entertaining and diverse.

The editor's stated aim is "to show the development of the supernatural and the fantastic in the classical language from the formative period to their maturity in the T'ang" (p. 49). This literary development the intelligent reader will have to deduce for himself, for Dr. Kao's lengthy discussion in the Introduction does not concentrate on this topic. Rather he is concerned to force the genre of classical tale into the straitjacket of contemporary Western critical theory, subjecting the tales to a typological categorisation. Several problems emerge from this method. The generalisations he presents from his typological analysis cannot be entirely reliable because his sample is so small and because the criterion for selecting his sample was primarily based on "the story quality" (p. 49), *secondarily* on how representative the stories are. Another problem of methodology is how little literary information is revealed about the 96 tales in the translation. The repertoire is so vast and so diverse that a simple content categorisation is inadequate. Perhaps an attempt might have been made to order the material into broad literary groupings, such as Fantasy, The Grotesque, The Surreal, The Absurd, Satire, and the like. A disconcerting aspect of the typological analysis is the frequency with which clearly literary motifs are completely missed because of the theoretical red herring. For example, it is not indicated that "The Disembodied Soul," no. 61, introduces the technique of the *doppelgänger* to explore the theme of wish-fulfilment, or that story no. 11 on famous swords resembles the Excalibur of Arthurian legend and deploys the folkloric repetition of the number three. On the other hand, the typological method, while causing much to be overlooked, does highlight some features of the genre, and Dr. Kao's analysis of the early tale, "The Daughter of the King of Wu," no. 21, is full of brilliant perceptions.

The stories, arranged chronologically, have been rendered by 15 translators, including the editor. If they sound stilted, it is because elegance has been sacrificed for literalness. Each tale is annotated, some more fully so than others. Its source is indicated, and some literary features indicated. The editor has appended footnotes where necessary. An appendix provides basic bibliographic information on the early collections and the same plus biographical data for the T'ang authors. Three useful maps clarify the ubiquitous place-names in the stories. A bibliography

concludes the book.

A number of errors mar this book. It is incorrect to state repeatedly that a IIIrd century text has been "preserved in Lu," i.e. the XXth century sourcebook of Lu Hsün (pp. 380-81). The editor's additional footnotes often lack the scholarly conventions of page reference, whether in a Chinese source (p. 89, n.2, or p. 124, n.2) or in a Western study (p. 99, n.6). Citations should be made from the earliest extant text, not from a convenient XXth century punctuated edition (e.g. *Wu Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu*, p. 73, n.2). H. C. Chang's earlier study with some translations of the same material, *Tales of the Supernatural* (1983), is inexplicably absent from the bibliography. Chinese primary sources, the texts of the translations, should appear in the first section of the bibliography, by scholarly convention, not scattered about (pp. 52-3, 380-84). Whether the book's inconsistencies are the result of a lack of coordination between the 15 collaborators or of printing errors is not clear, but they abound: main titles like *Sou-shen chi* and *Chen-i chuan* are misspelt (pp. v, vi, and 125), period dates differ for the Six Dynasties (pp. v and 1), Wu Chün's dates should be 469-520 (p. 20), Tien Heng should read T'ien Heng (p. 345), Lu-chaiing on the map (p.392) should be Lu-chiang, the section titles of the book should be transposed (pp. 55 and 183), "It's" appears instead of Its (p. 344), numerous characters are omitted in the text *passim*, resulting in blank spaces in the print, and far too many typographical errors occur *passim* (a list has been sent to the Press).

The merits of the book lie in the new material translated for the first time, the entertainment value of the selection, the informative notes and references, in the literary aperçus of the collaborators, and in the editor's contextual information and acute observations on form and structure. This reviewer is left somewhat surprised, however, by the absence in this book of any reference to the use of fantastic fiction to subvert the socio-ethical code. On the contrary, one finds the old-fashioned sinological platitude trotted out (pp. 4-5) that the stories "appeal to conventional philosophical and religious authority."

ANNE BIRRELL

EASTERN ZHOU AND QIN CIVILISATIONS. By LI XUEQIN, translated by K. C. CHANG. (Early Chinese Civilization Series.) pp. xvi, 527, 212 figs. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985. £55.00.

Many of the results of Chinese archaeology in recent years are now well known to the western public, thanks to the exhibitions that have been held in Europe and elsewhere since 1973 and the splendid catalogues that have accompanied them. In addition a number of centres of learning have been glad to welcome distinguished Chinese scholars, such as the author of this book, to spend periods of research in western universities, where they have been able to keep their colleagues informed of the latest discoveries. Those who read Chinese have moreover been able to study both the preliminary and the detailed reports that continue to appear in periodicals or as monographs, produced both by the principal institutions of Peking and by the provincial publishing houses.

Such works have been concerned with specific sites, such as Man-ch'eng or Shui-hu-ti; or particular types of artifact, such as bronze vessels; or in some cases they have concentrated on a defined area, such as Ho-pei or Yün-nan. At the same time, beginning with Cheng Te-k'un's volumes that were published from 1959 onwards, there have appeared a few studies in English which set out the archaeological evidence for defined periods of time. The present volume, on Eastern Chou and Ch'in, is the third to be included in the *Early Chinese Civilizations Series* of Yale University Press, and is in fact a translation of a work that was first published in Chinese, with a preface dated in March 1983. The book aims at summarizing the results of archaeological work of recent decades, setting them in their historical context and evaluating their significance. As such it is a complement to those studies that focus on the religious, political or social aspects of Chinese history of this period, such as Maspero's classic *La Chine antique*.

It has been evident for some years that a new stage can be reached in our understanding of China's early history if the new material evidence can be co-ordinated with the literary sources and both types of information treated together in a critical manner. Obviously the degree to

which such integration is possible must vary considerably and the treatment must be controlled by considerations of major historical processes. Thus the present volume can draw on far more literary sources than K. C. Chang's earlier volume in the series on the Shang period; but as it is concerned with a China that was separated in different régimes, the evidence for Eastern Chou cannot be reviewed in terms of the political unity of imperial days. Nor can we necessarily expect to find the same recognition of cultural unity throughout China that the imperial governments set themselves to promote. In the absence of an historical development that can be handled as of a single political unit, and of a cultural advance that stems from a single source, the author adopts by far the best way of treating his subject. He examines each of the many states or kingdoms, from Chou to T'ien, and finally the empire of Ch'in, for evidence of its own characteristic development; in the second part of the book he considers types of artifacts, ranging from bronze vessels and implements to manuscripts and the materials with which they were written. There are also chapters which describe the historical and social background.

The book is thus concerned with the centuries that saw crucially important new departures in Chinese civilization, e.g. the formation of philosophical ideas and political ideals, the development of the significance of the educated official, the production of much of the literature that has moulded the Chinese tradition, the exploitation of iron, and the formation of the first empire. Most of the museums of Europe and America display numerous and splendid examples of the material and cultural advances that those centuries produced, and it has been left to the specialists to explain their background and historical context to the uninformed visitor. Professor Li's book immediately makes it possible for western readers to do this for themselves; by reproducing the salient facts from detailed archaeological reports and providing these with his own interpretations, he has provided those professional archaeologists who specialise in Europe with a wealth of new material for inspection further afield. In general it may be said that, by sponsoring this series of books, Yale University Press has rendered a highly valuable service to the universities of the west, who may now begin to incorporate Chinese archaeology in their syllabuses. Undergraduates whose main interests lie in contemporary China will find a new appeal in the achievements of these earlier centuries thanks to the production of these studies.

A tribute must also be paid to Professor K. C. Chang for producing the English translation of this book. This includes a few additions, mainly by way of guidance for a western reader and to draw his attention to western writings. Being in larger format, the English version can accommodate larger illustrations whose finish and clarity show to advantage, but still lack the lustre that some of the original pieces deserve (e.g., the superb examples of Chinese artistry that are shown in figures 42, 43 and 45). Photographs of these objects, which are all retained in China, have appeared in Chinese publications hitherto, but very rarely in western books or periodicals. The bibliography, which is not included in the Chinese edition, lists works in Japanese and English as well as the majority of items that are in Chinese.

Professor Li's work is well known to all readers of Chinese periodicals, and centres of Chinese studies in Europe and America have profited from his presence and contributions to seminars, conferences and workshops. In this volume he does much to promote the further development of co-operative work between Chinese scholars and their colleagues in other countries; he has contributed greatly to the further appreciation of Chinese civilization in the English speaking world.

MICHAEL LOEWE

THE SURVIVAL OF EMPIRE: PORTUGUESE TRADE AND SOCIETY IN CHINA AND THE SOUTH CHINA SEA. 1630-1754. By GEORGE BRYAN SOUZA. pp.xx, 282, 9 maps. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press, 1986. £27.50.

It is obvious that the existence and survival of Macao during four eventful centuries, 1557-1987, depended primarily on the tolerance of the Imperial government at Peking, once it had belatedly discovered that the place existed. This was equally true of the Ming, the Manchu, and the Maoist régimes. Two other major factors were the extraordinary resilience of the Portuguese settlers at Macao (the *casados* or married citizens) and their skill at adapting themselves to changing circumstances and to recurrent crises. The two most important institutions at Macao — as else-

where in the major cities of Portuguese Asia — were the *Senado da Camara* (the Senate, or municipal council), and the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (The Holy House of Mercy), a lay charitable Brotherhood for succouring the indigent poor and more especially widows and orphans. Both the municipal council and the board of guardians of the *Misericórdia* were staffed by *Reinóis*, that is, men born in Portugal ("the kingdom", *reino*), and not by locally born citizens, even if these were the sons of *Reinóis* who were married with local women, whether of Asian or Eurasian extraction.

Contact with the Chinese authorities was maintained through the *Procurador* (Procurator, Attorney) of the Senate, who rarely knew Chinese himself, but was assisted by a *Lingua* (interpreter) who did. The native-born Macaenses naturally resented their exclusion from the Senate and the *Misericórdia*; but they were not able to infiltrate them, with very rare exceptions, until well into the XXth century, as the Macaense historian, Montalto de Jesus, bitterly complained in his *Historic Macao* (Hong Kong 1902, 1926).

The prosperity of the "City of the Name of God of Amacao in China", to give its full official title, was originally based on the Japan trade, basically involving the exchange of Chinese silks and Indian textiles for Japanese silver (later, copper) bullion. Dr. Souza's book begins when this trade was in its final stages, being terminated by the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1639–40. This was a severe blow, compounded a few years later by the severance of trade with Manila, as a result of Portugal's breaking away from the Iberian dual monarchy in 1640–41. But the Macao *casados* and the Jesuit missionaries (likewise actively involved in trade) rose to the occasion by developing and exploiting their existing links with Indochina, Siam, Macassar and the Lesser Sunda Islands (Timor, Solor), as well as their long-standing commerce with Goa, Cochin, and Portuguese India proper.

The Portuguese *casados* of Macao actively protected their involvement in inter-Asian trade at two different levels. The first was external with the *Senado da Camara*, their collective representative embodiment, defending their political and economic interests against the interference of the Crown and against other Indo-Portuguese municipalities, such as Malacca and Cochin. The second was internal, between different individual *casados* and the local representatives of the Crown and the Church (more especially the Jesuits). Varying degrees of competition, of conflict, and of mutual cooperation were apparent within and between Macao, the Crown, and the commercial élites of the various cities of the *Estado da Índia*. Crown administration (headed by the Viceroy at Goa) sometimes tried to lead these disparate economic and commercial interests in the direction of policies which the local *casados* were either unable or unwilling to follow. The author skilfully disentangles the complex threads of this evolving situation and guides us with a sure hand through its vicissitudes.

In discussing the source-material available for XVIIth century Macao, Dr. Souza comments (p. 35): "It was rare for a Crown administrator to keep a diary and only occasionally did their personal papers survive. For the *casado*, *reinol* or *mestiço*, or his wife, the habit of recording their real commercial transactions was rare and never in letter or diary did they record their personal feelings or reactions to their life in the East." Seldom, perhaps, but examples do exist; one instance is listed on p. 274 of the bibliography "Macau no século XVII. Cartas de Francisco Carvalho Aranha" (*Portugal em África*, XIV, 1957, pp. 243–60). This man was a *Minhoto* from a small town near Braga in northern Portugal, who made a fortune trading in the South China Sea region, based as a *casado* at Macao. He wrote nostalgic letters from here to his relatives and friends, in 1631–36, describing how he and other *Minhotos* foregathered periodically to recall their friends and relatives in Braga and its countryside. He was also a generous benefactor to the Religious Brotherhoods of his native region, sending them costly Chinese silk textiles and fabrics, especially made at Canton for ecclesiastical vestments, some of which still survive. The archives of the *Misericórdia* at Macao also contain copies of wills and testaments made by *Reinol* *casados* who died there, giving family details about births, deaths and marriages, adoption of orphaned Chinese girls and the dowries given to them and to others for their marriage-portions.

Dr. Souza has a valuable discussion of the trade of Macao with Batavia in the late XVIIth and early XVIIIth centuries, a period in which these two former antagonists cooperated intermittently and uneasily. This topic has also been handled from another but equally valid viewpoint by Dr. Leonard Blussé in his erudite and entertaining monograph, *Strange Company. Chinese settlers, Mestizo women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Foris Publication, Dordrecht-Holland/River-

ton, U.S.A., 1986). On these occasions, as so often, the Portuguese of Macao were acting as surrogates for Chinese merchants and financiers at Canton.

The author observes (p. 228) that although the pragmatic nature of Portuguese society was one of its strengths, there were obvious limitations in its structure, not to mention physical resources and military capabilities, that inhibited its renewal and growth. The most glaring weakness was the general absence of discipline among the country-traders, who were un-regulated entrepreneurs. They demonstrated in the Batavia Trade a lemming-like propensity towards relying upon only one market for high profits and dispatching too many of their ships to one port, thereby lowering the return on that trade and investment for all of Macao's merchants. Their financial ingenuity in modifying and regularising local institutions, such as the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, for the purpose of investing the community's limited capital resources into maritime trade was laudable; but fraudulent efforts perpetrated and perpetuated by certain country-traders to evade repayment, demonstrated the ability of the powerful economic groups to dominate Portuguese society for their own benefit. This does not mean that the Portuguese country-trader was inherently more of a scoundrel or more easily corrupted than his English, Dutch, Chinese, or Indian counterpart; although some Europeans, such as the Swiss, Charles de Constant, alleged that he was. Cf. Louis Dermigny, ed., *Les Mémoires de Charles de Constant sur le commerce à la Chine* (S. E. V. P. E. N., Paris, 1964), especially pp. 148-56, a work not listed in G. B. Souza's otherwise very full and exact bibliography.

The book is buttressed by useful sketch-maps, tables and statistics of prices, shipping, imports and exports, customs duties etc, which make it by far the most valuable work published on the history of Macao to date. It is compulsively readable and admirably printed and produced. No serious student of the history of the China Coast and of maritime Asia can afford to neglect it.

C. R. BOXER

THE CHINESE TRANSFORMATION OF MANICHAISM: A STUDY OF CHINESE MANICHAEAN TERMINOLOGY. BY PETER BRYDER. pp.xii, 176, Chinese texts, corrigenda and addenda slip. Distributed by Bok-förlaget Plus Ultra, Loberod, Sweden, 1985.

Scholars in China and some other countries have carried out researches into the history of Manichaeism in China based on the historical sources and the Chinese Manichaean texts discovered at Tun-huang in Chinese Central Asia at the beginning of this century. They found that Chinese Manichaeism had its origin in an earlier religion founded by the Persian priest Mani during the middle period of the IIIrd century. Most of them held that there were remarkable differences between Chinese Manichaeism and Persian Manichaeism. Manichaeism in China had degenerated day by day, and gradually been Buddhicised and sinicised to adapt to the social conditions of the country. However, Peter Bryder, in this brilliant thesis, shows that "Chinese Manichaeism was very close to Iranian Manichaeism", and that "the suspicions put forward by several scholars that Chinese Manichaeism should be degenerated are wrong." Undoubtedly, his point of view deserves great attention.

In his study of Chinese Manichaean terminology, Bryder compares it with Iranian Manichaean terminology to investigate the transformation that took place when the religion spread from Iran to China. The results reveal the fact that Manichaeism, as practised in China, was very close to its Iranian counterpart. Although similar comparisons had been made by some other scholars before Bryder, they were less systematic and meticulous.

As is well-known, ancient Chinese and ancient Iranian are very difficult to learn; therefore, a comparison of the terminology in one language with that in the other is extremely difficult. The researcher must not only gain sufficient insight into this field of religion, but also have a good command of both languages. Few scholars today are qualified for this work. For this reason, Bryder's work is outstanding and praiseworthy.

In this thesis, Bryder also makes a comparative study of two parallel texts in Chinese and Parthian. He studies the technique the Chinese used in translation and the peculiarities in vocabulary in both versions. In the chapter on the Chinese Manichaean Pantheon, he makes comparisons between the Iranian and Chinese names, showing how the Chinese gods obtained

their names from the Iranian sources. His penetrating analysis helps us to understand the Chinese text better.

One fact that is often neglected by foreign scholars should be pointed out. It is that, because of the change in pronunciation of many Chinese characters during the long years of the evolution of the language, scholars in different dynasties used different rules of transliteration. Therefore, if the ancient pronunciation could be more carefully studied together with the rules of transliteration at that time, the comparison would be much more convincing. In spite of this, this thesis can yet be regarded as a brilliant contribution to the study of Chinese Manichaeism.

LIN WU-SHU

CHINA AND THE CHRISTIAN IMPACT: A CONFLICT OF CULTURES. BY JACQUES GERNET, translated by JANET LLOYD. pp. vii, 310, Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press. Paris, Éditions de la Maison des Sciences et de l'Homme, 1985 (French edition 1982). £30.00 (cloth), £12.50 (paper).

Originally published in French as *Chine et Christianisme*, the author states in his introduction: "The subject of this book is China. Its theme is not the history of Christianity in that country, already the subject of countless other works, but rather Chinese reactions to this religion, which is a relatively new field. A fair amount is known of how the missionaries set about converting the Chinese but very little is known of what the Chinese themselves said about it. My aim is partly to satisfy a legitimate curiosity on this score and partly also to try to answer a very general question: to what extent do the reactions of the Chinese, at the time of their first contacts with the "doctrine of the Master of Heaven" in the seventeenth century — before the debate was closed and the stereotypes took over — reveal fundamental differences between Western and Chinese concepts of the world?" Gernet's book overlaps in some respects with that of Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (1984), which was appreciatively reviewed by Gernet in the *TLS* (8 Sept. 1985), but which concentrated more narrowly on Ricci and his contemporaries.

Ricci had early observed that thanks to wood-block printing, books could be reproduced rapidly and cheaply and circulated relatively freely. "Literacy is so flourishing in this kingdom that there are few people who know nothing of books. And all their own sects have spread and developed more by means of books than through preaching and speeches made among the people. That is something which has been a great help to our people in the teaching of the prayers necessary for Christians, for they immediately learn them by heart, either by reading the printed *Christian Doctrine* themselves or by having it read to their relatives and friends, for there is never a shortage of people who know how to read." Hence it was through books, tracts and pamphlets that the missionaries made their teaching known throughout China, and it was through the same printed media that they and their doctrines were attacked and resisted.

There was, of course, a government censorship of sorts but it was relatively easily evaded. It only functioned sporadically in times of turmoil, such as those prevailing between the collapse of the Ming dynasty and the consolidation of Manchu rule in 1683–84. Moreover, the censorship of books was usually exercised after a book had been published and subsequently denounced as treasonable, subversive, or immoral. The Jesuits in China did not have to run the triple gauntlet of judicial, episcopal and inquisitorial approval as they did at Goa, Macao, and Manila.

In some ways, the discussions between the missionaries and the Chinese literati can be regarded as a dialogue of the deaf. Gernet relates (p. 162) "The Christian morality is individual and introspective, taking reason as its guide and free will as axiomatic: one must conquer pride, which leads to forgetfulness of God. The Chinese oppose this with a morality of behaviour in which modes of conducting oneself and feelings are complementary and lend one another mutual support. They oppose the Christian distinction between an eternal soul and a perishable body with an overall concept of man as a social being, situated within a complex of relationships which is considered to be an extension and expression of an immanent and universal order. The missionaries reason about abstract virtues, thus Ricci writes: "It is one's understanding that decides what is right (*yi*). But the Chinese take into consideration only social practices in their concrete reality and the relationship between the "exterior" (behaviour) and "the interior" (feelings). The *yi* is not, as Ricci thought, what reason judges to be right, but instead the overall modes

of behaviour which, respectively, are proper in the relations between sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger, friend and friend.

The Chinese traditions recognize man as possessing naturally good dispositions, which it is important to preserve (*cun, quan*) and develop (*yang, hanyang*). This Chinese optimism is countered by Christian pessimism, which recognizes no goodness in man and no virtue without effort. Ricci said: "Loving one's parents is too easy. There is therefore no merit in doing so." He was thereby attacking the first of all Chinese virtues, filial piety, the model of all ritual modes of behaviour. The analogy between Chinese and Christian precepts can be no more than a deceptive appearance, for in Chinese morality there is no such thing as aspiration towards a God external to this world. On the contrary, it hinges upon the idea that one must find within oneself, and there develop the innate sense of good which is there as a reflection of the principle of the heavenly order.

Another fundamental difficulty for the missionaries was posed by the Christian dogma of the Incarnation. Accustomed as they were to the idea of a principle of order inherent in the universe, the Chinese found nothing shocking in the Christian thesis of a divine Providence. The difficulties began when it came to revealing the mysteries which are the very essence of Christianity. While the Chinese literati were delighted by the analogies which they thought they had discovered between the teaching of the men of letters from the West and their own traditions, they nevertheless expressed total disapproval when it came to "this Yesu who died nailed down," and all that, to them, smacked of magical practices: the sprinkling of holy water, application of holy oil and of spittle, liturgical formulae. The Jewish notion of a personal Creator God endowed with feelings, seemed absurd to them. Being unfamiliar with the idea of a clear-cut distinction between the spiritual and the temporal, the Chinese deemed it inadmissible that a religion should detach itself from the general order and dominate it, instead of being integrated with it. From the point of view of ruling and literati circles, religions were only acceptable if they reinforced the total order, which was at the same time cosmic, natural, political and religious.

The problem of the "Chinese Rites" is naturally discussed in this book. The author comments (p. 183) that whereas the Jesuits were frequently attacked by their European critics, whether clerical or lay, for displaying undue tolerance and laxity, the Chinese sources refer far more frequently to the prohibition against the ancestor cult than to any authorisation to practise it.

Most of the anti-Christian tracts discussed in this book soon became exceedingly rare. In several instances, this was allegedly due to the missionaries' having bought up and destroyed all those which they could find, often at great cost to themselves (p. 13). However, they could hardly have done this on an adequate scale throughout the empire and it is permissible to wonder to what extent the circulation of the anti-Christian literature was more effective than the apologetics published by the missionaries and their sympathizers. Probably this question can never be answered with any certainty.

The attitude of the common people to Christian propaganda was often more receptive than that of the literati, for the reasons discussed on pp. 82-104 of this book. As regards the highly literate élite, the missionaries were obliged to engage in lengthy discussions in an attempt to combat the well-established and erudite ideas, which were backed up by an abundant literature. They also had to persuade others to give up their concubines (they naturally did not mention those associated with the Sun King of France and Charles II of England). They were faced with no such difficulties with the masses of the "great unwashed", although these were cleaner than their European counterparts. Fr. Fouquet wrote from Nanchang in 1701:

"Here, following our Saviour's example, we can point to the effectiveness of our mission, in that we are preaching to the poor. In China, as everywhere else, one finds among them fewer obstacles and more docility in the face of the truths of salvation than one does among the great and powerful of the age."

The XIXth century Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries had the same experiences, as can be seen, *inter alia*, from Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (eds), *Christianity in China. Early Protestant Missionary Writings* (Harvard U.P., 1985), previously reviewed in this journal (1986, Vol. 2, pp. 317-9). *China and the Christian Impact* is an avowedly controversial work, but it seems to this reviewer that the publisher's "blurb" is justified when it describes this invigorating work as presenting a coherent analysis of the impact of Christianity in XVIIth century China from a Chinese point of view.

C. R. BOXER

EARLY CHINESE TEXTS ON PAINTING. Compiled and edited by SUSAN BUSH and HSIO-YEN SHIH. pp. xii, 391, 8 pl. Cambridge, Mass. and London, Harvard University Press for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1985. £18.25.

These two authors have in recent years taken the lead in the historical-literary study of Chinese painting, Dr Bush specialising in the tradition of *wen-jen hua* and Professor Shih in Sung and earlier texts. The present volume is a class book of the first order, complementing, for example, the stylistic analyses of Cahill with excerpts from the treatises of the painters and from their *obiter dicta*. The introduction outlines the difficulties which face the occidental in approaching this written record, deals with the painters' conception of their ancient tradition and at the same time illuminates for ourselves the involved but still traceable line which divides moral and conceptual philosophy from the aesthetic theory which always clung to them. In the breadth of the selection this book surpasses such other translated compilations as those of Sirén and Lin Yu-tang through the fidelity of translation and the critical examination of the textual tradition which is introduced at appropriate places. The appendix of biographies is commendably slimmed down from the anecdotal, the classified bibliography all that the undergraduate needs. As increasingly in our classical studies, the study of Chinese literature and philosophy is nowadays backed up by wide reading of good translations and in America at least the interest goes beyond the language departments. The more serious the examination of the intellectual history, the more urgent is the need for translation of the high quality contained in the present book. The development of this scholarship in America is on the one hand largely the fruit of the example set by Alec Soper, and of the serious attention given to China by American writers on aesthetic history. But there is still a place for the publication of annotated Chinese texts, and it seems symptomatic of our times that work in the tradition of William Acker in America, or an English equivalent of Yu Chien-hua's study of the *Li tai ming hua chi* in Hong Kong, have not recommended themselves either to scholars in this field or their publishers. Will our authors oblige?

WILLIAM WATSON

THE RIVERSIDE COUNSELOR'S STORIES: VERNACULAR FICTION OF LATE HEIAN JAPAN. Translated with an introduction and notes by ROBERT L. BACKUS. pp. xxxii, 234. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1985. US \$35.00.

This book presents a translation of the collection of late Heian short stories known as *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari*. Since, in addition to translations of individual stories, two complete English versions of the collection, by E. O. Reischauer and J. K. Yamagiwa in *Translations from Early Japanese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951) and by Umeyo Hirano (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1963), have previously been published, the appearance of a third might seem to require some justification. The translator, who modestly describes himself as a "generalist", initially set himself the entirely laudable aim of "see[ing] how close [he] could keep to the original and still come up with something in acceptable English." This objective of strict fidelity was subsequently modified to "reproduce that flowing quality [of the original Japanese] as closely as possible while maintaining the essential accuracy of the translation". The result is an English text which reads well, affecting a jaunty style suitable to these late pieces, with their ironical use of stock fictional characters and situations and their obvious intention to amuse. The translation is printed on the right hand page, with the left reserved for notes. Most left-hand pages remain, however, largely unfilled, and more annotations might have been offered without overburdening the reader. In addition, there is a useful and up-to-date introduction to the collection as a whole, and each story is prefaced by a short commentary.

The translator has drawn extensively on the work of Yamagishi Tokuhel (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1962) for often very detailed speculations concerning the origin and varied authorship of these stories, though he does not use Yamagishi's radically reconstructed text. He is something of a critic too, and, rather in the spirit of a Heian court *monogatari awase* (story-matching contest), he contributes his own evaluations of the stories. For him, the "flower" of the collection is "The Provisional Middle Counselor who failed to cross the divide", a piece describing the involvement in a root-matching contest of a typical Heian gallant who suffers, in the translator's words, from

"heaviness of soul, further tried by the anguish of unrequited love." He also admires the "subtle realism" of "The shell-matching contest", the "original conception" of "Courtship at different levels", and so on. For many readers, however, it will be the plight of the eccentric but passionately rational girl in "The lady who admired vermin" that will have the most vivid impact. The translator is surely right to identify this poignant story of wasted female talent as a caricature rather than as a piece of social protest, however much modern feminists may be tempted to claim it for their own cause. Indeed, it is difficult to agree with Reischauer and Yamagiwa that there is "a tendency to question the values of Heian days" in these stories. Rather, the collection celebrates uncritically the same inward-looking, isolated and élitist society that forms the background to the whole tradition of Heian court romances.

This book must be judged, however, on the success or failure of its author's aims for his translation. Certainly, he has produced an acceptable style. Checking of the first story also suggests that in terms of accuracy his version is an improvement over earlier versions, including that in the late F. J. Daniels' textbook *Selections from Japanese Literature* (London: Lund Humphries, n. d.). A few minor errors or infelicities may be pointed out. (Page references are to the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* edition, edited by Teramoto Naohiko (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957), on which Professor Backus' translation is based.)

p. 367 *tachiyoraretsutsu*. This is surely a passive of spontaneous action and should be translated "finding myself drawing nigh" rather than "When I am being drawn/So urgently."
nozokedo. "Though he peered", rather than "however much he peered."

p. 368 *oto su nari*. The force of *nari* preceded by the *shūshikei* needs to be brought out: "He seemed to hear the sound of" or "he thought he heard the sound of", rather than simply "he heard the sound of".

Mitsutō. Some help might have been given in the notes to establish the identity of this figure. Given that this story is very tightly written, the suggestion of one commentator that the hero is referring to his own manservant, Mitsusue, and that, further, Mitsusue and Suemitsu are the same person, was surely worth recording, and would have helped fill up the largely blank page opposite the translated text. Indeed, in a notoriously corrupt manuscript tradition, might not Mitsutō be a graphic corruption of Mitsusue?

p. 369 *yanagi*. There is some evidence that this would have been a substantial branch of willow that had to be shouldered by its bearer, rather than an aesthetically delicate "sprig" as understood by the translator.

p. 371 *okogamashū*. Surely "ludicrous" or "farcical" rather than "the height of folly".

These are, however, in the main quibbles. This is an attractive book whose quality, in the end, persuades that the retranslation was worth-while. It should give pleasure to its readers.

I. J. McMULLEN

SHIKITEI SANBA AND THE COMIC TRADITION IN EDO FICTION. By ROBERT W. LEUTNER. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 25.) pp. xi, 232. Cambridge, Mass., Council on East Asian Studies and the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1985. £17.95.

In the nearly three hundred years of Japan's Edo period, which preceded the Meiji Restoration of 1878, there were many humorous and facetious authors, and the two who are best remembered among those who specifically wrote comic books (*kokkeibon*) were Jippensha Ikku, and the subject of the present study, Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822).

Having explained the various forms of literary production, amateur and professional, carried out by the non-serious writers (*gesakusha*) of the period, Professor Leutner goes on to list Sanba's contributions to the many genres of poetry and prose that are included therein. Incidentally he gives the interested reader a concise account of these genres, noting that for sheer volume of production Sanba's contribution to those other than *kokkeibon* was considerably greater. It was however to his two *kokkeibon* that he owes his great reputation both during his life and up to the present day, and Professor Leutner devotes the second half of this book to them. They are *Ukiyoburo* ("The bathhouse of the floating world"), (published 1808 or 1809) and *Ukiyodoko*

("The barbershop of the floating world"), (published 1813–1814). By means of conversations between clients of both sorts of establishment, Sanba seeks to present a cross-section of the life and variety of men and women in the capital. There is a minimum of explanation by the author, and the reader discovers the sort of people who are talking, from the lively styles of their discourse. Professor Leutner appends an English translation of a sizeable extract from *Ukiyoburo*. Among many interesting aspects of Sanba's work is the keenness of his observation and his representation of the spoken language of the time in all its variety.

This is a serious study, made with careful use of the works of the many Japanese experts in the field, and the translation succeeds very well, being lively and well furnished with notes to explain the many topical references and the intricate *jeux de mots*. It will be required and profitable reading for the student of XIXth century Japanese literature. It will also be useful to students of comparative literature and of Japanese society, but those with no Japanese might find it a little difficult to keep up with the many necessary technical terms.

CHARLES DUNN

THE SAGA OF DAZAI OSAMU: A CRITICAL STUDY WITH TRANSLATIONS. BY PHYLLIS I. LYONS. pp. xvi, 410, 9 pl. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1985. US \$38.50.

Why does one have to struggle so hard to find a comfortable critical posture when confronted with the literature of modern Japan? There must be many answers to this question, but the two that spring to mind have much to do with our perceptions of what the Japanese would refer to simply as universality in literature. One response to Japanese literature, conditioned mainly, it must be said, by the work of Japanese critics, has seen poetry and the novel as part of the general stream of Japanese culture. To take an obvious example: Knowing traditional attitudes towards cherry blossom adds a dimension — albeit not always a very complex one — to the reader's understanding of this or that piece of literature. Japanese literature is primarily part of Japanese cultural history and to recognise it as such is to endow it with certain special characteristics that do not need justifying.

The second approach says simply that a Japanese novel, like the novel anywhere else — but of course this does not mean *anywhere* else — speaks to readers who share human qualities with all other human beings on the planet. A Japanese and a French reader may respond differently to a Japanese novel, but if the novel is a good one, the responses will be qualitatively similar. Hence the latest critical methods of any one country can be applied to the literature of any other country.

Both approaches to Japanese literature have been followed by Japanologists writing in English. The United States has dominated this branch of scholarship and the increasing volume of work on modern authors testifies to the seriousness with which the goal of a meaningful description of a major world literature is being pursued.

It is in the nature of literary study that any critical method is both open to attack and able to defend itself vigorously. There is one area, however, in which most critical writing on modern Japanese literature has failed. The *shishōsetsu* or I-novel has been the major genre since the early years of this century, but it has attracted little attention in the West either from critics or translators. Translated, the Japanese I-novel can say little to Western readers without background exposition even longer than that sometimes lavished on it by the more established Japanese critics. Criticized by international standards — especially in a situation where Japan is known for its Kawabatas, its Mishimas and its Tanizakis — the I-novel hardly seems literature at all. Criticized within its own literary and cultural tradition it becomes a powerful argument for believing Japan is unique after all.

It may be significant that the two books in English which have tried to strike a balance between the Japan-centred and the extensive approaches have both taken I-novel writers as their subjects. In both cases the I-novelist subject is known in Japan and the West for creative writing that can be considered outside the *shishōsetsu* tradition, but the appearance of William Sibley's *The Shiga Hero* in 1971 and now Phyllis Lyons' *The Saga of Dazai Osamu* may indicate that finally the West is getting to grips with a baffling problem of cross-cultural communication.

William Sibley chose to build his assessment of Shiga Naoya around the core concept of narrative voice. This was a leap forward in Western criticism of modern Japanese literature which

sadly was not followed up by others. By transposing a Western critical term used mainly in technical evaluation to a Japanese literary context in which it had a more substantive significance, Sibley produced a book which treated its literature as world literature while at the same time emphasizing its special Japanese qualities.

Phyllis Lyons has carried the process a stage further, possibly with less success because of the intractable nature of some of the material which she selected for translation. One cannot blame her for this. It was a courageous decision to present what would be to a Western reader the least acceptable facets of a Japanese writer known already in translation for compelling novels charting human and social decline. We would tend to judge repetition of subject matter and especially self-quotation to be signs of literary weakness, whereas in Japan they are welcomed as reinforcing a familiarity with the writer and his work. The stage furnishes many examples of this. It is also very difficult to relate to the self-absorbed petulance of Dazai — or Osamu, as Phyllis Lyons would prefer us to call him — in the Osamu saga.

Phyllis Lyons is as devoted to Dazai as his many Japanese readers seem to be and she is anxious "to reconstitute for English-speaking readers the feeling... of reading Dazai with the shared cultural experience of being Japanese". (p. 13) In her earlier article in the *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* she had established, in reference to *Shayō* but also as a general point, that "considerations of plot logic, and consistency or completeness of characterization, while always relevant, are not crucial to judging the impact of his work" (vol. 41, i, June, 1981, p. 110). Here in the early pages of her book the Japanese reader is frequently mentioned. We are told that "To Japanese readers, Dazai Osamu is one of the most accessible and intimate of modern authors, both in subject matter and style... Dazai reveals what it is like to be a Japanese — and to be having difficulty being one", (p. 11). Phyllis Lyons has attempted to construct her book in such a way that the Western reader can approach Dazai with his or her critical antennae finely tuned: sensitive both to what may be the appeal to the home readership and apprised of the qualities that make him a world author.

Thus the biography precedes the translations and Phyllis Lyons advises her readers, especially if their acquaintance with Dazai is limited, to read her account of his life first and the works themselves afterwards. We read about Dazai first, thus arming ourselves with prior information that most Japanese would have, and then share experiences with Osamu. Just as Osamu uses obviously factual information of various kinds — something which as Japanese readers we must accept in creative writing — so Phyllis Lyons seems to be warning in her biography that a clinical detachment even at this stage may lessen the later enjoyment of the texts. Her own deeply felt concern for Dazai and devices such as the imaginative section headings reinforce the need for us to open ourselves to Dazai/Osamu in order to respond fully to his work.

The task Phyllis Lyons set herself is an immense one and will inevitably fail with some readers. We are forced to move, probably in most cases reluctantly, in the space that we have ourselves created between writer and subject matter. The experimental nature of *The Saga of Dazai Osamu* is bold. It might have made more impact on the non-japanological reader if the subject had not been so very "Japanese", but the method points the way to studies of other Japanese writers beloved in their own country but still seemingly remote to the Western reader.

BRIAN POWELL

POPULATION, DISEASE AND LAND IN EARLY JAPAN, 645-900. BY WILLIAM WAYNE FARRIS. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 24.) pp. xix, 235, 16 figs., 8 maps. Cambridge, Mass., Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University and Harvard-Yenching Institute. Distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1985. £18.50.

This book seeks, among other things, to answer the question of why the Chinese-style centralized bureaucratic state adopted in Japan from the mid-VIIIth century broke down relatively quickly. Explanations of its failure in recent times have concentrated on the tendency of aristocratic and ecclesiastical interests to subvert the public administrative and fiscal system through building up private sources of wealth. While he does not deny the importance of privatization, the author of this refreshing monograph explores the role of demographic and technological factors behind the failure of Chinese institutions. He argues persuasively that the population of Japan, in the highest estimate 5.5 million around A.D. 900, was simply inadequate and its

agricultural technology too backward to sustain the land distribution and fiscal institutions which the government attempted to implement. The population itself was subject to dramatic fluctuations caused by epidemics. Between A.D. 735 and 737, for instance, as many as 25–30 per cent may have perished in a great small-pox epidemic, the course of which is vividly reconstructed here. Agriculture, moreover, was more primitive and less stable than traditional accounts seem to suggest. As late as A.D. 900, “only 12.5 per cent of [agricultural] settlements employed metal implements;” irrigation technology was crude, and the water-wheel hardly known. Dry-field agriculture, far less productive than paddy, was widely practised, as was the “slash and burn” swidden method of cultivation. Agricultural settlement remained sparse and scattered. Paddy, when opened, tended to deteriorate rapidly, and was often abandoned. It was not until the late Heian and Kamakura periods that the Japanese population developed sufficient resistance to epidemics and an agricultural technology advanced enough to make possible what the author calls the “medieval agricultural revolution.” But by that time, of course, the Chinese-style institutions of the VIIth century had become an almost forgotten dream.

This study is based on an impressively wide and careful study of the official histories, extant administrative and fiscal documents, and extensive modern Japanese scholarship in such fields as economic history and archaeology. Though much of the analysis is technical, the text is lucidly and vigorously written. It is enlivened by apposite quotations from such sources as the *Man'yōshū*, which will help bring the period to life for non-specialists. Professor Farris' work is a valuable complement to the hitherto largely political and institutional focus of Western historical scholarship on this period. Like that classic of post-war western historical writing on premodern Japan, Professor T. C. Smith's *The agrarian origins of modern Japan* (1959), it conveys a sense of excitement and discovery. Readers will derive from it a vivid sense of the insecurities of rural life in this remote period.

I. J. McMULLEN

PORTUGUESE MERCHANTS AND MISSIONARIES IN FEUDAL JAPAN. 1543–1640. By C. R. BOXER. (Collected Studies Series CS 232.) pp. vi, 338, 5 illus., maps. London: Variorum Reprints, 1986. £32.00.

These days, when all but college beadles are given a Festschrift on retirement, it is extraordinary to note that no such mark of appreciation has been paid to C. R. Boxer. However, in 1984 Tamesis Books of London may be said to have made some sort of amends by publishing a bibliography of his writings. Compiled by Prof. S. George West, the list ran to 315 books and articles. But even before it reached the bookshops it was already out of date. One of the articles published after the bibliography appeared is included in this third volume of Boxer's articles, now reprinted by Variorum Reprints (London).

The earliest article in this collection is dated 1929; the last 1984. This range in time is driven home by a passing comparison between Malacca in 1600 and Singapore “today” (that is in 1929), a comparison made the more poignant by the remark that the “fortifications of Malacca then left much to be desired from the point of view of the defenders” — something which would not have been suspected of Singapore in 1929. The first of these nine articles, “The Affair of the *Madre de Deus*”, deals with a significant moment in the romantic and intriguing history of the Portuguese in Japan. In 1600, at the mid-point in the so-called Christian Century in Japan, the Dutch broke through the Portuguese monopoly of Japanese trade, just as seven years earlier Spanish friars from Manila had broken through the Portuguese-sponsored Jesuits' mission monopoly. Both these intrusions were deeply resented. Indeed the friars' arrival on the scene resulted in such a state of affairs that “it was all but war to the knife” between them (in James Murdoch's phrase). Ieyasu disliked the missionaries but felt he had to tolerate them lest he alienate the Portuguese, upon whom Japan was dependent for trade with China and India. However this changed with the arrival of the Dutch after which Ieyasu felt less constrained. In 1610 he attacked the Portuguese “Great Ship”, the *Madre de Deus*, whose rich cargo included 160 chests of silver. Macao was overwhelmed by this loss, for the welfare, perhaps the survival, of Portuguese India and the Church in East Asia seemed dependent on the Japan trade. A placatory embassy helped restore the Portuguese to Ieyasu's favour. And for the Portuguese some good came out of the incident, because the Japanese were impressed by the courage and

fighting qualities of the captain and crew of the ship, whose resistance was a legend even 200 years later.

The second article, the "Swan Song of the Portuguese in Asia", which shows how the civil authorities in Macao were genuinely anxious to stop the clandestine entry of missionaries into Japan, also throws light on Portuguese-Dutch rivalry there. This rivalry was a part of the general European struggle for supremacy in Asia which later developed into what Boxer calls "the first world war in history". Inevitably trade was involved in this contest; the subject is complex but it is here unravelled and explained. The profits from the Macao-Japan run of the "Great Ship" were such that one voyage alone could make a captain a rich man for life. In time these captaincies were allocated by the Crown as favours in return for some special service either to an individual, a city or even to a monastery. Later still they were auctioned off to the highest bidder. Macao acted as middleman between Japan and China, and so the Macanese merchants often borrowed silver bullion from Kyushu traders in order to finance their purchases at the Canton spring fair. Silk bought there repaid the moneylenders and still left a profit despite the high rates of interest charged: 25% was considered moderate! After the Dutch virtually severed communications between Macao and Goa, this Japan-China trade became even more important. Indeed one reason why the Japan-Macao intercourse went uninterrupted until 1639 was because of the heavy debts owed by Macanese in Kyushu. When the bamboo curtain finally fell numerous Japanese moneylenders were left with useless bonds, bonds which "are still extant and still unpaid today [1934]".

Merchants and Jesuits were never far apart and so the fourth article deals with the relations of Hosokawa Tadaoki with the Jesuits during the Christian Century. It is based on contemporary Jesuit letters which throw light on him as one of the leading personalities of the day. 1587 was a landmark in the history of Japanese Catholicism since in that year Hideyoshi banned the missionaries, though the ban was not strictly enforced. Boxer concludes that one reason may have been the influence of Tadaoki's wife, who had secretly become a Catholic in circumstances worthy of any of the hagiographical legends of the early Church. After she died the Jesuits established an annual memorial requiem for her which was turned into a form of Christian propaganda and served to bind Tadaoki to the Faith which however he refused to embrace: his attitude seems to have been "Almost thou persuadest me..."

The Jesuits, never men to miss a chance, made use of pious stories from the mission which, suitably written up and translated, were published for the edification of (for example) those English Catholics then suffering under harsh penal laws. Tadaoki, besides being an amateur of Jesuits, was also one of the historic masters of the tea cult. There are many anecdotes told of him as a tea master and there is also another revealing his attitude to Catholicism. Ordered to execute a faithful vassal who was a convert he tried to persuade the man to save himself by apostatising. The reply was "Do you want me to go to Hell, then?" To which Tadaoki retorted: "Why not? If I'm going there, come with me, like a faithful vassal!"

A well-illustrated study of Portuguese influences on Japan during this period falls roughly into four areas: the religious, political, cultural and economic, sub-divided into art (including that art form peculiar to Japan, the *Namban-byobu*, or "Southern Barbarian screens"), painting, printing and engraving, astronomy, the military arts, medicine, and even fashion. The Portuguese brought *inter alia* Persian and Arab horses and tobacco. Boxer, concluding this essay with some reflections on Japan as a great power, draws some comparisons between the early XVIth century and the Meiji period.

There follows an essay on Father João Rodrigues, the brilliant linguist who served in both Kyoto and Peking and produced the first Japanese grammar and dictionary for Europeans. (Interestingly, he, like the pioneer friars working earlier among the Aztecs in Mexico chose to translate Aesop for the benefit of converts.)

There follows a fascinating article outlining the dramatic life of Friar Juan Pobre, a soldier in Flanders who, having become a Franciscan, worked in Asia. His odyssey (no other word will do) and that of his manuscript *Ystoria* border on the incredible. Most of the missionaries in this collection are Jesuits, but this one friar alone makes up for that; a formidable personality and redoubtable character, he was, not surprisingly, a favourite of Philip III.

A final article, dealing with European ideas about Japan during the XVIth to the XVIIIth centuries, draws on Dutch as well as Portuguese sources.

Enough has been said to show the value of these studies for students of Europeans in East Asia. The range of sources in different languages is impressive and the writing is marked by commonsense, a desire to be fair to all sides, and a refusal to indulge in idle speculation. In gathering together these essays from sources not easily accessible to most of us, Variorum Reprints have done us a service.

J. S. CUMMINS.

BUDDHISTISCHE TEMPELNAMEN IN JAPAN. BY DIETRICH SECKEL. (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien hrsg. von Wolfgang Bauer, Herbert Franke, Wolfram Naumann, Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Band 37.) pp. xii, 318. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985. DM 92. (Summarized in English: Dietrich Seckel, "Buddhist Temple Names in Japan", *Monumenta Nipponica* 40:4 (Winter 1985), pp. 359-386.)

Edward Schafer was, I believe, the first to draw attention to the meaning of reign titles (*nien-hao/nengō*) — most often left untranslated as mere calendrical code words — and to show how much information they can contain about the *tempora et mores* of the epoch they designate (*JAOS* 85, 1965: 543-50). Buddhist temple names are another example of a terminology scholars of religion constantly come across without, as yet, having examined it for what it can tell us about the history of Buddhism. The book under review is a pioneering study of Japanese temple names.

On the one hand, it seems unwise to start this enquiry in Japan, historically and geographically at the far end of the Buddhist world, especially since no analogous studies of Indian, Tibetan, Chinese or Korean temple names yet exist. On the other hand, Japan is a good choice since the vast array of Japanese temples has a long, well-documented and comparatively uncomplicated history (e.g. few temples have ever disappeared) and the material is already collected into several Japanese temple repertories, albeit compiled along completely different, more functional lines.

There are many reasons for the disconcertingly vast variety of temple names. No official code ever existed from which to choose a name for a new temple. Renewal or transfer of lineage affiliation caused frequent changes of names; also, long qualificatory titles were often contracted into abbreviated forms (e.g. *chingo-kokka* "pacification and protection of the State" becomes *Chinkoku-ji*). Moreover, most temples have, besides their official temple name (*jigō*), an additional "mountain name" (*sangō*); sub-temples (*in* or *an*) have their own names (included here only in the case of particularly famous *in*) and many temples are better known locally by some popular name than by their official *jigō* (e.g. Koke-dera "Moss Temple" = *Saihōji*). To these circumstances one has to add the arbitrary peculiarities of the mostly *go-on*, sometimes *kan-on*, rarely *kun-on* and not unfrequently mixed or altogether arbitrary pronunciations of temple names, to get an idea of the complexities involved in the author's task.

A short first part of the book deals with the very differentiated terminology designating (1) temples as a whole (from translations of Sanskrit *vihāra*: *shōja*, a Chinese term with a long Taoist prehistory, transcriptions like *garan*, from Sk. *saṅghārāma*, to such Chinese creations as *zenrin* "meditation grove" for Zen temples, etc.); (2) the various categories of temples (nunneries, state temples, private funerary temples, temples joined to Shintō shrines); (3) parts of temple complexes (sub- or branch temples: *in*, sections of the temple core: *bō*, abbots quarters: *hōjō*, cult halls: *dō*); and (4) designations for temple groupings established by the state or associated by lineage.

The main part of the book examines ca. 1,300 temple names (mostly *jigō* and *sangō*). Disregarding their geographical or historical context (supplied by the Japanese temple directories), the author establishes an elaborate typology according to the meaning referred to in a name. In the following enumeration of the fourteen categories of this typology, the reviewer will supply some comments, corrections and criticism which are surprisingly few considering the amount of material presented in this volume.

1. N (Numina):

Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, mythological figures appearing in temple names.

The fact that Shintō gods are here subsumed in the small category Ng reflects a one-sided conception of Japanese religions, current since the forcible separation of Buddhism and State Shintō at the beginning of the Meiji period. This distinction, which still haunts Japanese scholarship, minimizes the extent of Shintō-Buddhist interpenetration throughout the whole history of Japanese Buddhism. A separate main category for Shintō should have included e.g. the Nyakuōji (N 79, not a "further Bosatsu" but a Kumano Shintō god), and should have treated the *jingūji* genre unmentioned by the author. In this context, also the fascinating category of Chinese Taoist gods could have received the attention it deserves and the question might have been addressed why these Taoist influences appear so often in a Shintō context. E.g. the god of the Myōkenji, the Taoist Northern Dipper star god figures in the category of "further Bosatsu" (N 71) while it belongs in the same category as the Kōshinji which is classified with the Shintō gods (N 103), although Kōshin is a Taoist god whose Buddhist shape as Seimen Kongō is maybe more conscious in Japan than his identification with the Shintō god Sarutahiko. The Shintō category could further have grouped the various mountain temples the names of which refer to Shintō *gongen* gods, such as the Shōjōji (N 33).

2. S (Sūtra):

Titles of scriptures (*sūtra*) and treatises.

Perhaps the Fumonji, understood as "Gate to Universal (Truth)" and arranged under "Doctrinal terms" (D 9) could have been mentioned here as deriving its name rather from the famous *Fumon* chapter on Kannon in the *Hokkekyō*.

3. D (Doctrine):

A large category of basic concepts of doctrine, descriptive of the realms of existence, the Buddha nature, wisdom, Buddha lands, virtues, salvation, *nirvāṇa* and further terms specific to various lineages.

The full name of the Rokudōji (DV 1) is Rokudō Jinnōji (not Chinkōji).

The legend of the Xth century Heian official Ōno no Takamura, venerated in this temple, might have been mentioned. Ōno's nightly descent through a well in the Jinnōji to the tribunals of the underworld, where he acted as a judge, explains the Jinnōji's role in the cults for the dead.

4. K ("Kult", religious practice):

Terms of ritual and devotional practice: cult objects and rites, meditation and transmission of the doctrine.

In this last category we find the Hōryūji "Blossoming of the Dharma", a contraction of *buppō kōryū*.

5. B ("Bild", imagery):

Symbols, Buddha marks, images of light, gold, lotus, and metaphors.

6. L (Legends):

Names derived from episodes of the life of Śakyamuni, other Indian legends and Japanese *engi* "miraculous causality" legends, i.e. temples named after supernatural phenomena attending their foundation, their statuary, apparitions, dreams, healing episodes and wells.

It might be of interest to note that the theme of the miraculous apparition of a well in founding legends of Chinese temples has been treated by Michel Soymié ("Sources et sourciers en Chine", *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise*, N.S.VII. 1, 1961, p. 33).

The Gakuanji (L 66) does indeed, as the author reports, claim to be the ancient Kudara-daiji. This, however, is a local legend invented to glorify the Gakuanji and Shōtoku Taishi. The historical Kudara-daiji is, as the author notes, the present Daianji (P 1) in Nara (see *Hōbōgirin* VI, p. 706a-707a). P. 169 (L 9): the first character of *sharasōjun-rin* is not "wave" but "sand".

7. G ("Glückwünsche", omīna):

Auspicious terms, from happiness, prosperity to long life and easy birth.

The sub-category "omīna" shows the great influence of Chinese omen-lore on Japanese Buddhism in such names as Kashōji "Auspicious Omen" (G 26) and Hōkiji "Precious Tortoise" (G 28), both of which have also been Japanese reign titles (*nenō*).

8. C (Chinese themes):

Motifs of Chinese myth and symbolism, almost exclusively of Taoist origin, such as Hōrai-in (C 5) after the Taoist paradise P'eng-lai, and Reishiji (C 2) "Divine Mushroom".

The Taizanji (C 3) is named after the God of Mount Tai who appears in Buddhist underworld

lore as the seventh of the "Ten Kings". The so-called "Ten Kings of Hell" are not assistants of Yama, but Yama is one of them, the fifth. It is in an earlier Chinese system which lives on in Japanese Shingon traditions that Yama is the sole Judge of the dead and Taizanfukun his assistant, replacing the original Indian assistant Citragupta. The Taizanji note might have included a cross-reference to the Sekisan zen'in (Ch 17) in NE Kyōto where the Taizanfukun is also venerated since the Chinese Ch'ih-shan/Sekisan/Red Mountain is near enough Mount T'ai to have been part of the underworld cults in Shantung.

9. J ("Jahresdevisen", *nengo*):

Era names.

This small category of temple names which are not only identical with reign titles but historically connected with the era of the same name, might more logically have figured as a sub-section of "auspicious terms" (G) since all reign titles are intended to conjure the propitious state they designate.

10. P (Politics):

Names expressing a temple's function as protector of the imperial house and the nation.

The notes to these temples, especially the Chinkokuji (P 2), will interest all Buddhologists concerned with the relations between Buddhism and the state. For further information on this topic, see also *Hōbōgirin* IV: 322a-327a, art. "Chingokokka", not mentioned by the author. The present reviewer, writing these lines in a sub-temple of the Shōkokokuji (P 16) in Kyōto, would like to add that the tenuous historical connection with the Hsiang-kuo szu in K'ai-feng has recently been invoked when the Shōkokokuji monks sent a delegation to the K'ai-feng temple (today administered by a municipal caretaker and housing a famous calligraphy association). On Shōkokokuji one can also consult a more historical study of the "Five Mountains" (*gozan*), the five major Rinzai Zen temples in Kyōto, by Martin Collcutt: *Five Mountains. The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, Harvard U.P. 1981.

11. H (Historical persons):

Hp: Temples named after emperors, nobles, artists and priests.

Hg: Temples named after their founders, a category which contains the curious case of a Shōrinji, originally named with the *on*-reading of the founder's name Kobayashi; later a stroke was added to the character *shō* in order to equate the name to that of the famous Chinese monastery on Mount Sung, the Shao-lin szu/Shōrinji.

Hh: Dharma names of monks and posthumous names of laymen (*kaimyō*).

These are temples founded to further the salvation of the name giver (*bodai no tame*), often the parents or relatives of the founder.

12. T (Topographical names):

Names of directions (e.g. Tōji), localities, regions, mountains and their traditions.

An interesting sub-section lists temples named after Chinese or Korean localities; such as Kudara-dera (T 48). The Kara-dera = "T'ang Temple" (TV 13) note might usefully contain a cross-reference to the Tōshōdaiji (K 17).

13. M (Characteristic "Merkmale"):

Temples named after conspicuous features (either of their geographical surroundings, their buildings or statuary) to which they owe their fame.

14. Ch (Chinese names):

Two sections distinguishing between coincidental identity of temple names, especially in the case of very basic Buddhist terms such as *bodai* and *hannya*, and names consciously adopted in reference to a Chinese name.

Many temple names figure in several of the above fourteen categories, e.g. the last category again lists the Shōkokokuji (Ch 27) named after a Chinese temple as well as in reference to the title of the founder Ashikaga Yoshimitsu which classes the temple under "Politics" (P 16); the Rozanji named after the Chinese Mount Lu figures under "Topography" (T 51) and under "Chinese names" (Ch 2) since the connection between the T'ien-t'ai tradition of Mount Lu and this Japanese Tendai temple presided at the choice of the name.

An appendix contains 1. lists of temple names with their Sanskrit equivalents, their *kun* or *on* pronunciations as well as a line-up of the most frequent temple names; 2. Abbreviations; 3. Bibliography, to which could be added the above-mentioned study by Collcutt, the useful *Dictionnaire historique du Japon* published by the Maison Franco-Japonaise in Tōkyō, and the temple

manuals by Hori and Nakao mentioned in the introduction (p. 5; reedited in 1966, they are in fact the most widely used in Japan today); 4. Indexes (which lack reference to the often mentioned *Asōka*, to *Nāgārjuna* and *Vimalakīrti*).

Buddhistische Tempelnamen in Japan will become a useful tool for all students of Sino-Japanese Buddhism. It is, however, not much more than a dictionary. This is regrettable because the very rich, often original and new documentation on Japanese history, Buddhist lineages, church-state relations, contacts with China and Korea, local legends, Shintō-Buddhist syncretism, and the criteria these temple names provide for the popularity of specific Buddhist beliefs, etc., could have been distilled into a more coherent conclusion. It is to be hoped that the author will follow up this monumental and well presented collection of material with a presentation of the new insights into Japanese Buddhism this material can provide. Such a study might also address the question of the motivations and procedures attending the choice of a temple name. A comparison with the mechanics of choosing Chinese and Japanese reign titles as well as of monks' dharma names and laymen's posthumous names might be of help.

Last but not least, this reviewer would like to express the sheer delight Prof. Seckel's book represents for the student of Buddhism living in Japan. No one, perhaps, can better appreciate the years of patient research that went into this work and the pleasure it adds to every visit to a Japanese temple.

ANNA SEIDEL

INJURIOUS TO PUBLIC MORALS: WRITERS AND THE MEIJI STATE. By JAY RUBIN, pp. xvi, 331, 12 pl. + errata slip. Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1984, US \$ 35.00.

Jay Rubin's book examines in a systematic and comprehensive manner one of the most crucial relationships in modern Japanese literature, that between the writers and the state. Much has been written about the introspective, non-political and unsocial character of modern Japanese literature in general, with the blame (if one can talk about blame) being apportioned variously to the traditionally strong lyrical aspect of Japanese literature or to the isolation of writers in a society which did not attach any prestige to the profession of novelist, isolation which led to the loss of a social overview on the writers' part and to the formation of an exclusive literary élite preoccupied with the idea of "pure" literature.

Jay Rubin's work approaches the subject of modern Japanese literature with the new perspective of the writers/state relationship and contributes greatly to an understanding of the extent to which the character of modern Japanese literature and its low political and social posture were shaped by the relentless pressure of the state and censorship apparatus.

As the topic is relatively unfamiliar, the introductory chapter explains the mechanism of Japanese censorship and traces its development from the early Meiji period to its consolidation in the late Meiji — a development which paralleled the growth in strength and power of the Meiji state — until it achieved the form which with slight modifications survived intact to the end of the Second World War.

The main part of the book (parts 2 and 3) rightly concentrates on the period following the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5) when the foundations of Imperial Japan became firmly established. Even more importantly, this was the period that witnessed the birth of the first serious modern Japanese literature with the rise to prominence of the so-called naturalist writers. Nevertheless the reader is also given a comprehensive survey of events leading up to the Russo-Japanese war in part 1, and by way of conclusion, in part 4 of the book, of the circumstances under which the writers laboured in the Taisho and Shōwa periods.

Jay Rubin's literary interests carry him beyond the narrow scope of censorship itself and his analysis of the naturalist movement and his depiction of the lives and works of many other Meiji writers provide informative material for all scholars of modern Japanese literature.

The High Treason case of Kōtoku Shūsui is awarded a separate part in the book, as it was a watershed event in Jay Rubin's view, demonstrating clearly how lack of information and the pressure of the control apparatus, characteristic of the totalitarian state, generated an atmosphere of fear which prevented the authors from taking a critical stand:

"There was simply not a widespread belief that the government had perpetrated a frame-up, and apolitical writers who were not convinced that an injustice had been carried out could hardly be expected to start writing critical pieces. Not even Socialists or anarchists were doing that." (p. 168)

The control apparatus provided for in the law and executed jointly by the Censorship Division of the Home Ministry's Police Bureau and the judiciary, was clearly formidable. Yet Jay Rubin is not interested in the hows and whys of the censorship procedures. His sympathies lie with the writers and he takes note of these procedures only in so far as they affected the writers' lives and their work. He finds the censors confused in their judgments. They were not very clear on the differences between the various "isms" which permeated Japanese intellectual life at the time and found it easier to ban them all, — anarchism, socialism, individualism or naturalism, — under catch-all designations of "injurious to public morals" and harmful to the all-embracing national spirit of the "kokutai". He finds the bans arbitrary and haphazard, particularly so as the guidelines of censorship, whether for periodicals or books, were never sufficiently clearly stated. The lack of guidelines forced the editors and publishers to apply a measure of self-censorship to protect themselves from the losses which were incurred as a result of the bans. These losses were very heavy as the books and periodicals had to be submitted to the censors after they had been published.

The enforcement of the banning orders was often clumsy because the censors were overworked and the police not quick enough to seize more than a small percentage of the unsold copies. Nevertheless it is clear from Rubin's book that the bans were surprisingly widespread. These are not individual, isolated cases we are learning about. Almost every major Japanese writer of this century was affected to a greater or lesser degree, including Nagai Kafu, Mori Ōgai, Tanizaki Junichirō, to mention only a few.

The writers' reactions varied from outright anger and open criticism of the censorship system to the removal of offending passages or simply accepting the ban and continuing to write on less controversial subjects. The government interference with freedom of thought and expression in literature made the writers generally wary of the state and very few were ever persuaded to lend their open support to it. It was only under the extreme pressures of the Second World War that a certain amount of cooperation was forced on writers. Rubin discusses at some length the case of Natsume Sōseki who declined both the award of Doctor of Letters conferred on him by the state and the invitation to participate in the newly formed Academy of Letters, as an illustration of the uneasy relationship between the writers and the state which he characterizes as a "continuous stalemate".

Rubin's work is a tribute to major and minor literary figures who laboured under difficult circumstances and together contributed to the development of modern Japanese literature. He develops his argument in a lucid, decisive and elegant manner. *Injurious to public morals* will remain a rich source of information on literature of the Meiji period. It also makes one aware how crucial to the development of modern Japanese literature as a whole that period was.

IRENA POWELL

RUSSIA AGAINST JAPAN 1904-05. A NEW LOOK AT THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR. By J. N. WESTWOOD. pp. ix, 183, 16 pl. map. Basingstoke and London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986. £27.50.

As the author notes in his preface, a new book has appeared on the Russo-Japanese conflict, its origins, course and outcome every decade or so since the end of the First World War. Yet little use has been made, at any rate in English, of new research which has succeeded in dislodging some of the tainted material and faulty analysis so characteristic of much earlier writing. The continued interest in this subject points to its lasting importance, not only in purely academic, but in live political terms. Historically, it represented the first defeat in a major war in modern times of a European empire at the hands of an Asian power. In strategic and technical terms it provided a dress rehearsal of sorts for the universal conflict that was soon to follow it. And it threw a light on Russian and Japanese ways of thought and attitudes which remains relevant to the present day. In other words, there is plenty of justification for yet another volume.

It must be said, moreover, that this book is something of a *tour de force*. It is not much longer than an extended essay. Into this severely restricted space the author manages to pack a complete and elegantly written account of the entire affair from start to finish. Here we see the decaying Chinese empire beset by Europeans hell-bent on every sort of profit. Japanese newly converted to an imperial role overseas and Russians hopelessly muddled between the demands of trade, expansion, prestige and the maintenance of their partly explored, abundantly endowed but thinly populated territories east of the Urals. From the very start, the Russians, and what can hardly be dignified by the description of policies mooted in Saint Petersburg and often thwarted by its supposed agents in the Far East, are seen to be reaching out for results which they could not achieve by any means at their disposal, political, military or economic.

This account of the preliminaries is followed by one of the most lucid, and certainly most concise, accounts of the outbreak and course of the hostilities. These were conducted on the Russian side with stolid bureaucratic inefficiency, relieved by occasional flashes of military talent and tarnished by appalling instances of incompetence, irresponsibility and even sheer dereliction of duty. As to the Japanese (who, it must be remembered, were taking on an opponent whom they had been taught to hold in awe), they not only fought competently and doggedly, but managed to turn their own mistakes to good account, the ultimate test of military ability. The outcome, as we now know, was a patent disaster not only for Russia but for the world at large, since it laid the foundations for the October Revolution; yet it was a very close run thing indeed.

It suited President Theodore Roosevelt, the interests of the United States, and indeed those of Britain and France as well, that the Russians should be allowed to take just this amount of punishment and no more. A peace conference was therefore convened in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at which Baron Komura and Count Witte were the chief Japanese and Russian delegates respectively. It is questionable whether the Japanese, particularly in view of what we have since learnt about their powers of endurance, were quite as near to the brink of exhaustion as has been claimed. They were, however, heavily leaned upon by the other powers. It is also intriguing that Witte, one of the men most closely connected with the Russian Far Eastern policies that led to the war, should also have been the politician who did most to successfully limit its damage to Russian interests. His activities also highlight the role played in the entire unlovely story by the manipulation, often eagerly accepted, of the Western press which — with a very few exceptions — behaved abominably throughout.

Be that as it may, this is a book well worth reading (even at its somewhat inflated price) by anyone unfamiliar with this crucial conflict, as well as by those who are aware of the detailed story, and wish to see the arguments about it put in a novel way. The latter will find only two obstacles to complete understanding. For one thing, the Japanese point of view is somewhat sketchily presented: the author seems to have relied more on Russian studies and translated Japanese official accounts than on the direct impressions of Japanese participants. For another, one could wish that more space had been available for some detailed description of the personalities involved, their motives and their outlook, since, among many others, Witte and the Russian admiral Makarov, let alone their Japanese counterparts, Komura and Togo, for instance, commanded attention as people in their own right quite apart from their effect on the conflict. But these gaps are a small price to pay for such a cogent and vivid account of this crucial clash.

A. LIEVEN

AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF WARTIME JAPAN 1931-1945. By SHUNSUKE TSURUMI. (Japanese Studies Series.) pp. viii, 136. London etc., KPI, 1986. (First published in Japanese in 1982 by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.) £20.00.

It is natural that this should be a comparatively short book for what Professor Tsurumi understands as "intellectual history", although he deals with some religious bodies such as the Watchtower Society is very largely a survey of leftist activity and of course there was little of that in Japan during the war. What was not ruthlessly suppressed was deflected into nationalism since in very many cases suspects underwent "tenko". This word of very frequent occurrence here left

untranslated is not the one well-known to T.V. viewers meaning "roll-call" but another that is best understood perhaps as "conversion to orthodox and official principles (under varying degrees of pressure)". Professor Tsurumi does indeed cite some brave souls who resisted and remained in prison, some till the war's end, but one of the most engaging is a countrywoman who cheerfully accepted "tenko" more than once — and resumed all her activities as before! A good deal has already been written on this subject and while the professor does add some information, not all, one has to say, strictly relevant, it seems a pity that his chapters, based on a series of lectures given at McGill University, are thematic in structure and do not chronologically follow the course of what he calls "The 15 Year War". Otherwise he would surely have found that whether it could be called an intellectual process or not, when an offensive war which may have been accepted with resignation and foreboding turned into a defensive war involving the security of their own country, it would have been extraordinary indeed if Japanese people had not proved their patriotism by supporting what military action seemed justified and necessary. Indeed, Professor Tsurumi himself, who went to America to complete his education in 1938 at the age of sixteen, elected to be repatriated during the war and wrote that he did so because, at the time of Japan's defeat "my place was in Japan". "Noting this a distinguished Japanese literary historian has written that, none the less, Tsurumi's writings and thought are more influenced by the United States than are those of any other Japanese writer of today. In fact, he goes on, his American experience has left him, while not a communist, a member of the "libertarian left". When this is borne in mind the stridency of some of the criticism of American policy in this book is understandable although in a serious historian it is also to be regretted.

In his early chapters, Professor Tsurumi describes the development of democratic and socialist movements during the 1920's, several at Tokyo Imperial University, some of which would very sensibly have ended the prerogative of the armed services to appoint their own ministers and thus to control cabinets and high policy. However leaders of these movements for the most part turned to nationalism. Some national characteristics of the Japanese are then discussed, such as insularity, isolation and the ease with which notions of Japan's "special nature" and "national mission" have been propagated and adopted, while western ideas were denounced as unhealthy and decadent. He describes the tenacity and fortitude with which Japanese can retain ideas in the face of massive opposition, citing the "hidden Christians" who maintained their faith for two centuries. In contradistinction to "group mentality" for which Japanese communities are so often criticised he quotes what he insists was also an essential of village life, that nobody should be persecuted because of his way of thinking or the way of life based on it. This tolerance, he suggests, could be Japan's best contribution to the world of the future. There are then chapters on attitudes towards Korea and Koreans, Okinawa's ancient culture, alienation of the Japanese Communist Party from Russia and Stalinism, and on the "Philosophy of Glorious Self-Destruction" which he has no difficulty in reducing to truly glorious absurdity by presenting it as the Army's Master Plan in the event of Allied invasion and victory, that the population should in orderly fashion commit suicide to be followed in this by the Emperor himself, thus preserving the quintessential Japanese spirit!

At times the reader may find it difficult to accept what I can only call a certain obliquity in Prof. Tsurumi's logic. He writes, for instance, that the fundamental cause of the Pacific War was that leaders who had been deceiving the nation with false information about military strengths and Japan's resources came to believe in it themselves. But surely more fundamental was the fact that the armed services, particularly the Army, which the constitution had placed in a dominant position, were firmly committed to subjugation of China, then to a southward drive for resources and indefinite extension of the "Imperial way" and again, in the case of the Army, confident, in their understandable ignorance, of an Axis victory. Even more fundamental were rural poverty and exploitation in the Army's home areas and distrust of politicians. On p. 76 the author writes that he will "detail the principal military events of The 15 Year War". But in pages that follow he mentions neither the battle of the Coral Sea nor the New Guinea nor Solomons campaigns and has only a passing and oblique reference to Imphal which has been called the greatest land battle of the Pacific War. Instead he diverges into personal reminiscences of Japanese servicemen, and fascinating and moving as they often are they do not provide a historical narrative. While Prof. Tsurumi is to be congratulated without reserve on his mastery of the English language, one wonders how the late Ensign Yoshida of the Japanese Navy, who did not

die on the suicide mission of "Yamato" but wrote a "documentary poem" about it, would have welcomed being dubbed a "soldier" — a word with such long history as a term of abuse among those who follow the sea! Professor Tsurumi says that the poem was written "in the wartime style of a soldier without any trace of the way of thinking forced upon the Japanese (sic) under the U.S. (sic) occupation". If, as he also writes, the poem celebrates the mission's futility one can only wonder why part of the poem was banned by Allied authorities.

Our respect seems to be invited for Ozaki, the highly placed communist and confidant of Japanese political leaders and German diplomats and service officers, who was such a valuable ally of Richard Sorge, the Soviet spy. This is because his vision of an East Asian Commonwealth was a matter of strong personal conviction quite independent of Soviet ideology. But in the recently published *Target Tokyo* (by G.W. Prange) Ozaki is quoted as saying that preservation of the Soviet state was "essential to the world's progress". Prof. Tsurumi does not apparently consider that efforts by diplomats (including Mr Yoshida's "Yohansen"!), politicians and even service chiefs to reach terms with the Allies to be a part of intellectual history... yet such efforts were made and had they been pushed a little further and met a response might have averted the final and most terrible tragedy.

For undoubtedly the chapter that will be read with most sympathy is that on the dropping of the atomic bombs and the results. Authorities such as Admiral Leahy and Liddell Hart are quoted to show that it was an unnecessary as well as an appalling event. It is sad to my mind that Prof. Tsurumi cheapens the case by suggesting that it took place to deny Russia a share in what he calls "the booty" although some reference to the "secret" Yalta agreement (in which Churchill did not share) as outlined in Feis's *Churchill, Roosevelt & Stalin* (Princeton 1957) would certainly have been relevant and nearer the mark.

A chapter on "Everyday Life During the War" compares it in Japan and in Britain, almost always to the latter's credit: those who know Japanese concern for children however will find it hard to accept generalisations about harsh treatment during school evacuations.

Strangest of all the Professor's digressions, and to many it may also be the most fascinating, is the one I have mentioned about the "hidden Christians" of the Goto Islands. They have their own version of the scriptures from which a quotation is given and in which Herod is said to have killed precisely 44,444 innocents, which Professor Tsurumi then gravely observes is exactly the number of statues in the Sanju-sangendo (Buddhist) temple in Kyoto. Chamberlain put it at 33,333.

It will be seen that despite the criticisms I have expressed Prof. Tsurumi's book contains much that is of interest and more that is thought-provoking.

D.L.M. MACFARLANE

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The manuscript should be typed in double spacing on sheets of A4 size, leaving a margin of at least 30mm on the left-hand side, and the sheets should be numbered consecutively at the top right-hand corner. Notes should be numbered consecutively throughout the article, and typed on a separate sheet or sheets at the end. Entries for the award should be submitted by 31 December 1987, and addressed to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 56 Queen Anne Street, London W1M 9LA, England.

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When Dr Susan Skilliter died in September 1985 she bequeathed her academic library and a certain sum of money to Newnham College as provision for an "Institute" which would preserve and maintain the library to be a tool of research on the Ottoman world. The books are currently housed on the upper floor of the Principal's Lodge at Newnham and a preliminary catalogue of the most important sections of the collection has been made; they can now be consulted (normally between the hours of 9.30 am and 5.30 pm Monday to Friday) by accredited scholars who write to make an appointment with The Principal's Secretary, Newnham College, Cambridge CB3 9DF, giving where possible, not less than one week's notice.

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THE BASILICA OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM: HISTORY AND FUTURE*

By G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

In 1972 Fr Charles Coüasnon, O.P., gave the Schweich Lectures to the British Academy on this subject. As consultant architect to the restoration work he seemed well qualified to do so. But work continued until 1980, and it was not until 1982 that Fr Virgilio Corbo, O.F.M., published a definitive account of the work, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, in three handsome volumes.¹ I did not succeed in obtaining a copy until 1984. Thus it was not surprising that Canon Ronald Brownrigg's *Come, See the Place: the ideal companion for all travellers to the Holy Land*, 1985,² still treats Fr Coüasnon as having had the last word, and prints plans some of which are erroneous. Only since then has an article in *Le Monde de la Bible*, Mars-Avril, Paris, 1984, no.33, in a number devoted entirely to the Holy Sepulchre, by Fr Florentino Díez Fernandez, O.S.A.,³ reached me, describing in a summary form his excavations for the Greek Orthodox Community on the site of Golgotha, and for the Armenian Community behind the Crusader Chapel of St Helena. A definitive account of his work is eagerly awaited, for his work adds to our knowledge and corrects some previous misconceptions of the chronology of the site.

The Basilica (or Imperial Church) of the Holy Sepulchre is the most venerable of all Christian churches. For some 1700 years it has attracted pilgrims from all over the earth. Eusebius of Caesarea tells us that Constantine the Great had it built "since it was from that source that the river of life (had) flowed to all mankind."⁴ Only parts of his work remain, and mostly invisible today. Rebuilt, his Rotunda and the handsome pillars re-used from Hadrian's *Capitolium* preserve his ground plan. Under the whole, as Fr Corbo has demonstrated,⁵ substantial parts of Hadrian's temple complex remain from when they were built when Aelia Capitolina was laid out in A.D. 135, a building which to some extent determined Constantine's structure. It was this that Khusrav II of Persia sacked in 614, and that Abbot Modestus restored in 629. The mad Fatimid Caliph razed the entire structure in 1009: in 1023 rebuilding began, but by 1048, under Constantine Monomachus, means had only been found to restore Calvary and the Rotunda: the inner atrium, or Triportico, and the great church, or *Martyrion*, with its atrium, were left in ruins, as they are to this day. The Basilica that the Crusaders entered on 15 July 1099, therefore, consisted only of the Rotunda with an eastern apse to accommodate an altar. This was inadequate for Crusader liturgical needs. Removing the apse, they built a romanesque church in the Triportico, and brought Calvary, hitherto a separate unit, into the main edifice. Chapels were built in an ambulatory at the eastern end, with a staircase leading to the Chapel of St Helena. A further staircase led down to the Chapel of the Finding of the Cross, in a disused

*This article reproduces the substance of a lecture to the Society on 11 December 1986, with the addition of a section on the excavation of the site of Golgotha and notes. The original lecture was illustrated with 74 slides, of which only a selection has been reproduced here.

cistern. In 1555 and again in 1719 the Franciscans restored it much as the Crusaders had left it. Very clear drawings were made by C.L. Bruyn in 1681.⁶ In 1808 a disastrous fire all but destroyed the Rotunda. While the Franciscans struggled to raise funds, the Greeks obtained a *firman* from the Porte to rebuild it. A Russian architect reconstructed the Edicule (as the Tomb of Christ is known) in contemporary Russian taste, and enclosed the open Crusader choir as a Greek church with high walls. Thus was created a separate unit within the structure, casting the rest of the building into what can only be described in Samuel Johnson's phrase, as "inspissated gloom". The dome of 1808 was so poorly built that it had to be replaced in 1868. In 1927 an earthquake, and in 1934 a disastrous fire, almost tumbled the entire edifice. Because the communities that share rights in the building could not agree, in 1935 the British Mandatory Government intervened to save it, shoring up the south façade and the arcade of the Rotunda. In 1949 fire partly destroyed the lead roof of the dome, and only then did the Jordanian Government, the successor of the British in parts of Palestine, get the communities to agree in principle to a total plan of restoration.⁷ Even then there was despair of any such thing. The Latin Patriarchate published a scheme for the demolition of all the existing structures and for a wholly new building – to my taste of wholly horrendous appearance.⁸ It would have provided separate churches and access to the Edicule and to Calvary within a single structure for all contestants. This the Greeks utterly opposed, and friction of one kind and another prevented an effective start until 1960. What eventually was agreed was a complete examination of the foundations and the restoration of the building as far as possible to its state when the Crusaders finished work in 1149 – albeit preserving the disfiguring walls the Greeks had erected in 1808. The work agreed has now been completed,⁹ except for the redecoration of the Dome and the reconstruction of the Edicule, which structurally is in a parlous state. These remain subjects of controversy. Recent research may make it possible to find a solution along historical lines.¹⁰ There is too much detail for discussion to be possible here.

The extraordinary delay in reaching agreement and carrying out work seen to be necessary as long ago as 1927 demands some explanation. There is a more extensive literature on the friction between the communities than on the history of the building, in English, French and Greek, not to mention other languages. It has been the subject of numerous treaties from the XVIIIth century onwards; it was one of the causes of the Crimean War; a full discussion of it is far outside the scope of this lecture. A more irenical attitude between the parties in recent times arises, however, from progress in the ecumenical field, but what is known as the *Status Quo* is still one of delicacy. A recent authority describes it as one of "daily confrontation."¹¹ In very simple terms it is this. Until the XVIth century relations between the communities which share rights in the church were on the whole smooth, with only minor frictions. In that century the Greek Orthodox Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre was founded in the wake of the Ottoman occupation of Syria in 1516. Under the Ottomans not only did the protection hitherto afforded by Venice to the Latins steadily diminish, but Greek national

consciousness, encouraged by the *millet* system, found expression in religious rather than overtly political terms: combined, major friction and antagonism arose between the communities. In this personalities, racial and theological differences all played parts, and not without occasions of physical violence. Eventually in 1757 a *firman* that defined the rights of the six communities in this and other Holy Places was issued by the Porte to restore order. It defined three major communities, Armenian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox and Latin (represented by the Franciscans). These enjoy rights of residence and individual chapels, together with a condominium over certain parts of the church, in particular the Edicule itself, as they succeed one another in celebrating their liturgies by day and by night. The *firman* further defined three minor communities, Abyssinians, Copts and Syrians, with rights in certain chapels and on certain days only, and certain ceremonies on great festivals. The rights of the communities were determined also as regards ornaments, and above all as regards repairs, which, with cleaning, were held to prove exclusive possession to the community carrying out the work. This *firman* was renewed in 1857, and recognized by the British Mandatory Government in 1922, by the Jordanian Government in 1948, and explicitly again by the Israeli Government in 1967.¹²

As a settlement its interpretation has led to endless disputes and has paralysed initiative, and, if the Mandatory Government, and then the Jordanian Government, had not intervened to restore and to rescue the building, it would surely have collapsed. It was this expectation that led the Latin authorities to propose total demolition and reconstruction, with each community having a totally separate section to perform its liturgy. In 1949 a plan of this kind was published under the auspices of Archbishop, later Cardinal, Testa, with the aid of Dominican and Franciscan scholars and lay architects.¹³ It also proposed a seventh community, a separate chapel being suggested for the Anglican rite. There is no trace of correspondence about this in the Lambeth archives. Other plans also were proposed, one with chapels arranged fanwise like a bunch of bananas round the Edicule. After an international conference of architects in 1955, a Common Technical Bureau was created in 1959, with Armenian, Greek and French architects.¹⁴ It is important to understand that all that has taken place since then is in no way an ordinary rescue operation as conducted by contemporary archaeological methods; but rather a restoration carried out piecemeal under very special difficulties and pressures by a consortium of architects. Whatever shortcomings one may detect, one must recognize the very peculiar conditions in which the work has been undertaken.

Already in 1967 the late Dame Kathleen Kenyon had shown that the area in which the Holy Sepulchre is situated was a disused quarry¹⁵; it was outside the city walls until Herod Agrippa extended them in A.D. 41–44. So much ink has been spilt on the subject of the walls that I trust I may pass it by, and likewise that of the Garden Tomb. Certainly there is nothing in the Gospels to contradict the traditional sites of Calvary and the Resurrection; archaeologically it is certain that the area was uninhabited at the time of the Passion, and that tombs were already constructed in it.¹⁶ It would seem

that the site of the Triportico was a garden, in which Fr Corbo considers that vines, figs, carobs and olive trees were cultivated.¹⁷ The burials would have precluded Jewish habitation; its history would make its occupation repugnant to Christian sentiment; so, when in A.D. 135 Hadrian's architects laid out Aelia Capitolina, a convenient open space was available for the Capitol itself. There is no record of earlier buildings than his.

Thus St Jerome tells us:

From the time of Hadrian until the reign of Constantine for about 180 years there stood on the site of the Resurrection a statue of Jupiter, and on the rock of the Cross a statue of Venus of marble was erected and worshipped by the heathen, the authors of the persecution believing that they might take away from us our faith in the Resurrection and the Cross if they polluted the holy places with their idols.¹⁸

Paulinus of Nola placed the statue of Jupiter on Golgotha, while Eusebius of Caesarea located the statue of Venus "over the cave of the Redemption", presumably the Holy Tomb.¹⁹ However this may be, Fr Florentino Díez Fernandez found on Golgotha a pagan altar with the remains of offerings upon it, ash and calcined bones, with some fragments of *tesserae*.²⁰

Bouché-Leclercq's *Histoire de la Divination*, Vol. IV, and many other works describe the elaborate ceremonies that attended the foundation of Roman cities and temples. The *pomerium* (as the foundation ceremony is called) was conducted in the usual manner in Jerusalem by the solemn ploughing with oxen of the circuit of the walls under the presidency of the governor, Tinneius Rufus, as attested by numerous coins issued locally in the name of the Emperor Hadrian. They can be seen in the Flagellation Museum. Fr Corbo has been able to make a tentative reconstruction of the Hadrianic buildings from the fragments remaining on the Holy Sepulchre site: in the Rotunda, between Calvary and the Choir, in the Mary Magdalen chapel, and the very substantial remains that are visible in the Russian Alexander Hospice (first observed by Clermont-Ganneau), and behind Zelatimo's sweetshop, where they can be seen only through a hole in the wall, which was built by the proprietor following a dispute about his rates. I am grateful to our Fellow, Mr Robert Pitt, all the more for the photograph reproduced here which he took before the wall was built.²¹ Fr Corbo's plan omits, however, a segment of the main entrance which was identified in the Coptic Hospice in the Khan al-Zayt in 1873.²²

Since no previous scholar has commented on it, I venture to point out that the orientation of Hadrian's Capitol is of interest and importance. Corbo's reconstruction shows that its entrance atrium is constructed as a trapezoid, not as a rectangle, in such a way that the temple itself was not at right angles to the *Cardo Maximus*, the main street, but lies obliquely to it. Quite recently Canon Wilkinson has shown that the layout of this part of Jerusalem belongs to Herod Agrippa rather than to Hadrian, as hitherto supposed;²³ while Professor Nahman Avigad has shown, in my view quite conclusively, that the southern end of the *Cardo Maximus* can only have been an

extension of the reign of Justinian, when the *Nea*, his great church in honour of Our Lady, was built.²⁴ We are thus entitled to ask what the significance of this was.

We have already made mention of the statues placed on the sites of the Resurrection and Golgotha; at the same time, where the Jewish Temple had stood, Hadrian had placed – according to St Jerome²⁵ – a statue of himself and also one of Jupiter. The *Chronicon Pascale*²⁶ adds explicitly that Hadrian's own statue was sited on the place of the former Holy of Holies. Through the kindly enterprise of Dr Ruth Armitage, of Miss Leila Ingrams and Professor Suzanne Miers, who took photographs for me, it is possible to print a picture of a head of the Emperor Hadrian which is now in the State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, and which in all probability is from the actual statue in question. This head was located in 1873 by Archimandrite Antonin Kapoustin, then in charge of the Russian Mission in Jerusalem. The Palestine Exploration Fund possesses XIXth century photographs of it and a plaster cast, but the identification of these with the head now in Leningrad was not made until now.²⁷ There also survives, in the south wall of the Double Gate, a dedicatory inscription which has been thought to belong to the same statue, in honour of Hadrian.²⁸

The Jewish rebellion that began in A.D. 133 flared up precisely because it was proposed to erect a temple of Jupiter in the Holy City.²⁹ What more suitable site, then, after 135, than where the Jewish Temple had stood? Its precise site is currently the subject of controversy. A conservative view places it in the Ḥarām al-Sharīf on or west of the site of the Dome of the Rock. More recently Dr Asher Kaufman and others, in a series of articles, have sited it north of the Dome of the Rock, with the Holy of Holies on the actual site of the Qubbat al-Arwāḥ, or al-Alwāḥ, the Dome of the Spirits, or of the Tablets.³⁰ The axis of a line drawn eastwards from there passes through the southern half of the Golden Gate, the only gate of the Ḥarām not reconstructed by Sulaiman the Magnificent, and below which there are possibly Solomonic remains;³¹ farther eastward it passes to the place of the sacrifice of the Red Heifer on the Mount of Olives, as described in the Midrash *Berakoth* and elsewhere.³² This same line projected westwards arrives precisely upon Golgotha, where, as we have seen, pagan use of the site has been confirmed by Fr Florentino Díez Fernandez. It is scarcely possible that all these coincidences could be accidental, given the *pomerium* and the elaborately careful orientation of the *Capitolium*. Indeed, for so many coincidences to be accidental, it would be too good to be true.

Eusebius gives the impression that Constantine had all the Hadrianic constructions cleared away. They are very easily recognizable in several different places, and particularly in the eastern part of the atrium, where the holes for fastening decorative marble panels are still plainly visible. Eusebius' reputation is above all as the father of church history, the first ecclesiastical historian. His *Life of Constantine* is less read than his *Ecclesiastical History*; it displays him in a different guise as a court prelate, the first of a familiar breed. His description of the Holy Sepulchre is written more to laud the Emperor than to give an architectural description: "Naturally the Emperor had the Sacred Grotto ornamented . . ."; "The magnificence of the Emperor was dis-

played by the excellent columns and the profuse and splendid ornamentation of every kind around the venerable grotto . . .", and so on. In sober fact the Imperial architects used Hadrian's foundations for the great church known as the *Martyrion*. The very columns of the Rotunda came from the *Capitolium*, and some, still whole, are behind the Church of All Nations in Gethsemane. These architects also cleared the underground cisterns, where, in 395, St Ambrose is the first to claim that St Helena found the Cross of Christ and those of the two thieves.³³ Today these are the Chapel of the Finding of the Cross and the Armenian Chapel of St Vartan. This last is claimed to be a 1st century church on the grounds of an inscription showing a graffito of a ship with the words: DOMINE IVIMUS, in apparent allusion to Psalm 121 (122). This cannot be so, for the design of the ship belongs to the IVth century, not the Ist, and the Latin to the emergence of liturgical Latin in the same IVth century.³⁴

The grand entrance, with its triple doors and trapezoid shape preserved from Hadrian's building, and then the *Martyrion*, are all plainly visible in the famous Madaba Map, which shows the Holy City in the VIth century.³⁵ The platform or esplanade that served Hadrian's temple for its entrance atrium and for the *Martyrion* has not been excavated or otherwise cleared in the course of recent works. West of the *Martyrion* came the Triportico, a three-sided cloister preserving the Garden of the Gospels. The Rotunda was supported by twelve pillars and four piers: the summit of its cupola was open to the sky above the Edicule. The Trivulci ivory, of the IVth century, gives an artist's idea of what the Edicule looked like in the century of its construction.³⁶ The Museo Archeologico in Venice preserves an ivory reliquary from Samagher, near Pola in Istria: among imperial historical scenes which provide a clue to the date is shown the Edicule. The events depicted in the imperial scenes have enabled Professora Margherita Guarducci, with admirable skill and scholarship, to date it precisely to 439/440:³⁷ It was a simple hexagon, as Professor Dan Barag had shown from glass pilgrim flasks.³⁸ The *ampullae* preserved at Monza and Bobbio tell the same story.³⁹ In the way Eusebius describes, Constantine had Hadrian's esplanade removed until, as he says, miraculously the Sacred Tomb was revealed. Fr Coüasnon and Canon Wilkinson believe that originally this section was left wholly open to the sky, and that the arcaded Rotunda was only built later. Fr Corbo points out that there is no archaeological evidence for such a view. But as in the Pantheon in Rome, where an open space occupies the centre of the cupola, Bruyn's drawing of 1681 shows an open space in the same place.⁴⁰

Eusebius' cascade of hyperbole tell us very little about the nature of the decoration of the Rotunda. The "excellent columns" still stand in their place, all of them of Hadrian's time.⁴¹ One would imagine that the mosaics would have been broadly not unlike the tomb of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, one of the very few surviving imperial tombs.⁴² The Breviarius says that there were decorations of gold and silver,⁴³ and Bruyn's drawing suggests alternate stripes like the decoration of a bell tent. By Crusader times Theoderic reports that the dome had a mosaic that depicted Christ with the Twelve Apostles, with Our Lady and Child in one apse, and St Helena and

Constantine respectively in two others.⁴⁴ This mosaic could only have been put in position after the rebuilding of the whole church completed in 1048. Possibly, indeed plausibly, a tradition of the earlier decoration is preserved in the Imperial Chapel built by Charlemagne at Aachen in 796–8. The existing mosaic there by Antônio Salviati of 1882–4 is based on fragments of an earlier mosaic found when baroque decorations of the cupola were removed in 1882, and on a manuscript now in the Municipal Museum at Carpentras of 1607. This showed *Christos Pantocrator* with the Four Living Things and the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse, casting down their golden crowns and crying: Holy, Holy, Holy . . . It is not merely that this is in accord with Charlemagne's known predilection for liturgy. It is also in accord with the *Catechetical Lectures* of St Cyril of Jerusalem. The first twelve of these, delivered to catechumens during the six weeks of Lent, explained the Christian faith. They were given in the Baptistry. Then, at Easter, after Baptism, the catechumens were at last admitted to "the mysteries", and now the instruction took place under the cupola before the Edicule. This sermon reaches its oratorical climax in the very words of the scene in the Apocalypse, of *Christos Pantocrator* and the Twenty-Four Elders, with the *Trisagion*, words familiar in every ancient liturgy in East and West. It is plausible that Charlemagne's choice of subject was deliberate, and not mere whim. It is unlikely that fresh evidence will become available.⁴⁵

In the Constantinian plan Calvary was set apart on the south side of the Triportico; the small chapel was not incorporated until Crusader times, when the platform was enlarged, doubling its size. On the north side a Patriarchal residence and offices were provided, the site of the present Franciscan convent. The whole complex of buildings was known in Greek, not as the Holy Sepulchre, but as the *Anastasis*, Resurrection, as also the Arabic name, *Qiyāma*, likewise implies. For it was to this that Constantine intended it as a triumphal memorial.

In 614 the Persian general sacked the sacred buildings. It is difficult to assess the extent of the devastation, but it probably affected the woodwork and decorations, the marble and mosaics, rather than the actual structures. For, having recovered the Holy Land in September 629, the Emperor Heraclius was able to return carrying the True Cross through the Golden Gate on 21 March 630, by which time Abbot Modestus had already completed his restorations. In 638 the Patriarch Sophronius opened Jerusalem to the Arab armies, followed shortly by the Caliph 'Umar. The sacred buildings were unaffected, and life went on much as before. After nearly four peaceful centuries it was in 1009 that the mad Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, who persecuted Christians, Jews and his fellow-Muslims with even-handed venom, ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre. Not a trace was to be spared. Destruction began on 18 October 1009. The *Martyrion* was razed totally, with the Rotunda and almost all the Edicule. Some parts difficult to destroy were allowed to remain. al-Ḥākim's successor gave permission for restoration, but, because of lack of money, this only became a reality when Constantine IX Monomachus ascended the throne in 1042. It took until 1048. The Rotunda was reconstructed, with an eastern apse for an altar projecting into the

Triportico. This too was rebuilt, with the Patriarchate and Calvary, and likewise the cistern chapels. There was no attempt to rebuild the *Martyrion*, and probably the expense was far too great for the Imperial Treasury. It was thus quite a small building that the Crusaders entered with tears of joy on 15 July 1099. After the great cathedrals and abbey churches that had already been begun in France and Normandy, and not less in England, it must have seemed a poor building. But it was the object of their enterprise.

Quite early in the XIIth century we learn of new embellishments and constructions. A *tourelle* mounted on pillars with a cupola above rose over the Edicule: it was decorated with silver scales and, at the top, a silver figure of Christ. A new church, in honour of St Helena, now the Chapel of St Gregory the Illuminator, was built above the cistern chapels. There were new mosaics. A triumphal arch replaced Monomachus' apse, and led into a new choir, the *Chorus Dominorum*. Now known as the Katholikon, this is the present enclosed preserve of the Greeks. Calvary was enlarged, and a grand façade built on the southern side. The beautiful carved tympanum above the entrance was removed to the Rockefeller Museum for preservation in the 1920s. In addition, a bell tower was built on the south side: it still stands, but minus its top storey; on the north the Patriarchal residence was restored. Outside the area of the Triportico, where today the Ethiopian monks have their humble dwellings, was the monastery of the Augustinian Canons who celebrated the choir offices. They were replaced by the Franciscans only in the XIVth century. Their cloister fell into ruins, but parts of it are still visible. The result of all this is broadly what one sees today; in the recent restoration the ancient stone, wherever it had crumbled or was damaged, has been most faithfully copied, so as to reproduce as far as possible the church of the XIIth century.

Some features are new, while others have disappeared. Near the entrance is the Stone of Anointing, where traditionally Christ's Body was prepared for burial. It is not heard of before the XIIth century; on the contrary, a small shrine of Our Lady stood there.⁴⁶ I would venture that this tradition grew rather out of a medieval liturgical elaboration than from history. There is no ancient tradition of where the Body was prepared for burial. But by the Xth century St Ethelwold of Winchester records a Good Friday ceremony in which the Veneration of the Cross, still the practice in the Latin rite, was followed by one of *depositio*, a ritual of taking down from the Cross and burial of a *Christus* figure.⁴⁷ It is thought that it may have originated as early as the Vth century. It is not known when the practice reached Jerusalem, where it still takes place, first at the Stone of Anointing, and then in the Edicule. The silver vessels for herbs and spices, the silver sprinklers for rosewater, are all of Polish origin. One from Cracow is dated 1618, another 1686. I know of no means of dating the *Christus* figure,⁴⁸ which has flexible canvas shoulder joints, and is otherwise of painted wood, nor the model implements of the Passion, the nails, the hammer and the tongs. They can equally belong to the XVIIth century. None of the other objects possessed by the church antedates the XVIth century.

It is to this tradition of elaboration that it seems legitimate to ascribe the naming of various chapels that commemorate various incidents. Some are clearly imaginary, like the Prison of Christ, and a Prison of Barabbas; others rather are commemorative, such as the chapels of the centurion St Longinus, of the Parting of the Raiment, of the Derision, and of the Penitent Thief. To the same stream of development would also belong the evolution of the Devotion of the Stations of the Cross, complete in its present form only in the XIXth century.

Practical considerations have dictated other changes. The Dome above the Edicule constructed in 1808–10 had to be entirely rebuilt in 1868–70. This stood well until 1949, when it caught fire. It took until 1977 to decide that total renovation was necessary, and the contract was awarded to a British team of designers and contractors. It was difficult to find persons of the right experience in Jerusalem, so steelworkers, concrete sprayers, plasterers, welders and lead workers were sent out from the United Kingdom. A system of wrought-iron arches and a very thin reinforced concrete shell, only 115 mm. thick, support the load, and can do so independently of each other. The interior is lined with a plaster which can be decorated either with frescoes or mosaics. There is no wood. In accordance with tradition, the exterior is of lead. The United Kingdom connection is historically particularly happy, for when in the XVth century fresh lead was needed to re-roof the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, it was sent out from England by our King Edward IV.

Nor is this the only British contribution. Through the efforts of Brother Fabian Adkins, O.F.M., the Australian who is the Latin Sacristan in the Holy Sepulchre, splendid new bronze doors to the Franciscan chapel are the gift of the people of Sydney, Australia. The new altar in the same chapel has a new mosaic designed and executed by two Jerusalem Jews, Mr and Mrs Shimon Yoffe, a happy augury of irenic friendship between Jew and Christian. So the ancient tradition of mosaic is still carried on.

It was thanks to Brother Fabian, and to the last Father Custos of the Holy Land, the Most Revd Ignazio Mancini, O.F.M., that I was granted a privilege, never allowed before, of having some of the possessions of the Holy Sepulchre photographed. It is impractical to reproduce an album of some forty photographs in a journal. I therefore confine myself here to the most spectacular of all. On the Feast of Corpus Christi and on certain other occasions the Latins have the privilege of erecting a temporary Pontifical Altar in front of the Edicule. It is in sections, so that it can be easily assembled and dismantled. An inscription records that it was constructed at Lima, in Peru, in 1681.⁴⁹ Similar altars are to be seen in a number of churches in Andalucía and in other parts of Spain, and I recollect a particularly beautiful one in the Cathedral at Ronda. Like those in Spain, it is *en suite* with candlesticks, and jewelled silver and silver-gilt ornaments. The candlesticks have a representation of Christ rising from the dead and of the Edicule before the fire of 1808. *En suite* also is a Tabernacle, with dancing angels of fairy lightness on the sides and the Lamb in front; above are St Francis of Assisi and St Antony of Padua flanking the Risen Christ. In so huge a work

of art one might expect a certain coarseness or vulgarity. On the contrary, the execution is of the greatest elegance and delicacy, both in its individual parts and in the whole assemblage. It is one of the great works of art of all the world.

* * *

Somewhat temerarily, I allowed the words "the future" to creep into the title of this lecture. For many centuries this church has provided for pilgrims who wished to venerate the sacred sites of Calvary and the Resurrection. After the Council of Nicaea, at the instance of Bishop Makarios, Constantine the Great provided a church which had more than double the existing accommodation. Truly it is a disgrace that now, after nearly a thousand years, Constantine's great entrance is partly a dump behind a sweetshop, partly a hospice cellar, partly concealed in a Russian convent, because of al-Hākim's destruction and then later human encroachments, shops and stores and dwellings, on the site. The present pressure of numbers round the Edicule – the Rotunda is only 65 ft in diameter, just short of a cricket pitch – of pilgrims that the air age has brought is constantly on the increase. Recently the Franciscans had to transform the Augustinian refectory into a chapel, because the existing chapels could not cope with the legitimate demands of parties of pilgrims of many different languages. It would seem to me that sooner or later this pressure will result in a demand for the reconstruction of Constantine's *Martyrion* and Triportico. This would need to be done and could only be done by agreement among the communities. May one hope that the happier relationships that have grown up during the restoration could result in further progress? May one hope, too, that the architects could agree to work in co-operation with archaeologists in the use of properly controlled methods, including photogrammetry, that have been so lamentably lacking in the recent works?⁵⁰ It is more than regrettable that there is no record of pottery finds available, except where two Jewish archaeologists worked for the Armenians, and where Fr Díez worked for the Greeks.⁵¹ Again, there is no published record of the finds of twenty-six coins, ranging from Imperial times to Theodosius II, under – *quam mirum!* – an allegedly Constantinian floor; moreover the soil excavated in the Triportico – the Garden of the Gospels – has not been submitted to analysis to discover what seeds had been planted there. The failure to record stratified finds properly is not merely a loss to history and archaeology: it is in itself a shameless act of destruction. It was Talleyrand who remarked that war is far too serious a matter to be left to military men. Perhaps the most important lesson of Fr Corbo's book is that the restoration of ancient buildings is far too serious a matter to be left simply to architects.

NOTES

¹ C. Coüasnon, O.P., *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem*, O.U.P. 1974; V. C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, 3 vols, Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1984.

² R. Brownrigg, *Come, See the Place*, London, 1985; see also J. Murphy-O'Connor, OP, *The Holy Land*, 2nd edn, OUP, 1986.

³ "La recherche archéologique: la question de l'authenticité", pp. 28-36.

⁴ Eusebius, *de Laudibus Constantini*, 9, P.G. 20, 1369, referring to all Palestine.

⁵ Corbo, *op. cit.*, II, tav.3; cp. K. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig, 1912 edn, p. 48, which records a further section of the atrium under the Coptic hospice. See Pl. I.

⁶ See Pl. II.

⁷ E. Hoade, O.F.M., *Guide to the Holy Land*, 10th edn, 1979, pp. 107ff., gives a useful summary.

⁸ L.-H. Vincent, D. Baldi, L. Marangoni and A. Barluzzi, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Splendori, Miserie, Speranze*, Bergamo, 1949, illustrated, and with numerous photographs of models. See Pl. III (1).

⁹ Anon., "Jerusalem Dome", *Concrete Quarterly* 130, July-Sept., 1981, pp. 10-11; anon., *Le Saint-Sépulchre: Etudes et Projets de Restauration* édité par les soins de la Custodie de Terre-Sainte, Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1956, contains minutes of a number of meetings between the various parties, and submissions by various architects, including Sir Basil Spence. See Pl. III (2).

¹⁰ See below, p. 8, for a brief summary.

¹¹ A. Rock, O.F.M., "The Status Quo of the Holy Places", *Holy Land Review*, Spring-Winter (sic) 1980, pp. 58-64, esp. p. 58; B. Collin, *Recueil de Documents concernant Jérusalem et les lieux saints*, Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1982, brings up to date the author's previous works with a full documentation, and, pp. 427-8, a valuable select bibliography.

¹² L. G. A. Cust, "The Status Quo in the Holy Places", in Collin, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-184; see also W. Zander, *Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom*, London, 1971, for a well-balanced account.

¹³ See n.8 above.

¹⁴ See n.9 above.

¹⁵ Díez, *op. cit.*, pp. 33ff.; K. M. Kenyon, *The Bible and Recent Archaeology*, London 1978, pp. 96ff.; idem, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 1979 edn (1985), pp. 334-5.

¹⁶ Corbo, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-32.

¹⁷ Idem, *op. cit.*, p. 29: " . cioè ad orto con probabile coltura di vite, fico, carrubo ed olivo." No material archaeological evidence is cited in support of this assertion.

¹⁸ Jerome, Ep. LVIII.

¹⁹ Paulinus of Nola, Ep. xxxi; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.26.

²⁰ Díez, *op. cit.*, pp. 34ff; illustrated pl. VI (2)(a) and (b).

²¹ Pl. IV (1).

²² See n.5 above.

²³ J. Wilkinson, "The Streets of Jerusalem", *Levant* VII, 1973, pp. 118-35.

²⁴ N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1984, p. 226; Meir ben Dov, "El Hallazgo de la Iglesia Nea, joya de la Jerusalén Bizantina", *Noticias Cristianas en Israel*, xxvii, 1979, no. 2.

²⁵ Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.*, IV. xxiv, 15; *Comm. in Isa.* ii, 19.

²⁶ Migne, PG XCII, 613-616.

²⁷ Pl. V (1). I am obliged to Dr Rupert L. Chapman III for a photograph in the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund which accords precisely with the Leningrad head kindly photographed for me by Professor S. Miers. The find was first reported in the *Illustrated London News*, 1874; the account was repeated in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1874, pp. 7, 207ff. Details are given in C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, I, 259ff. The find was made on an Arab property on the Nablus Road, some 30 m. N of the tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene, 555 m. N of the Damascus Gate. Clermont-Ganneau had doubts about the attribution, but the iconography of the large number of coins of Hadrian in the British Museum Catalogue makes the attribution certain. Speculative, if not imaginative,

reasons for its having stood as the head of a statue placed on the N gate of Aelia Capitolina are given in L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, t.ii, Paris, 1914, pp. 37-9. For these there is neither archaeological nor literary evidence. For Kapoustin's career, see D. Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine, 1843-1914*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 86-95.

²⁸ M. de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, Paris 1864, pl.5, illustrates it with an engraving *in situ*:

TITO AEL HADRIANO
ANTONINO AUG PIO
PP PONTIF AUGUR
DD

To Titus Aelius Hadrianus
Antoninus Augustus Pius
Father of the Fatherland Pontifex Augur
by Decree of the Decurions

The translation of B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord*, p. 235, is defective.

²⁹ Cf. Mazar, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

³⁰ Cf. A. S. Kaufman, "New Light on the Ancient Temple of Jerusalem," *Christian News in Israel* xxvi, 1978, pp. 54-8; idem, "Where the Ancient Temple of Israel stood," *Biblical Archaeological Review*, Mar-Apr 1983, pp. 41-59.

³¹ J. Fleming, "The Undiscovered Gate below Jerusalem's Golden Gate," *ibidem*, Jan-Feb, 1983, pp. 24-37, esp. p. 37.

³² H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, Oxford, 1935, pp. 10, 155, 590-2, 697-700.

³³ Cf. C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, Eng. tr., London, 1962, p. 384.

³⁴ I am obliged to Mr Shimon Gibson, who participated in excavations in the newly-named Chapel of St Vartan, for a communication dated 24 March 1987 "concerning the date of the ship drawing and its inscription in the light of the various archaeological remains that were uncovered. . . . It became clear that the whole area of the chapels of St Vartan and of the Invention of the Cross, and an additional space cleared farther north, had served as a large subterranean quarry for stone during the course of the Iron Age. A series of sealed fills contained pottery typical of the 7th century BC. At a much later date various walls were inserted into this area apparently in order to support the foundations of a system of vaulted substructures. At the time of the excavation it was quite clear that these walls had destroyed portions of the Iron Age floor; Corbo's erroneous suggestion (*op. cit.*, I, pp. 112-3) that this floor originally extended between two of these walls must be based on observations he made at the site only after substantial restorations had been carried out by the Armenians. The drawing of the ship was found on a smooth-faced stone in one of these substructural walls. We can be fairly certain concerning the date of these walls: they were largely constructed out of stones and architectural fragments taken from buildings razed by the Romans in AD 70. Some of the fills associated with these walls contained late Roman pottery and stamped rooftiles which belonged to the Tenth Roman Legion. It appears that these walls originally supported the floors of Hadrianic buildings belonging to the *Capitolium* mentioned by Eusebius. These walls were uncovered, and partly destroyed, at the time of the construction of the foundation walls of the Constantinian basilica during the early 4th century. Our archaeological excavations have shown that access to this area could not have been gained during both Hadrianic and Constantinian times, because it was located below ground under enormous quantities of fills. Hence, it seems likely that the ship drawing and its inscription were executed during the decade between the dismantling of the Hadrianic buildings (including the Temple of Aphrodite) and the actual construction of the Constantinian basilica, i.e. during AD 325-335."

³⁵ Usefully reproduced by J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Ariel Publishing House, Jerusalem 1977, Map 12(a).

³⁶ Cf. A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris (1946), Variorum, London 1972, pl. XVI, no. 3.

³⁷ M. Guarducci, *La Capsella Eburnea di Samagher: un cimelio di arte palaeocristiana nella storia del tardo imperio*, Società Istriana di Archaeologia e Storia Patria, Trieste, 1978. I am obliged to Professora Guarducci for a copy of her work, to Lady (Frances) Clarke for facilitating correspondence, and to Dr M. Tombolani, Director of the Museo Archeologico, Venice, for pl. VII (1). This important work has been ignored by all recent writers with the exception of Corbo.

³⁸ So too, without exception, has Dan Barag, "Glass Pilgrim Vessels from Jerusalem", *Journal of Glass Studies*, XII, 1970, pp. 35-63; XIII, pp. 45-63, been ignored.

³⁹ Grabar, *op. cit.*, illustrates them in detail.

⁴⁰ See n.6 above and pl. II (2).

⁴¹ Pl. V (2).

⁴² Grabar, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, no. 3.

⁴³ Printed usefully in Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 60—early VI c.

⁴⁴ Printed in full in the *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, V pp. 7-12.

⁴⁵ Cf. F. W. Buckler, *Harun'u'l-Rashid and Charles the Great*, Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, esp. pp. 29-31; Einhard, *apud* L. Thorpe in *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, Harmondsworth, 1969, pp. 70, 79-80, emphasises his jurisdiction over the Holy Sepulchre and elaborates on his devotion to the liturgy; see L. Devlieghe, "Jean Bethune und das Kuppelmosaik im Dom zu Aachen" *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege* II, Düsseldorf 1974, pp. 279-292; H. Schnitzler, "Das Kuppelmosaik der Aachener Pfalzkapelle", *Aachener Kunstblätter*, Heft 34, 1964, pp. 17-44; H. Schrade, "Zum Kuppelmosaik der Pfalzkapelle und zum Theoderich-Denkmal in Aachen", *Aachener Kunstblätter*, Heft 30, 1965, pp. 25-37; W. Grape, "Karolingische Kunst und Ikonoklasmus", *Aachener Kunstblätter*, Bd. 45, 1, 1974, pp. 49-58.

⁴⁶ Cf. Baedeker, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

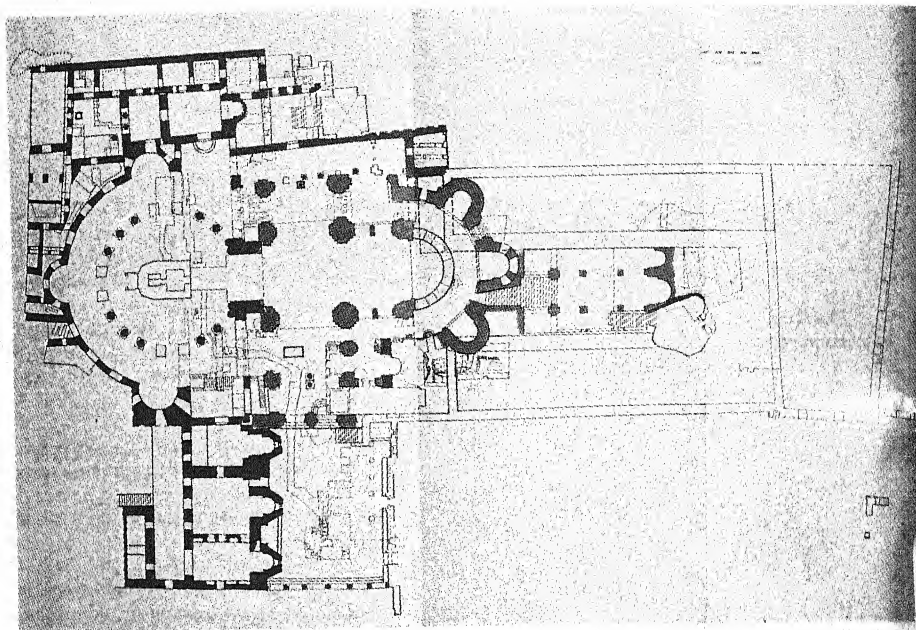
⁴⁷ Pl. VIII (1) from A. Sisti, "The Shroud of Joseph of Arimathea", *Holy Land Review*, Spring-Winter 1980, pp. 38-41, esp. p. 39; cf. Carol Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris, 1963, pp. 179-82.

⁴⁸ I know of no comparable figure. No other objects in the Basilica antedate the XVIIth century.

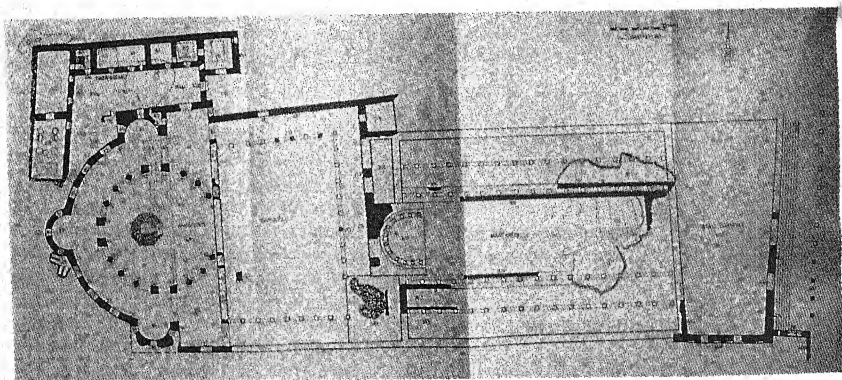
⁴⁹ Pl. VIII (2).

⁵⁰ Cf. R. W. A. Dallas, *Surveying with a camera: Photogrammetry*, AJ Information Library, 30 Jan. 1980; "Plumb-Bob to Plotter: Developments in Architectural Photogrammetry in the United Kingdom", *Photogrammetric Record*, Vol. II, 61, April 1983; *Optimum Practice in architectural Photogrammetric surveys*, UNESCO, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, July 1986; and see also, for more general questions, R. L. Chapman, III, "Excavation Techniques and Recording Systems: a Theoretical Study," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1986, pp. 5-26.

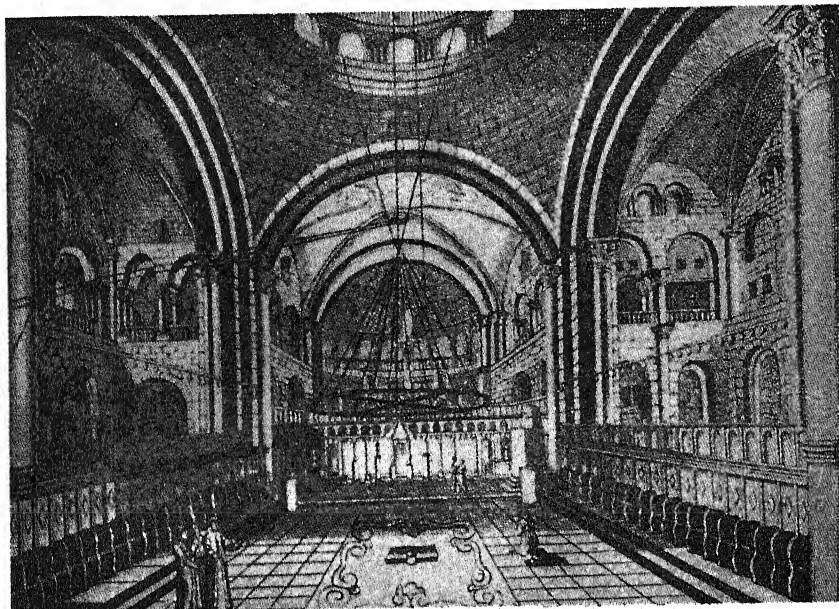
⁵¹ See Díez, *op. cit.*; M. Broshi and G. Barkay, "Excavations in the Chapel of St Vartan in the Holy Sepulchre", *Israel Excavation Journal*, 35, 2-3, 1985, pp. 108-128.



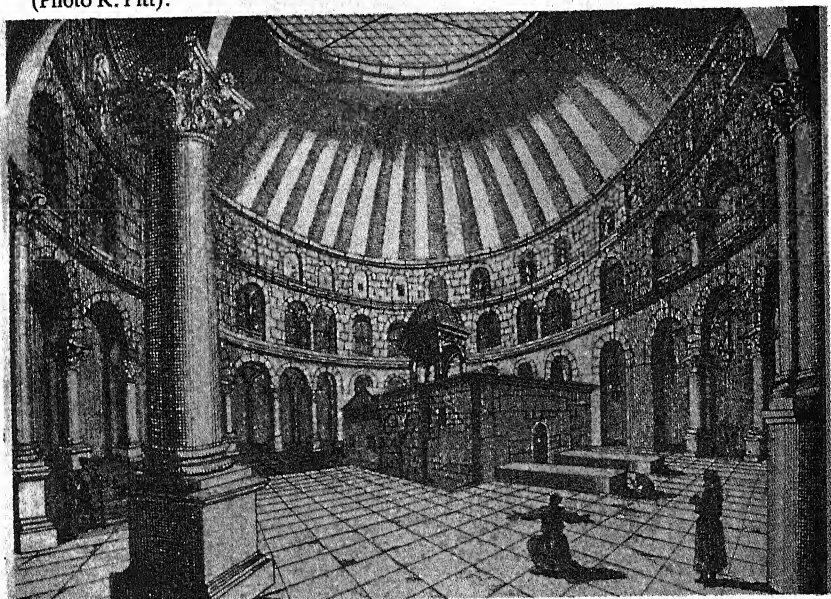
(1) Ground plan of the Holy Sepulchre today (after Corbo, *op. cit.*, II, tav. I) (Photo R. Pitt).



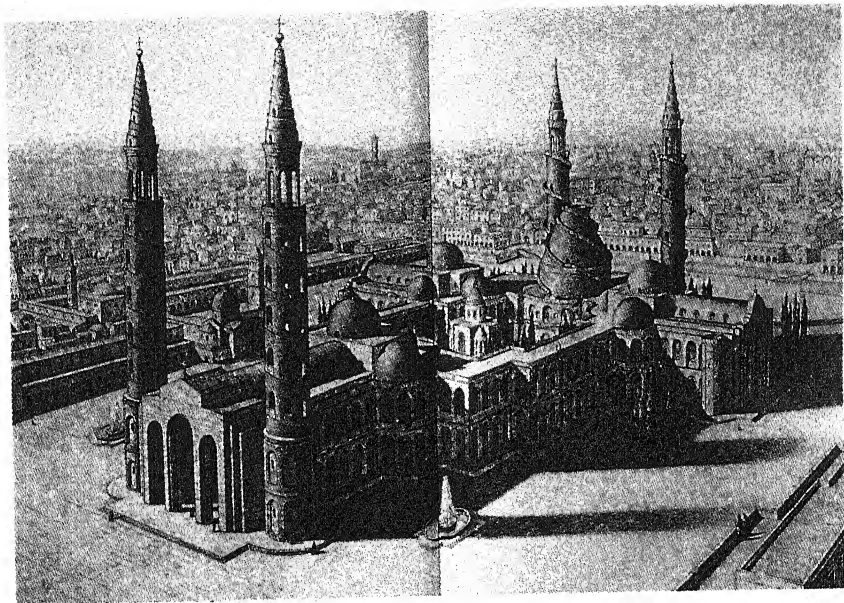
(2) The same, showing masonry surviving from the time of Constantine (after Corbo, *op. cit.*, II, tav. 3) (Photo R. Pitt).



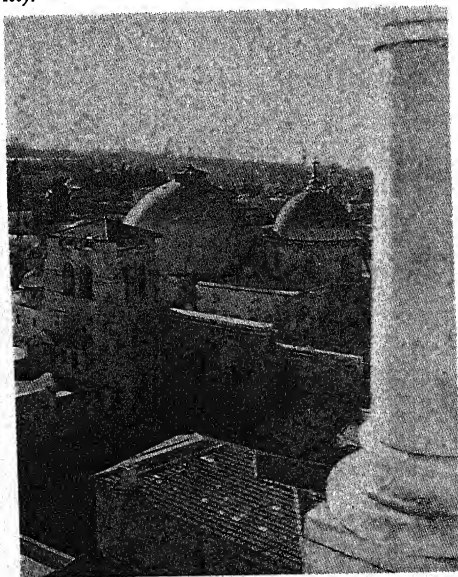
(1) The choir looking towards the iconostasis, 1681 (C. de Bruyn, *Voyage to the Levant*, 1698) (Photo R. Pitt).



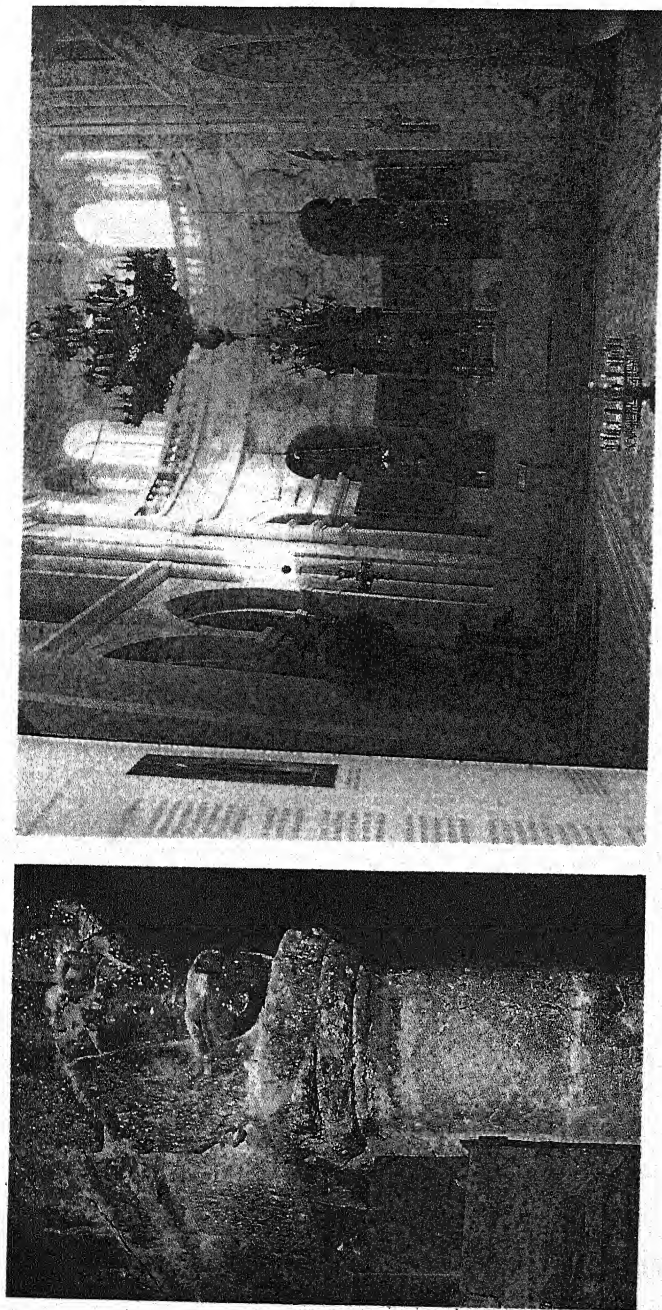
(2) The Rotunda and Edicule (after the same) (Photo R. Pitt).



(1) Model of the reconstruction proposed by the Latin Patriarchate, 1949 (*Il Santo Sepolcro*, tav. IV) (Photo R. Pitt).



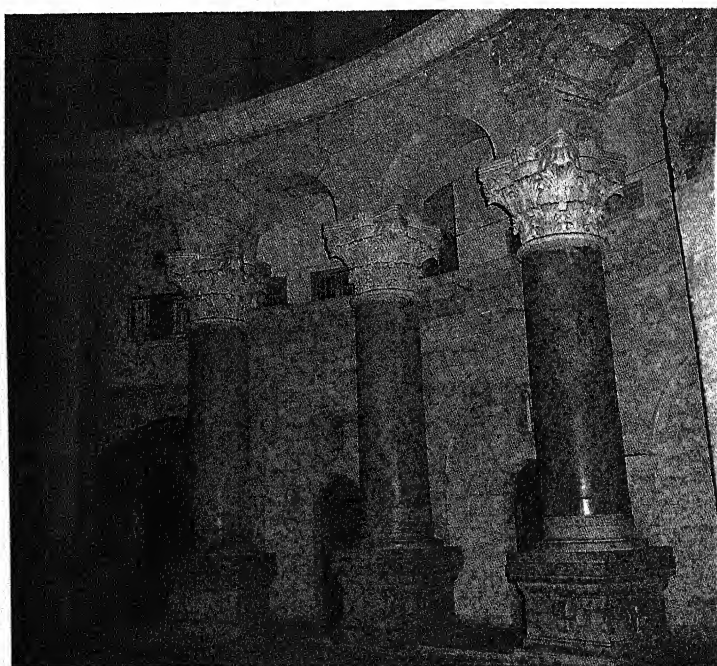
(2) General view of the exterior, 1985: L to R, Crusader tower, reconstructed dome over the Rotunda, restored dome over the choir) (Photo R. Pitt).



- (1) Behind Zelatimo's shop, showing elements of Hadrianic and Crusader work, 1981 (Photo R. Pitt).
- (2) Greek Choir before the iconostasis (after A. Duncan, *The Noble Heritage*, Longman, 1974, p. 67) (Photo R. Pitt).

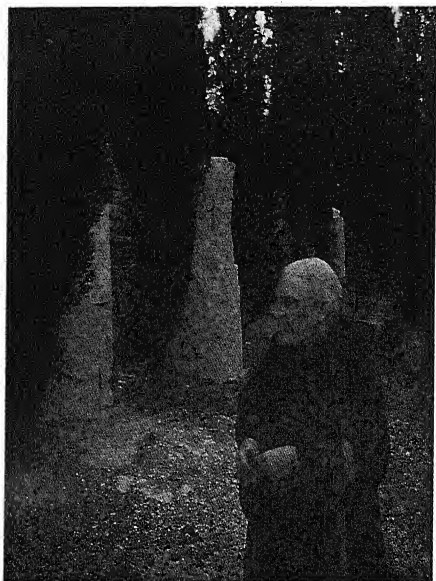


(1) Head of Hadrian, State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (Photo S. Miers).

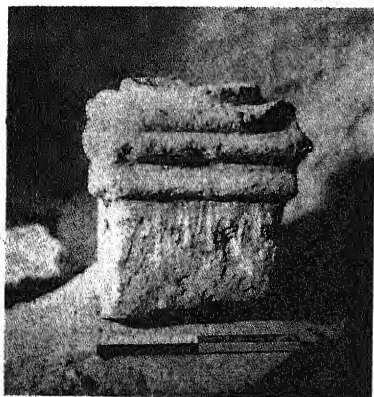


(2) Hadrianic pillars re-used in the Rotunda (Photo R. Pitt).

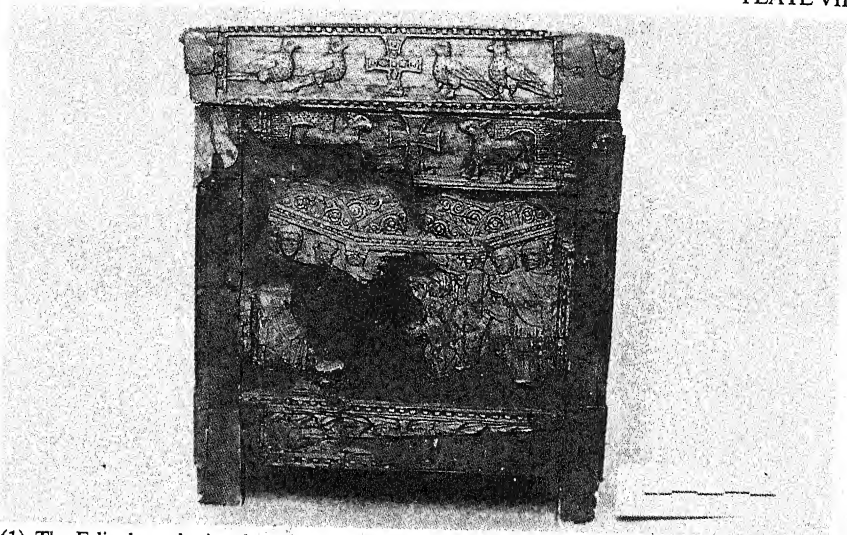
PLATE VI



(1) Hadrianic pillars from the Holy Sepulchre preserved behind the Church of All Nations, Gethsemane (Photo R. Pitt).



(2) (a)–(b) Fragment of pagan altar excavated on Golgotha by Fr F. Díez (Photo F. Díez).

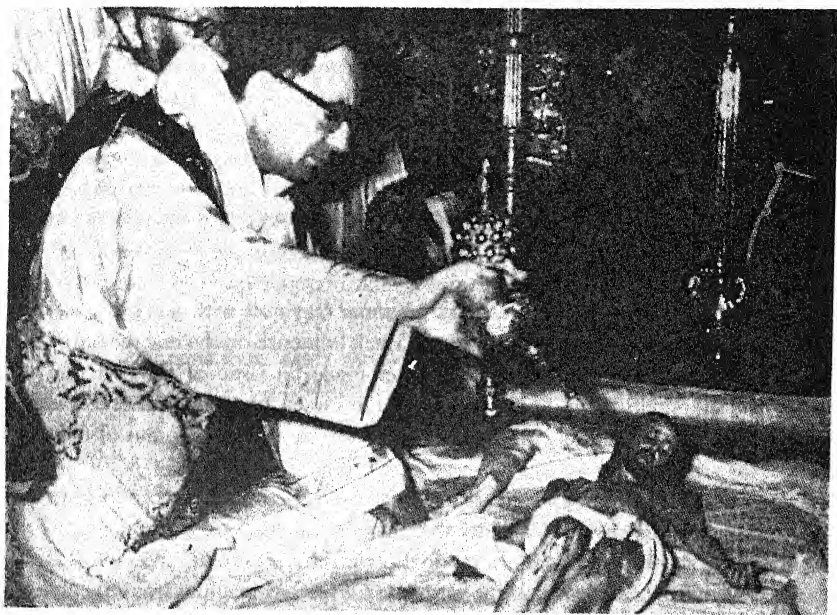


(1) The Edicule as depicted on the ivory reliquary from Samagher (by courtesy of Dr Michele Tombolani, Museo Archeologico, Venice).

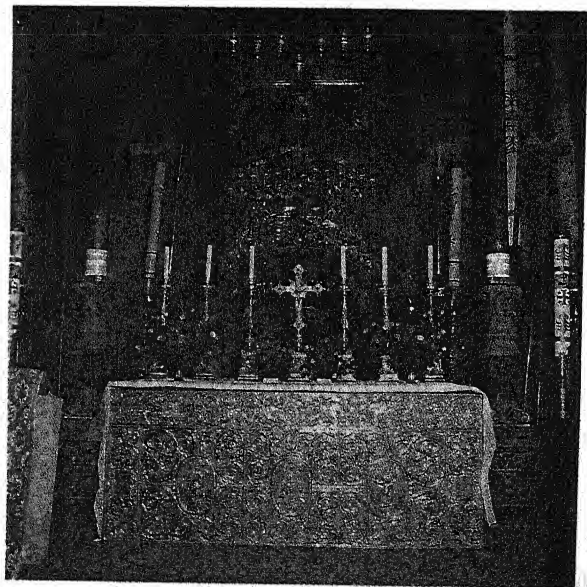


(2) The Edicule as depicted on the Trivulci ivory, Milan (after H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, fasc. II, 1914 (Photo R. Pitt)).

PLATE VIII



(1) Good Friday, *Deposito*: note 17th century Polish silver vessels (*Holy Land Review*, Spring-Winter 1980, p. 39).



(2) Pontifical Altar, Lima, Peru, 1681 (Photo Zev Radovan, 17 June 1981).

MUSNAD, MUSNAD ILAYHI AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF ARABIC GRAMMAR: A RECONSIDERATION*

By RAFAEL TALMON

A. Various opinions about the existence of a subject-predicate concept in Arabic grammar

Students of the early history of Arabic grammar may note with surprise that, until now, studies dealing with the possibility of Greek influence on the emergence of that Islamic scholarly discipline have hardly ever made an issue of the fact that the Hellenistic grammatical tradition as well as the Greek philosophical legacy differ significantly from the Arabic grammatical tradition in their conception of the main parts of the sentence.

Of course, this does not mean that the actual difference in conception was not acknowledged or discussed. Consider, for example, Weil's observation, formulated long ago (1915), that the dichotomous division of sentences in the theoretical model of Arabic syntax into *jumla ismiyya* vs. *jumla fi'liyya* has resulted from the absence of a general sentence concept in that model.¹ The unitary pair *ónoma* + *rhēma* (Syriac: *shmā* + *mellā/memrā*) appears as quite alien to the dichotomy of *mubtada'* + *mabniy 'alayhi* vs. *fi'l* + *fā'il*, so typical of the Arab grammarians' model.² However, neither Weil nor later scholars drew any conclusions from this observation relevant to the famous controversy over the so-called *hypothèse grecque*.

The revival of scholarly interest during the last fifteen years in this alleged peculiarity of the Arabic model has so far touched upon the "Greek Connection" only in an indirect way, as we shall show below. For this reason alone it would be worthwhile to examine the implications of these recent studies of the Arab grammarians' attitude to the main parts of the sentence, in order to reconsider some long-standing opinions expressed in favour of the *hypothèse grecque*. Specifically, I am referring to those studies which deal with the use of the terms *musnad* and *musnad ilayhi* in Arabic grammar. Against the critical observations of Weil and others, some scholars have defended the existence of a general sentence concept in Arabic grammatical thinking by referring to the presence of the pair *musnad* (= *m*) and *musnad ilayhi* (+ *m.i.*) already in the introductory part of Sibawaihi's *Kiṭāb*, and by identifying the two terms as the equivalents of subject + predicate.³

B. Levin's conclusions (1981)

Against this background, Aryeh Levin's study of the grammatical terms *musnad*, *musnad ilayhi* and *isnād*⁴ in the terminology used by Sibawaihi and the later gram-

marians (JAOS 1981) deserves special recognition. In a very detailed study Levin attempts to prove once and for all that Praetorius's observation (GGA 1895) about the use of *m + m.i.* in the *Kitāb* was accurate. Levin systematically deals with three main questions: (1) How did Sībawaihi define the pair *m + m.i.*? (2) Which part was termed by Sībawaihi *m*, and which *m.i.*? (3) What did Sībawaihi consider as the literal meaning of *m* and *m.i.*?

Fundamental in Levin's study is his perception of the difference between Sībawaihi and the grammarians from the Xth to the XVth century (see below) in the various aspects of the use of the *m + m.i.* pair of syntactic terms. In what follows I shall refer to Levin's perception and present his answers to the three questions mentioned above:

(1) Levin maintains that, when Sībawaihi used the terms *m + m.i.* he meant to emphasize that the parts so termed were both indispensable for the construction of the sentence and neither of them could exist without the other. As for the later grammarians see (2) below, and, more specifically (3).

(2) Levin corroborates Praetorius's assumption that Sībawaihi assigned the term *m* to the opening member, the *mubtada'* of the *mubtada' + mabniy' alayhi* pair, and *fi' l* (n.b.: not *fā' il*) of the *fi' l + fā' il* pair. The later grammarians, whose writings Levin examines extensively, used a different criterion in their assignment of the terms *m + m.i.* to the main parts of the sentence. Levin calls this "the criterion of function", and explains that according to this criterion the two main parts were identified as subject and predicate. Sībawaihi's distinction, contrary to the later one, was based on "a criterion of position", hence, he grouped together *mubtada'* and *fi' l* under the term *m*, while *mabniy* ('*alā l-mubtada'*) and *fā' il* constituted its counterpart, the *m.i.*, since they occupy the second place in their respective systems.

(3) Levin seems to suggest that the terminology used by the later grammarians shows greater correlation between the literal meaning and the technical use of the *m + m.i.* pair than Sībawaihi's. While both parties recognize the idea of "the leaning of one thing upon the other" on the level of literal meaning, only the later grammarians applied this concept in their use of this pair as technical terms. Hence, Levin rightly observes that, in the writings of the later grammarians, the term *isnād* did not denote simply "the relation between the subject and the predicate",⁵ but "the assignment of a predicate to a subject". Sībawaihi, on the other hand, emphasized (so says Levin) the mutual indispensability of *m + m.i.*, i.e. the technical terms, and thus maintained a clear discrepancy between the literal meaning and the technical use of this pair, a fact to which we shall return later.

An important observation made by Praetorius and reaffirmed by Levin is that in Sībawaihi's terminology, on its literal level, the "thing leaning upon another" was the *m.i.* (i.e. *musnad ilā l-musnad*), whereas *musnad* meant literally "the thing upon which the (other) *musnad* leans".⁶

C. Major problems in the reconstruction of the history of *m + m.i.*

Although Levin refrains from focusing on chronological aspects and concentrates mainly on the difference between the mainstream of Arab grammarians and Sībawaihi in the use of these terms, he nevertheless seems to hold a certain opinion about the development of the "functional", subject-predicate, concept of *m + m.i.* in the circles of Arab grammarians.

Levin observes that al-Mubarrad (flourished IXth century) was the only grammarian who followed Sībawaihi in ascribing mutual indispensability to *m + m.i.* rather than "the assignment of a predicate to a subject". Levin admits that nothing is known about al-Mubarrad's view of "which part of the sentence is referred to by *m* and which one by *m.i.*".⁷ Further, he abstains from drawing definite conclusions from the fact that the first evidence in grammatical sources for the existence of the terms *m + m.i.* and the like, with the meaning of "assigning a predicate to a subject", appeared in the writings of Xth century grammarians.

Yet, it must have been Levin's emphasis on the notion of the mutual indispensability of the *m + m.i.* pair which made him believe that these terms meant for al-Mubarrad exactly what they had meant for Sībawaihi. This seems to be the reason Levin states that "in the later sources, beginning with the tenth century, we find a new [emphasis added] concept of the terms *m* and *m.i.* fundamentally different from that of Sībawaihi".⁸

On this point Levin's view of the historical process diverges implicitly from the opinion expressed by Praetorius in his above mentioned study of the terms in the *Kiṭāb*. In his review of Jahn's translation of the *Kiṭāb* he puts forward the assumption that the use of the term *m.i.* by al-Khalīl and Sībawaihi was a deviation from another, a genuine rendering of the Aristotelian *tò hupokeímenon* (or its Syriac translation). Praetorius was following Nöldeke's suggestion about the origin of the Arabic grammatical term *m.i.* He wrote "Ist es richtig, dass *al-musnad ilayhi* Wiedergabe von *tò hupokeímenon* (subjectum, mellṭā mettasemānītā) ist (Nöldeke, Lit. Centralbl, 1890 Sp. 1217), so sind Sībawaihi und schon sein Lehrer Ḥalīl ein wenig von dem deutlicheren Wege gewichen, den die Späteren weder gewonnen haben . . .".⁹

According to Praetorius's somewhat laconic formulation (qualified by a conditioned acceptance of Nöldeke's suggestion about the origin of *m.i.*), the Arabic term successively exhibited the following stages:

1. Through an unspecified channel of transmission, VIIIth century Arab grammarians received (or created) an Arabic translation of the philosophical notion of "subject", either in its original (i.e. philosophical or "functional") form or in a modified manner (i.e. the "positional", non-"functional") as preserved in the *Kiṭāb*.
2. Later grammarians did not follow the great masters from Basra. They adopted the original meaning of the philosophical term in an accurate Arabic rendering, viz. *al-musnad ilayhi*, "a thing upon which something leans", being "the subject

of a predicate". We are not told how "die Späteren" returned to this original meaning (see below).

3. Along with the application of the original Aristotelian concept of "subject" in this grammatical term of the *S-N-D* root, the later grammarians also changed it from (Sibawaihi's) *musnad* to *musnad ilayhi*, both having the meaning of "support, a thing upon which something leans".

Now, whereas Praetorius is ready to consider expressly the presence of Greek influence from the very early stages of Arabic grammar (IIInd/VIIIth century), Levin remains strictly in the sphere of this scholarly field and refrains from touching upon the question of foreign influence. However, by attributing the adjective "new" to the concept of the function of the terms *m + m.i.* in the use of grammarians from the IVth/Xth century on, Levin implicitly takes sides with a well defined group of scholars who believe that the direct impact of Greek philosophy started only in that century and accordingly, that the *Kitāb* of Sibawaihi was impervious to the introduction of any significant elements of this tradition.¹⁰ It could be argued now that the fundamental conflict between Sibawaihi's concept of "position" of the *m + m.i.* pair and its later "functional" use corroborates significantly the overall rejection by the aforementioned group of any Greek influence on early Arabic grammar.

Nöldeke's assumption that *m.i.* ("the thing upon which sth. leans") translates the Greek *hupokeímenon* is, of course, far from being certain. Actually, as far as I know, no Greek term has been found which can claim etymological paternity to *m.i.* in either the *Organon* or its interpretations (this point will be discussed at length in section F, below).

On the other hand, and on further thought, some of Levin's arguments are not sufficiently substantiated to support the historical assumption suggested by the adjective "new" discussed above.

A preliminary counter-argument should emphasize the difficulty created by Levin's assumption that the correlation between the literal meaning and the technical use of the *m + m.i.* pair was preceded by a period in which Arabic grammatical terminology did not maintain such a correlation at all.

Then, it could be suggested that in so-called "nominal" sentences (*jumal ismiyya*) the literal meaning "a thing upon which sth. leans" and its counterpart ("the thing which leans upon a (preceding) thing") perfectly suit the pair *mubtada'* and *mabniy* ('*alā l-mubtada'*) and thus may have had this meaning in Sibawaihi's technical jargon too.

Levin's (following on Praetorius's) suggestion that, in so-called "verbal" sentences (*j. fi'liyya*), Sibawaihi considered the verb as *m*, in the sense of "the thing upon which sth. leans" is not proved; it is only supported by implicit pieces of evidence, as Levin himself admits, which are open to opposite interpretations. Note that this suggestion played an important role in the formation of Levin's thesis of Sibawaihi's concept of position allegedly expressed by the *m + m.i.* pair.

Levin's actual rejection of any correlation between the literal meaning of the *m +*

m.i. pair and their technical (grammatical) use in Sībawaihi's system made him translate (p. 153) the technical *m* as "the first indispensable part" and *m.i.* as "the second indispensable part". An extreme expression of this rendering is Levin's translation of the passage in the *Kiṭāb* ii 61.8: *lam yusnad ilā musnad* "it (had) not become the second indispensable part of the sentence(!)".

But more important than this criticism of Levin's conception of the use of *m* + *m.i.* in Sībawaihi's *Kiṭāb* are the data which will be presented below from sources from the end of the IInd/VIIIth century, and which constitute ample evidence for the existence of a subject-predicate concept for the main parts of the sentence already in that early period of grammatical thinking. Most important for our discussion is the existence of evidence on the use of words from the root *S-N-D* to denote the subject-predicate relationship, more precisely, to denote the "leaning" of the predicate upon the subject.

D. The presentation of the new data

I. A note on the existence of subject-predicate terminology in the *Kiṭāb*

In his study Levin deals also with terms derived from the roots *KH-B-R* and *H-D-ṬH*, which correspond in their meaning with the "functional" notion of *m* + *m.i.* (and *isnād*). He mentions the terms *al-muḥaddath* 'anhū and *al-mukhbar* 'anhū as identical with *m.i.* and *al-ḥadīth* ('anhū) and *al-khabar* as equivalent to *m*.¹¹ The detailed references to grammatical treatises which used these corresponding pairs of terms do not include *loci* in the *Kiṭāb*. One might conclude that their absence from the list of references results from their non-existence in the sense of "subject" and "predicate" in Sībawaihi's book, similar to the situation regarding *m* + *m.i.*¹²

However, Sībawaihi used the phrase *al-muḥaddath* 'anhū while referring to both the actor (*fā'il*) of the verb and the *mubtada'*.¹³ Although this phrase was not used as a term, its existence in the *Kiṭāb* indicates that the concept of "subject" and "predicate" was not alien to Sībawaihi's syntactic system.

Let us turn now to examine the occurrences of the root *S-N-D* in two early works written at the end of the second century of Islam: the grammatically oriented Qur'ān commentary *Ma'ānī 'l-Qur'ān* of Abū Zakariyā al-Farrā',¹⁴ and the philosophical treatise of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.¹⁵ From the analysis of sixteen occurrences of this root in these two works, we can conclude that it was used in a semi-technical manner as a denotation of "underlying/dependent" relations, both in logic and grammar, sometimes specifically for the indication of the subject-predicate nexus. In what follows I shall examine these occurrences in detail.

II. Evidence from grammar: al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī 'l-Qur'ān*

In *Ma'ānī 'l-Qur'ān* derivatives of the root occur nine times in eight *loci* (I 79 bis;

83; 119.II 203; 207; 320; 328; 385). In six of them, al-Farrā' refers to annexion constructions which can be classified into two sub-groups:

(a) The first member of the annexion is a temporal entity functioning either as an adverbial or as a locative predicate:

I 119.6: *ashhur* in the sentence *al-ḥajju ashhur-un ma'tūmāt* "The Ḥajj (takes place) in certain months" is in the *raf'* case, but when it bears the meaning of a locative (temporal) predicate it takes the *naṣb* case. Al-Farrā' notes that with this function "it is more powerful" to use the noun as "leaning upon something", as in the sentence with the annexion construction (*al-ḥajj-u*) *ashhur-a ṣ-ṣayfi* "(the pilgrimage) is in the summer months": . . . *al-ism idhā kāna fī ma'nā ṣifa 'aw mahall qawīya idhā usnida ilā shay'* "when the noun has the meaning of a temporal or locative entity it is stronger when it leans upon something".

Similarly, see II 203, for *ḥin-a* "in the time that . . .", which is *ḥin ma'tūm musnad ilā 'lladhī ba'dahū* ". . . a definite time marker leaning upon the following member"; and II 320 with *'awwal-a* "first of . . ." which is defined as *ghāya* "time border".

(b) In the second group, I could not identify any common feature shared by the three constructions under discussion: I 83, 14: the annexion of *'imān* + 2nd per. pl. m. pronoun (– *kum*) in *Qur.* 2, 143 is described as *'asnada* (or: *'usnida*) *'l-imān ilā l-aḥyā' minā'l-mu'minīna* "he leaned (the word) *'imān* upon (the pronoun referring to) the living among the Believers"; see also II 328, 16, where the annexion *ṣawtu 'l-ḥamīr* "the voice (in sing.!) of the asses" presents *ṣawt* as "leaning upon" the word *ḥamīr*.

II 385 bottom presents an interesting construction in which the annexion comprises a present participle followed by a 1st per. sing. pronoun. This pronoun is an underlying direct object to the participle (*mu'tūya*. "my donors"). Actually, al-Farrā' emphasizes that the native speakers prefer such an annexion to a construction in which the present participle exercises a verbal power by governing its accusative complement, as in *muṭli'ūNī*. Here al-Farrā' describes the annexion construction as *asnadū fā'il-an . . . ilā 'sm-in maknī 'anhū* "they (viz. the Arabs) leaned a participle . . . upon a pronoun". It seems safe to assume that in these cases the verb *asnada* is an equivalent of *aḍāfa* as a denoter of the relationship of the two members constituting the annexion, and it reflects clearly (as *aḍāfa* does) the conception of this construction as a specific link between "a base" and "an added" member, the latter being placed first.

The more important occurrences of *S-N-D* in *Ma'ānī'l-Qur'ān* are, of course, the two *loci* in which nexal relations between a verb and its agent are discussed.

In I 79, 13, al-Farrā' analyses the structure with *tamyīz* (in his terminology: *tafsīr* "explanation") following a verb, and maintains that it is a transformation of another verbal structure:

ḍāqa dhar'ī bihī → *ḍiqtu bihī dhar'-an* "I tightened my grasp over him, an arm (grasp)".

This transformation is explained in terms of a shift in the nexal relations between the verb and its subject (here, from *dhar'* to the 1st pers. sing. enclitic pronoun). The new nexal relationship is described as: *ja'alta 'ḍ-ḍiḡ musnad-an ilayka* "you made the idea of 'grasping' lean upon you (viz., upon the pronoun – *tu*) and later *usnida l-fi'l ilā' r-rajul* "the verb was made to lean upon the person".

The second *locus* is II207, 11, where al-Farrā' examines *Qur.* 21, 63 and supports the reading (*bal*) *fa'alahū kabīruhum* "(But this), their chief has done it" as an alternative to the reading (*bal*) *fa'allahū kabīruhum* "(But this), it may be (viz. *la'alla* + enc. pron.) their chief (sc. who has done it)." Al-Farrā' expresses his support for the reading with a verbal sentence by saying *fa-ja'ala fi'l al-kabīr musnadan ilayhi* "and he made the verb of (the agent) *kabīr* lean upon it (viz. upon the agent)".

To sum up, the root *S-N-D* was used by al-Farrā' in reference to two well-defined bi-partite syntactic relations: the constituents of an annexion construction, and the verb with its agent. Literally, it denotes the "leaning" of the first member of each pair "upon" its counterpart, thus conceiving of the latter as "prior to, more basic than" the member leaning upon it. Most significant for our issue is the fact that, in the "verbal" sentences analysed by al-Farrā', it is the verb that "leans upon" its counterpart, not the agent! Finally, it should be noted that the use of derivatives of *S-N-D* in *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* is synonymous with that of derivatives of *Ḍ-Y-F*. This latter root constitutes the more normative terminology for the presentation of annexion constructions, although I have not made a statistical count of their occurrence. One may be misled by the co-appearance of *aḍāfa* and *asnada* in II 385 bottom, where the preference of annexion constructions over structures with present participle + pronoun in the accusative (see above *ad. loc.*) is explained as: *li-'anna'l-'Arab lā takhtāru illā*¹⁶ *'l- iḍāfa idhā asnadū fa'ilan . . .* "because the Arabs do not prefer (to use anything) but an annexion construction when they make a present participle lean upon . . .". It looks obvious that the *Ḍ-Y-F* derivative is the established term. Yet, someone might conclude that the terminological use of a *S-N-D* derivative is shared also by the syntactic relations between verbal nouns and their accusative complements. I believe that this is not the case, and that *asnada* etc. was confined to the two sets of syntactic relations. We shall bear in mind our duty to look for an explanation of why these two sets are bound together by *S-N-D* derivatives. This will be done after the consideration of further data. In the meantime, it is important to note the significant fact that *Ḍ-Y-F* is used by al-Farrā' in reference to nexal relations in the "nominal sentence", in which the predicate is a verbal noun. The metaphorical expressions *layluka nā'im* and *nahāruka šā'im* "your night is asleep" and "your day-time is fasting"¹⁷ are analysed (syntactically) in terms of "the acceptability of *attribution* of the verb (sc. verbal noun?) to the nouns, as if these nouns (viz. *layl*, *nahār*) were the agents" (*wa-qad yajūzu an nuḍifa'l-fī'l*

ilā 'l-layl wa-yakūnā kal-fā' ilaini).

III. Evidence from philosophy: Ibn al-Muqaffa', K. al-Mantiq

Ibn al-Māqaffa's treatise on logic must have been written during the second half of the IIInd/VIIIth century (see note 14 above). As a translation (often rather loose)¹⁸ of *Categoriae*, *De Interpretatione* and *Analytica Priora* it uses *S-N-D* derivatives six times, four of them as finite verbs (*asnadahū*, *yusnadu*(2), *yastanidu*), all in his *Qaṭūghūryūs*, and twice as a participle, the loosely idiomatic *musnad ilayhi* "leaning upon (it)" in *De Int.* (Arabic *Faryār Mānīs*, a rendering of the Greek *peri hermeneias*). Because of their special relevance to our subject these two occurrences will be discussed at some length in what follows:

In the definition of "verb"¹⁹ (chap. 3 of the Aristotelian original, according to the modern division), Ibn al-Muqaffa' paraphrases the Greek (16b 7) . . . *kai estin aei ton kath heterou legomenon semeion*, ". . . it indicates always that something is said or asserted of something"²⁰ by *wa-lā yakūna illā maḥmūlan 'alā ghayrihī musnadan ilayhi*²¹ "and it occurs only as carried on something else, leaning upon it." Then, in a concluding key-sentence referring to the function of "verb" as contrasted with that of its subject, the Greek (16b 10) (*kai aei ton kath heterou legomenon semeion estin, hoion ton kath hupokeimenou e en hupokeimeno* "(Then, a verb was an indication of something asserted of something;) I mean of a something predicated of a subject or found present in it" is paraphrased in Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation by: *wa- 'anna 'l-ḥarf lā yakūnu illā musnadan ilayhi (wājiban . . . 'aw 'araḍan . . .)*²² "and (viz. besides its *consignificatio* (of the reference to time)) that the verb occurs only as leaning upon it (i.e. upon the *ism*) (permanently . . . or temporarily)".

It is clear from these two occurrences of *musnad ilā* that Ibn al-Muqaffa' considered the root *S-N-D* as an appropriate technical expression for the designation of the logical-syntactical relations of the predicate with its subject. Its double occurrence in the same passage supports the assumption that for our translator, whatever his *Vorlage* may have been, the use of *musnad* was not a chance selection of a common word.

Significant as this passage is for the history of syntactic terminology in Arabic grammar, it seems advisable to note here that, in spite of this discovery, we cannot conclude that for Sībawaihi the verb (*fī'l*) was not the part of the sentence upon which the agent (*fā'il*) "leans". What we can do (and should do) is claim that the use of *S-N-D* derivatives for the indication of the relations of "predicate" with "subject" was well-known in logical and grammatical circles of Muslim scholars already in Sībawaihi's own time, as we learn from the data extracted from the treatises of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and al-Farrā'. Grammarians of the Xth century must have continued a tradition already known in earlier (the earliest?) stages of Arabic grammatical thinking, in which "subject" and "predicate", a central pair of logico-grammatical terms, had been introduced *inter alia* by the use of *S-N-D* derivatives.

IV Further reflections on the double designation of S-N-D derivatives for predication and annexion relations

The fact that the use of *musnad* etc. in late VIIIth century writings can now be connected with a subject-predicate relationship is important in the attempt to establish a rational history for the relations between the grammatical use and the literal meaning. The logical tradition in Arabic, witnessed already in Ibn al-Muqaffa's work, usually conceives of "subject" as being a base upon which the "predicate" is carried (*maḥmūl 'alā*).²³ I have expressed the opinion (Sec. C, above) that in Sībawaihi's *Kitāb* this literal meaning was also part of the technical conception of the relevant syntactic terminology, as is clearly demonstrable in the case of ii 61, 8: *lam yusnad ilā m*.

But how did the same terminology come to be used for two different syntactic constructions in al-Farrā's technical parlance, when this grammarian used S-N-D and D-Y-F derivatives for the description of both predication and annexion?

Far from being able to give a definite answer to this question, I believe that the four occurrences of the verbal forms *asnada* etc. and *istanada* in Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation of *Categoriae* are meaningful for the question. After specifying the ten categories, within the fourfold classification of "things there are" (i.e. 'āmm "general", *khāṣṣ* "accident", 'ayn "substantive" and 'araḍ "individual") our translator discusses the following apparent contradiction: according to the assertion that the 'araḍ alone is predicated of the 'ayn, how should we interpret the fact that some substances which are parts of more general substances can be predicated of them? Does this mean that the same object can be both a substance and an accident, which leads to an inevitable self-contradiction?²⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa' describes the feature (or rather potential) of being predicated of something in terms of *asnadahū ilā ghayrihī* "he (sc. any speaker of the language) leaned it (viz. the predicated entity) upon something else" etc. He uses this term for predication of both types: the normal one in which an accident is predicated of a substance, and the one under discussion, of substances which are parts of other, more general, substances. Then, when he presents Aristotle's explanation, according to which "the part of a substance is a substance, not because it is *part* of a substance (but because it is a substance of a certain "thing"))", he reaffirms that, from the point of view of its relationship with the more general substance, this part belongs to the category (no. 4) termed *pros ti*, which Ibn al-Muqaffa' terms *muḍāf*.²⁵

To sum up, the data collected from Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation of *Categoriae* confirm our conclusion that the use of the phrase *musnad ilā* in the discussion of relations between the predicate and its subject in *Faryār Mānīs* reflects the contemporary usage of an established terminology. Further, we realize that S-N-D and D-Y-F derivatives were essential for the discussion of logical relationships in two pairs of entities which share some basic common features.

It *might* be that this close affinity, demonstrated in the old VIIIth century translation, has to do with the somewhat accidental use of *aḍāfa* etc. by al-Farrā'

and later grammarians²⁶ in the description of predication; on the other hand, it might also explain al-Farrā's more occasional choice of *asnada* etc. in his discussion of annexion relationships. However, it is by no means my intention, with the presentation of the data from Ibn al-Muqaffa's treatise and the formulation of the subsequent suggestion concerning al-Farrā's terminology, to cover up the difficulties in tracing the developments in the use of *S-N-D* and *D-Y-F* in early Arab grammatical circles.

E. Remarks on the use of *m/m.i* by Sībawaihi in the light of the new data

A strong argument in Levin's thesis about the essence of *m/m.i.* according to Sībawaihi and al-Mubarrad, in contrast to later grammarians, is the fact that in his *Kitāb* Sībawaihi used this pair whenever attention to the interdependence of the main parts of the sentence was called for.²⁷ In the later sources we find a different attitude to this pair of terms. Leaving aside the other aspects of alleged difference, it seems that Levin would argue that these later sources evince a shift from the notion of interdependence to that of dependence ("leaning upon") of the one part (according to them, the predicate) on the other. This argument fits well into the other elements of Levin's thesis about the "two essential views of *m* and *m.i.*" in medieval Arabic grammar.

Now, in the previous sections I have expressed an opinion about two other elements of Levin's thesis, namely, that we are unable to decide what part of the *fī'l-fā'il* pair in the *Kitāb* is *m* (= "the thing upon which the other *m* leans") and that the grammatical usage of *m/m.i.* was not wholly impervious to the literal meaning of the terms. The last objection was even supported by the use of the phrase *musnad ilā* and similar derivatives in a semi-terminological manner by other VIIIth century scholars. Hence, on a deeper analysis of the collected data it seems to be a too far-reaching conclusion to speak of "two essential views" about *m* and *m.i.*, even about "the ancient view" vs. "the later sources". Yet, it is impossible to ignore the fact that, in spite of expectations, it is not the literal meaning which is reflected in the usage of the pair (in its three occurrences), but rather their indispensability and interdependence, as is mentioned above.

This interesting fact undoubtedly deserves an explanation. Again, the scantiness of the data hardly leaves room for any well-founded explanation. However, I suggest that the relevance of the following fact to our subject be seriously considered:

In three of the four occurrences of derivatives of the *S-N-D* root, the two terms *m/m.i.* appear as a terminological pair (Chapters 3, 117, 132). In all these occurrences they are presented as a superordinate pair, superimposed upon the two existing regularly used pairs of *mubtada' + mabnīy* ('*alā l-mubtada'*) and *fī'l + fā'il*.

It is conceivable that the rare appearance of the *m/m.i.* pair in the *Kiṭāb*, solely as a superordinate pair of syntactic terms, has to do with the fact that the notion of interdependence between the two main parts of the sentence, which is expressed

twice by this pair, plays a negligible part in the syntactic chapters of the *Kitāb*.²⁸
 F. A note on the growth of the *m/m.i.* terms and foreign influence

In an earlier part of this article (Section C, above), I expressed my opinion against Nöldeke's suggestion that the term *m.i.* "a thing upon which sth. leans" originated as the rendering (Uebersetzung) of *hupokeímenon*. Moreover, I stated that I do not know of any similar Greek notion of which this Arabic term could have been calqued: My search for a foreign origin to *musnad/musnad ilayhi* etc. focused so far on the following sources:

- a) The Aristotelian origin of the relevant chapters in *Categoriae* and *De Interpretatione*, namely those parallel to the passages in Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation in which *S-N-D* derivatives appear, and others which deal with similar ideas.²⁹
- b) Greek commentaries on the relevant chapters.³⁰
- c) Syriac translations of the relevant chapters and grammatical treatises.³¹

The fact that neither the Greek sources, nor the Syriac works show any trace of this notion of "leaning" suggests that it is possible that the origins of this notion should be looked for in the domain of Arabic scientific thought. Note that the term *mahmūl* too does not have a foreign cognate which can be identified as its direct origin (note 23, above).

Now, although the derivatives of *S-N-D* are closely related with the concept of "subject" and "predicate" in the works of al-Farrā' and Ibn al-Muqaffa', it seems unnecessary to draw the conclusion that Arabic grammar borrowed *musnad* etc. from Arabic treatises on philosophy. Again, we should notice that the paucity of textual evidence and even of reliable information about the history and mutual relations of the extant material is a major obstacle to determining whether the process was as suggested above or, on the contrary, that *musnad* etc. came into being in grammatical circles and then passed into Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation of logic.³²

One last point should be made about the terminological development of the root *S-N-D* in the later stages of Arabic grammar. Despite the heavy restrictions imposed by the paucity of early documentation it seems right to say that the late terminology of *musnad* etc. was more systematic than the early one. The three early sources used *S-N-D* derivatives for the most part non-terminologically, e.g., as finite verbs and participles with verbal meaning. Even in Sībawaihi's pair, the *m.i.* includes an anaphoric pronoun, and therefore requires that its counterpart should precede it. It seems that the shift identified by Praetorius and Levin from the personal meaning of the pronoun in the early terminology of *m.i.* (viz. "leaning upon it") to an impersonal pronoun in the use of the later grammarians (viz. "a thing upon which sth. else leans") amounts to a historical process of systematization of this syntactic pair of terms, probably by analogy with the closely related pair *muḍāf/muḍāf ilayhi*.

NOTES

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¹ Weil (1915), 385, later surveyed by Bravmann, 46. Bravmann notes that until his days it was "an almost general opinion" among scholars that the Arab grammarians were mainly interested in "the external marks of linguistic phenomena". In his review of Weil's article, Weiss (1917), p. 130 points out that the absence of a sentence concept (Satzbildungslehre) within the syntactic theory was also characteristic of Greek grammar. He quotes from Steinthal's *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern* about Apollonios Diaskolos: "Apollonios fragt nicht wie wird der Sätze gebaut und welches sind die Elemente des Satzes? Sondern nur: wie verbinden sich die Wörter in Sätze? Daher fehlt ihm jede Kategorie für Satzverhältnisse; er weiss nichts von Subjekt und Objekt, Prädikat und Attribut. Statt dieser erscheinen nur Nominativ und Akkusativ, Verbum, Transition d.h. Wortverhältnisse".

² See the citations from the orientalist literature quoted by Ayoub-Bohas pp. 36–38 (also Fleisch (1957), p. 153 f; *idem* (1961) p. 24 f.), in which this "peculiarity" of the Arab grammatical model is mainly criticized.

³ Mehiri (al-Mahiri) (1966) p. 39; *idem* (1973) p. 362. Versteegh (1977) p. 71 is rather vague. Rundgren (1976), p. 137 seems to believe that Sibawaihi considered only *mubtada'* + *khabar* as the two parts of *isnād* (subject + predicate). According to Rundgren it was al-Zamakhshari who attributed the same *isnād* relations to *fī'l* + *fā'il* as well. See also Frank (1981), p. 271.

⁴ The term *isnād* does not appear in the *Kiṭāb*, a fact that Levin knows well.

⁵ For details, see Levin p. 157, n. 113.

⁶ For Praetorius's conclusion and Levin's further considerations in favour of it, see Levin, p. 150f. A. Levin kindly showed me the material now available in the newly published *Kiṭāb al-'Ayn*, in which the material quoted by the *Lisān al-'Arab* is fully documented (vol. VIII, pp. 228–29).

⁷ Levin, p. 162.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 151.

⁹ Praetorius (GGA 1895) p. 711. Nöldeke's words (*loc. cit.*) are also worthy of citing: "(Dagegen) gehört hierher der allgemeine Name des Subject *al-musnad ilayhi*, eine sehr gute Uebersetzung von *hupokeimenon*, Darüber, dass die arabische Grammatik diesen grundbegriff wenig hervorhebt, da sie dem Subjecte des Nominal und des Verbalsatzes besondere Namen giebt, hat M. [= A. Merx, on whose *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros* Nöldeke wrote this review – R.T.] (S. 147) ganz übersehen, dass sie ihn doch wirklich kennt."

¹⁰ The up-to-date history of the rejection of Greek influence on the early growth of Arabic grammar, including the period of the *Kiṭāb*, is documented in a few recent publications, e.g. Sezgin (GAS IX) p. 3f; Talmon (*al-Karmil* 1984) pp. 45–53. It is difficult to refer to any particular study in which it is asserted straightforwardly that only in the Xth century was Greek logic first introduced in Arabic grammatical writings! Gaetje (1971) explicitly rejects Aristotelian influence on the tripartite division of speech units in the *Kiṭāb* (pp. 4–5), but it is less certain (pp. 8–9) whether he considers al-Fārābī's teaching as the source of philosophical influence on later grammarians. Versteegh (1977) holds that the translated Aristotelian writings started to influence grammarians from the Xth century onwards, but he still considers the *vue diffuse* of introducing Greek influence into Arabic grammar as its ancient antecedent. Even Troupeau (1983, p. 143) formulates his general view about the philosophical orientation of Ibn al-Sarrāj's *Kiṭāb al-Uṣūl* as carefully as "a marqué un tourant dans la production grammaticale arabe de IV/X siècle."

¹¹ Levin (1981) Section VI, p. 161f.

¹² Note that the sources quoted by Levin are all from the Xth century on! However, in his article in ZAL (1985) Levin (p. 118 n. 2) mentioned that the terms *al-muhaddath 'anhū* (viz. the subject) and *al-ḥadīth* or *ḥadīth 'anhū* (viz. the predicate) were already used in all types of

sentences, since the IIIrd/IXth century. Levin is most probably referring to the existence of this pair of terms in Mubarrad's *Muqtaḍab* although he does not specify any IXth century source.

¹³ Cf. ch. 9, i 10, 18 (ed. Derenbourg) for the definition of the verb and its actor: *fa-l-'asmā'l-muḥaddath 'anhā wa-l-amthila dalila 'alā mā maḍā wa-mā lam yamḍi minā 'l-muḥaddath bihi 'an al-'asmā*. Further, in i 145, 17 the structure *a-Tamīmīy-Un* (variant of *-An*) *marrat-an wa-Qaysīy-Un* (var. of *-An*) *'ukhrā*, Sibawaihi justifies this variant by saying: *wal-raf' jayyid li-'annahū 'l-muḥaddath 'anhū wa'l-mustafham*. The noun *Tamīmīy*, being a predicate, is equivalent to the concealed 2nd per. sing. *anta*, the subject in the underlying structure (viz. *'a-anta Tamīmīy-Un*). Less certain is the idiomatic status of *al-muḥaddath 'anhū* in i 128, 18.

¹⁴ Although this book is a Qur'ān commentary, its author emphasized mainly grammatical interpretations. Frequently, his lengthy treatment of linguistic structures offers modern scholars access to the theory and practice of the Kufan grammarians. Previous analyses of the grammatical material in this work are mentioned in Diem's bibliography (1981).

¹⁵ On Ibn al-Muqaffa's life and works, see *EJ2* (by F. Gabrieli). On the identity of its writer, probably 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa's son, see Kraus (1934). Zimmermann (c. 1972) studied this work, using the Beirut MS., in studying certain aspects of the history of Islamic philosophy. Ibn al-Muqaffa's work was published in 1978 by Daneshpazhuh. G. Troupeau (1981) is the only historian of Arabic grammar who has so far made use of this treatise in the study of the history of this scholarly field. From his comparison of the terminology in the *Kitāb* with Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation of the first chapters of *De Interpretatione* he concludes that there was no connection between these two works whatsoever.

¹⁶ In the text *'alā*. I am indebted to M. Carter for suggesting this correction.

¹⁷ This grammatical topic is somewhat close to the *ittiṣā' fi 'l-kalām* etc. discussed by Sibawaihi in the *Kitāb* chapter 42 and to other items collected by De Goeje in W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed. Cambridge, 1967 (repr.), ii 26 Rem. b; also, cf. Jahn's note 12 to chapter 42 of the *Kitāb*, where the translator quotes from al-Sirāfi's commentary another example of *ittiṣā' : al-nahār muḥsir*.

¹⁸ See on this point Zimmermann, n. 37 (p. 542); G. Furlani (1926), p. 210, specifically on the translation of *Categoriae*. Also, Kraus, p. 5.

¹⁹ *Harf* in Ibn al-Muqaffa's terminology, which is also used by al-Kindī. See Zimmermann pp. 530–31.

²⁰ The text and translation are quoted from Cook's edition, pp. 118–19.

²¹ See *K. al-Manṭiq*, p. 28, 1. 12.

²² *ibid.* 1. 15.

²³ Note, however, the etymology suggested by Zimmermann, p. 534. Although he notes the development of its use from logicians to translators, this scholar seems to have ruled out the metaphor I suggest for the pair *Mawḍū'-maḥmūl*. Otherwise, I cannot understand why he emphasizes (n. 51, in p. 544) that "[t]he term *maḥmūl* was taken literally by al-Kindī, who used the active participle as a correlative term instead of *mawḍū'*".

²⁴ The original text in *Categoriae* seems to be 3a29. In Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Qaṭūghūryūs* it is found on p. 11, 13 ff.

²⁵ See *Qaṭūghūryūs*, p. 11, 19 and *passim*; the category itself is first presented and defined on p. 10. See, however, end of note 32, below.

²⁶ See Jahn n 1 to chap. 3, Goldenberg (1985).

²⁷ Levin uses the term "indispensable" in his description of the role played by the two terms in the sentence. However, this term combines in Levin's usage two different meanings: interdependence between the two constituents of the pair, and their indispensability in creating self-sufficient stretches of speech (*kalām*, wrongly translated by many scholars, including Levin, "sentence". See Talmon, *ZDMG* [forthcoming]).

²⁸ See the *Kitāb* i 110, 6; 343, 19 for the two other occurrences of the notion.

²⁹ Esp. *Categoriae*, chapters 1–5; 7; *De Int.*, chapters 1–4.

³⁰ Commentaries by Philoponos on *Categoriae* (GAG XIII ad 1a20–; 3a29); Stephanus and Ammonius on *De Int.* (English translation and commentary by Arens).

³¹ Logic: Paulus Persa (ed. Land), esp. p. 10, 14 ff (Lat. trans. p. 11, 13 ff) i p. 15, 21 ff (Lat. trans. p. 17, 4 ff). Translations of *Categoriae*: George, Bishop of the Arabs (ed. Gottheil);

Sergius of Rēs 'Aynā in the Italian translation of G. Furlani (1922). I am grateful to Prof. Lidia Bettini for sending me a xerox of this article; cf. *De Int.*: Probha (ed. Hoffmann). In grammar: Jacob of Edessa, *Torēz Memillā* (ed. Wright) esp. pp. 79–80 and the Syriac translation of Dionysius Trax (in A. Merx, *Historia*, p. 49 ff).

³² Zimmermann, n. 48 (p. 544) considers the origin of the *m/m.i.* pair to be in grammar, and the use of the form *musnad* in Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Faryār Mānūs* as an indication that grammatical terminology was known to educated persons outside grammatical circles at quite an early stage.

On the other hand it might be assumed that the use of *S-N-D* derivatives in logic preceded their employment in grammar on the ground of their interchangeability with derivatives of *D-Y-F*. Not a few studies have referred to the problematic status of the notions "noun" and "verb", "subject" and "predicate" in Aristotle's system; cf., for instance, Ackrill's note on *De Int.* 16 b 6: "... It may disturb us to find Aristotle saying that a statement consists of a name and a verb, because this terminology suggests a confusion of logical with grammatical analysis. But this is not a confusion imported by the translation; logic and grammar are, in fact, not clearly distinguished in Aristotle's discussion". Also, cf. Steinthal I pp. 247–48 (also p. 239, for the definition of *rhēma*) and Arens (1969), p. 15. Thus, it can be maintained with reason that since logic does not draw a clear distinction between such linguistic relations as subject and predicate, an annexed language-unit and one to which another is annexed (*viz. muḍāf ilayhi*) or an attribute and its head, this interchangeability can be expected to have affected grammatical circles which came under the influence of logical terminology and even translators of logical works who, in their turn, were somewhat familiar with the work and technical jargon of these grammarians.

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A DOCUMENT OF CULTURAL SYMBIOSIS: ARABIC MS. 1623 OF THE ESCORIAL LIBRARY

By JAREER ABU-HAIDAR

Hartwig Derenbourg in his *Notes critiques sur les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*, (1904),¹ described MS. no. DXCIII of the catalogue of these manuscripts compiled by F. Guillén Robles² in the following terms:

Le seul ouvrage chrétien en pur arabe (DXCIII), est un *unicum* de première importance, les Canons de l'Eglise chrétienne hispanique à la fin du VII^e siècle de notre ère, dans un exemplaire du milieu du XI^e.³

There has never been any doubt, however, that the manuscript in question, (modern number 4879),⁴ was originally part of the collection of Arabic manuscripts at the Escorial Library. Guillén Robles starts his description of it by saying that it was found in the course of the examination of the Escorial manuscripts carried out by Miguel Casiri and Manuel Martínez Pingarrón,⁵ and ends it with the added affirmation "Procedente de la Biblioteca del Escorial".⁶ Derenbourg, likewise, adds in his comments on this manuscript:

La traduction arabe des canons qui régissaient l'Eglise chrétienne en Espagne était encore conservée à l'Escorial dans cet exemplaire unique en 1760, lorsque Casiri le décrivit sous le numéro 1618⁷ (*Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica*, I, p. 541b-543a).⁸

It was, however, after an absence of 215 years,⁹ and a seemingly long "saga" of demands for its return, that the Augustinian brothers succeeded in having this manuscript returned to the Escorial Library on 4 July, 1966. This saga is related in some detail by Dr. Gregorio de Andrés in an article which appeared in that same year (1966), in *La Ciudad de Dios*,¹⁰ the publication of the Augustinians of the Escorial. But at the same time de Andrés relates the other saga of how this substantial manuscript, (435 folios), which excited so much attention in academic and church circles, and at the Royal Spanish Court throughout the second half of the XVIIIth century, has remained unpublished to this day. This latter saga has at times all the pathos, and the twists and turns, but not the wit or saving humour, of a picaresque or Quixotic episode.

"Carlos III", (1716-1788), to quote Derenbourg again, "whose attention was drawn to the importance of this manuscript, gave his orders immediately that the learned Maronite (i.e. Casiri) should translate it into Latin, and Casiri was already at work on the Latin translation when, in 1770, he published the second volume of his *Bibliotheca*. A part of his preparatory work fills the massive manuscript DXCIV,

(modern number 4877), which is a complete copy (of the original), all in Casiri's hand, with the margins filled with résumés in Latin, attempts at translation into Latin,¹¹ and corrections of the text, all as (preparatory) material for a projected edition. As to the Latin translation, continued by Casiri up to p. 541 of the original, it is now kept at the National Library in Madrid under no. Aa 42-43.¹² While waiting for this, the chief librarian at the National Library in Madrid, D. Juan de Santander, had another copy made by the copyist D. Pablo Elías Hodar¹³ which was finished on 22nd July, 1767. These are the manuscripts DXCV-DXCVI [now 4905-4906]."¹⁴

With all the interest aroused in this vast and complete collection¹⁵ of the canons of the church in Arabic, no one could have had a greater commitment to it than Casiri. Apart from its great value as a collection, he must have highly prized its literary charm, or at least the simple and genial style of the fairly numerous episcopal letters contained in it. He called it "the phoenix of the Arabic manuscripts of the Escorial Library",¹⁶ referring to the fire of 1671 at the monastery which had destroyed a large number of other Arabic manuscripts.¹⁷ Apparently assured of seeing it published, he jubilantly exclaimed that "under royal patronage it will be published to see the broad daylight, and to the wonder of the literary world".¹⁸

Casiri died in 1791, but, in the sympathetic words of Dr Gregorio de Andrés "sin lograr ver editados sus trabajos en que puso tanta ilusión"¹⁹ – without succeeding in seeing published the work on which he had staked so much hope.

After Casiri's death, Pedro Luis Blanco, chief librarian of Carlos IV, took it upon himself, with the same enthusiasm as Casiri, to see that both the Arabic collection and Casiri's Latin translation of it were published. It was Blanco who directed Elías Schidiac and Pablo Lozano, both competent Arabists, to collate Casiri's and Hodar's Arabic copies with the original,²⁰ to correct any flaws and "to complete those defective parts of the Arabic codex with translations of the corresponding texts of the Visigothic Latin codices".²¹

The publication planned by Blanco was to be in grand style. He prepared for the purpose what amounts to a prospectus in two parts, and 168 pages (with an introduction in XLII pages).²² Part I, pp. 1-88, dealt with the Gothic Latin collections²³ of *concilios* whose publication was planned at the same time, and part II, pp. 93-168 dealt with the Arabic collection or what Blanco called *el código árabe*. In this second part Blanco spoke of the publication of four volumes, two for the Arabic manuscript, and another two for its Latin translation by Casiri. He also gave details of the format and the type to be used in both the Arabic and Latin versions.²⁴ Page 91 of this prospectus was dedicated to the planned title page in Latin of this four-volume publication, while pp. 113-132 constituted a general index of the ten books contained in the Arabic codex.

The moment, however, was not right. "On the 6th of March 1795", says de Andrés, "Blanco informed Godoy",²⁵ (appointed by Carlos IV as his First Secretary of State, 15 November, 1792), that he had the Arabic collection ready for publication, and asked him for costs amounting to 300,000 reals. But Godoy wrote back to

say that "the publication of the work would be very useful, but the money is much more needed for the war effort".²⁶ Monarchic Spain, like many other European powers, had felt indignant at the execution of Louis XVI in France (1793), and was soon at war with the French revolutionaries. Then "followed the war with England, divided into two periods (1796-1802 and 1804-1808) by the peace of Amiens (1802)",²⁷ all of which seemed to be a prelude to the Peninsular War (1808-1814).

Blanco did not give up his efforts. He got in touch with prestigious ministers²⁸ who could help to provide the costs of his projected publications, and in 1798 started a subscription for the purpose. But, "because of lack of money" says de Andrés, the publication continued to be delayed in such a way that it was still a subject of discussion in 1805 after Blanco had been replaced as chief librarian. De Andrés refers also to orders given that Blanco be asked to account for the sum of 60,020 reals collected in his subscription. There was no record of what had happened to it.²⁹ The publication of a Latin collection of *concilios* started in 1808 was only finished in 1821. In his introduction to this edition, dated 12 September 1821, its publisher Francisco Antonio González, expresses the ardent wish that the Arabic collection would come to see the light of day. The 1849 edition of this collection still carries the same introduction and the same eagerly expressed hopes of González.³⁰

F. J. Simonet, writing his *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, towards the end of the XIXth century,³¹ spoke of the Arabic collection of church canons as "a valuable monument of Arabic influence on the Spanish Christians".³² He referred to the Escorial manuscript as "this inestimable gem"³³ and "this most important codex . . . well known for its great value and uniqueness".³⁴ But Simonet went on to express regrets, like many before him, that the projected publication of the manuscript with its Latin translation by Casiri, had gone so slowly, and that it was overtaken by events such as the Spanish War of Independence, and what he called "otros desastres y ruínas".³⁵

What follows here can only be a scant survey of this unique manuscript as a document of Arabic influence on the Spanish *Mozárabes*. But its value as a literary text is not less important. Some of the episcopal letters contained in it have the same pristine zeal and passionate appeal of familiar Epistles. Indeed, their language, totally functional and free from any rhetorical quirks or quibbles, is often comparable to the careful Arabic translations of the Bible carried out in the latter half of the last century. It can be described as Arabic at its most genial.

* * *

Two postscripts in MS. 1623 tell us what is known with certainty about it. The first, at the end of Book 7, (*al-mushaf al-sābi'*), points out that (copying) this Book was completed on Tuesday, 17 October 1049 A.D.³⁶ Four lines of poetry follow in an impeccable *ṭawīl* metre in which the reader is apprised that the copy (in hand) is being made for a bishop called 'Abd al-Malik. A minor, yet very significant point, is

that the copyist changes the name into 'Abd al-Mālik in order not to impair the metre of this first verse or, at least, to avoid a poetic licence tantamount to a defect.³⁷

The second postscript, at the end of Book 8, (*al-muṣḥaf al-thāmin*),³⁸ tells us that the copyist was a Christian cleric. He writes (or transliterates) his name in Arabic as 'binjenshish',³⁹ adding to it the attribute *al-qiss al-khāṭī* – the sinful priest or presbyter. Questions have been raised as to whether this cleric was merely the copyist, or the original translator from Latin.⁴⁰ But there is little reason to doubt that he was the copyist, and that he apparently had other copies with which he could collate his own. Very much in familiar Arabic style, his second postscript too has verses of poetry interpolated in it. In the first of four verses he philosophically contemplates the certainty that what he has *written* will outlive the hand which has *written* it.⁴¹ After the verses he invokes God's blessings on him who has *written* and him who will read. But more revealing is his plea to his bishop that a fellow-cleric had written or copied out the first three sections (quires) of Book 8 in "a coarse hand" with many misspellings, and that he had to collate and correct it all, and rewrite it with his own hand. This, apparently, had occasioned some delay.

Few statements relating to the history of Spain under Arab rule have been quoted as often as the statement of Álvaro de Cordova, writing in 854, and decrying the fact that "you could hardly find one in every thousand Christians who could reasonably write a letter to his brother (i.e. in Latin or Romance), while innumerable people among them are intoxicated with the eloquence of Arabic letters, and are more skilled in Arabic prosody than the infidels".⁴² Writing in 1942, and commenting on this statement, the Spanish scholar Ramón Menéndez Pidal says that "these affirmations of Álvaro would make us think that Romanism was gradually disappearing among the Mozarabs." But, he goes on to warn, "we would be deceiving ourselves a lot if we did not see in Álvaro's words a ranting exaggeration (*una exageración declamatoria*)".⁴³

Our copyist cleric Vincentius or *binjenshish*, writing in 1049 and 1050,⁴⁴ proves himself in his postscripts to be what can be described as an "accomplished" example of the Mozarab that Álvaro was describing. That one or other of his fellow-clerics, as he tells us, made spelling mistakes in Arabic, or wrote in a bad hand, need not alter or diminish the significance of his accomplishment. His skill in Arabic prosody leaves little room for exaggeration.⁴⁵ The text he was copying, however, shows that the cultural swing was indeed going full circle in the mid-XIth century. Most scholars who have commented on MS. 1623 have indeed spoken of it as "a monument of Arabic influence on the Spanish Christians".⁴⁶ But they primarily stress its significance as an indication of the widespread use of Arabic among the Mozarabs. It is, after all, a testimony that even the church in Spain felt the need to supply its clergy with Arabic versions of its canons, and any new regulation of doctrine and discipline in its councils. But this vast collection, chapter and verse, and very much in a literal sense, reflects in a vivid way two aspects of a more far-reaching transformation. Arabic in it seems to be viewed as a universal language within which all human

expression has to be accommodated or else seem somewhat obsolete, if not totally out of date. The other aspect is the grace or total *bona fides* with which the church or its clerics seem to adopt Islamic religious terminology. As already indicated, it seems to them to express better and ennobles what they want to say. No other consideration arises or is of any relevance. Without any implication of facetiousness or disrespect, one might say that they seem to have felt that if theology was the science of the day, and Arabic provided, or seemed to provide, the most up to date technological jargon to deal with this science, then Arabic had to be the language of the faith.

Speaking of this collection as a testimony of Arabic influence on the Spanish Mozarabs, Simonet points out the repeated use of the formula

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

at the beginning of the books of which it is composed.⁴⁷ Derenbourg, likewise, points out the use of the term مصحف to designate each of these books, a term exclusively reserved, as he remarks, for copies of the Qur'ān.⁴⁸ But, to use a convenient cliché, there is more to this influence than meets the eye. To start with the Arabic classicisms used by the translator of this text from Latin cannot be overlooked. نود (pl. انوار) used practically exclusively in pre-Islamic times, (to denote a herd of 3 to 30 camels), is used to denote "a flock" of sheep (folio 83),⁴⁹ or simply "flocks" (folio 128), and figuratively as "the flock of Christ" (folio 70). مومل meaning "deep-rooted" (nobility, glory), or "consolidated" (riches, wealth), a usage associated with the poet Imru' al-Qays (500–540 A.D.?), rather than any of his successors, is used in both these significations (folio 235), but the glory it defines is the glory of "the divine nature." The term جاهلية used to denote "ignorance" or "blind fanaticism" (e.g. folios 70 and 169) is, in all likelihood, of Qur'anic,⁵⁰ or, in any case post-Islamic provenance. In one case at least (folio 8) it appears as حمية الجاهلية (the vehement passions, zealotry of ignorance or of the Age of Ignorance) in practically identical terms as in Sura XLVIII (v. 26). Another classicism, not often encountered outside the Qur'ān is اجتنبى (folio 166), where it is used in an identical context as in the Sura of Joseph (v. 6). This list could be prolonged to include a verb form like ازجر repeatedly used to denote "to desist" or "to be restrained" (e.g. folio 128), and the verbal noun تلدى⁵¹ denoting "delay", "dithering", "bewilderment" (folio 109), although the more appropriate verbal noun for the latter context is تلد.

Hartwig Derenbourg described MS. 1623 as an *unicum*. It is indeed quite likely that similar Mozarabic texts have been lost. But there is no other text that we know of where Christ the Saviour is referred to as المسيح المسلم, Christ the Muslim, and where the Christian faithful are referred to as Muslims. This is done as a matter of course in this collection of canons. The Lord's prayer is described as صلاة المسيح — the prayer which Christ enjoined the believer (to repeat), (folio 164), while two of the apocryphal gospels are referred to (folio 150), as مصحف ميلاد المسيح المسلم and مصحف طفولة المسيح المسلم. Casiri, whose intuitions in Arabic and Latin are simply second to none, translates these respectively as *Libér de infantia Christi Salvatoris* and *Libér de nativité Christi Salvatoris*⁵²

The frequency of the references to "Christ the Muslim" could even suggest that the translator of the text might not have been a Christian Mozarab. But with equal frequency this formula appears as **مسلنا** *our Saviour* (folio 234), or **ربنا ومسلنا** *our Lord and Saviour* (folios 233 and 235), and **عيد مسلنا المسيح** *the festival of our Master and Saviour* (folio 170), so as not to leave much doubt about the affiliation of the possessive pronoun.

As can be seen from the preceding quotations, the term *muṣḥaf* is widely used in this collection, and not restricted to the designation of its ten books. Not only the Gospels **اربعة مصاحف** (folio 148), but books in general are designated as **مصاحف** (e.g. folio 128), in a manner which would have been considered blasphemous in a strict Muslim community, notwithstanding the fact that the books referred to in this collection are of a canonical or religious nature.

It would be pointless to go on enumerating particular instances of the various other terms, of a strictly Islamic provenance, which are used as a matter of course on practically every page of this collection. *Miḥrāb* used interchangeably with *madhbaḥ* (altar), or to denote the lectern⁵³ in a church; the epithet *sunni*, used to denote what is legal or lawful; the epithet *nāfil* or *nāfila* with reference to a supererogatory fast or prayer; *kabāyir* used to refer to grave sins or offences; *imām*, and its plural *ayimma*, together with a whole line of other familiar terms such as *āya*, *qiyās*, *ijmā'*, *sunna*, etc. The term which is most widely used, however, is *khawārij* referring to "heretics" (and invariably translated as such by Casiri).⁵⁴ An abstract noun *khārijīyya* "heresy" is coined, and is just as widely used.⁵⁵ The whole of Book 9 is dedicated to renouncing the *khawārij* and their practices. It is entitled **في قطع الخوارج وعادات سنهم** which Casiri sums up in a marginal note as *De Hereticorum eorumq̄ légum abdicatione* (folio 280).

But the implications of MS. 1623 do not end here. I have already indicated that it offers, at that early stage, good guidelines to linguists intent on verifying how the Spanish letters were realised in Arabic, the *s*, for example, invariably rendered as **ش** and the *c* as **ج** (see note 39 above). Such terms as "synod" or *sīnodo* arabised as **شينو** and "lauds" or *laudes* arabised as **لوندش** can indeed be revealing as to the value of a Spanish or Latin *d*.

Nor is the text of this vast collection, written in literary Arabic, unavailing in providing guidelines as to the nature of the Arabic vernacular in XIth century Spain. Pointers to a sketch of the Hispano-Arabic vernacular have been generally sought in the *dūwān* of the Cordovan poet Ibn Quzmān (d. 1160), or in the present day Moroccan dialects. But this XIth century collection of church canons can profitably be added to such guidelines or sources of study. Thus, the only form of meat permitted during Lent, according to our text, is **الحوت** (fish), the term used in present day Morocco and the rest of the Maghrib, and not **السمك** of the countries of the Arab East. But more important than tracing such lexical items, is the fact that the medial and final glottal stops (*hamzas*) are practically non-existent in this collection. The plural of *imām*, for example, appears consistently in it as *ayimma*.⁵⁶

When the copyist Binjenshish resorts to a more familiar tone of Arabic, in his fairly lengthy postscript to his bishop (end of Book 8, folio 225), many of his long vowels, in a typical Moroccan fashion, become short, and he writes consistently *yasayyidī*, (Sir, My Lord), instead of *yā Sayyidī*, and *was-salam 'alayk*, (greetings to you), instead of *was-salām 'alayk*.

Direct or indirect references to the strophic poetic forms, the *muwashshah* and the *zajal*, made in the course of this collection, although few, can be of paramount significance to students of literature.⁵⁷

Another fascinating aspect of this collection is that lore of church ritual and ceremonial which Arabic could not accommodate. Concepts, or terms which had never crossed the ken of Arabic like "grace", "gloria", "antiphony", "responsory", "viaticum", "anathema", etc. are either transliterated in Arabic, or some attempt is made at paraphrasing them. Thus "The Gloria" is rendered by the translator as **الغلورية اعنى العزة** (folio 162). But he feels that **العزة** is the equivalent of "power", "might", "glory", etc., all of which convey certain implications of the Latin term, but none, so to speak, musically winged and heaven-directed like a doxology beginning with the word "Gloria". And seemingly not content with his rendition, the translator goes on to say, (practically in consecutive lines), **الحرمة التي هي الغلورية** introducing into his definition (with *hurma*) an added dimension of reverence and sanctity.

The translator encounters greater difficulty perhaps, when the mystery deepens, and he has to cope with concepts like the Eucharist. This term is invariably transliterated as **الاقرشتيا** (folio 67), or, less often, as **الاقراشتيا** (folio 156), although the attempt to supply Arabic equivalents or near-equivalents is seldom abandoned. Thus we have **اقرشتيا اعنى قربان المسيح** (folio 14), and **اقرشتيا اعنى قربانا** (folio 18). The term *qurbān* used in these glosses, is then used on its own, in the course of the text, to denote "Holy Communion" or "The Eucharist" (folios 13 and 68). The "viaticum", consistently transliterated as **البياطا**, is then defined as administering the *qurbān* to a dying person (folio 68). A most unusual transliteration appears in Arabic where the translator is dealing with the *exorcistis* (folio 14). He calls them **العزامين** (enchanters, magicians). But feeling that the Arabic term is short of what is required, he goes on to add **وهم الاخشر جشطة**. Sometimes, however, when a gloss on an Arabic rendition seems somewhat imperative, the translator does not provide any. He translates "blasphemies" as **شتايم** (folios 234 and 246), tantamount to "abuse" or "insults", but with no religious implications in Arabic.

F. J. Simonet, in his *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mozárabes*,⁵⁸ considers MS. 1623 as a conclusive proof of the conservation of Latin among the Mozarabs. In this text, he says, one "can sometimes find words which are purely Latin terms but written in Arabic characters like *pastoralium*, *comatos* and *cinerarios*. Besides, the canonical and liturgical nomenclature of this extraordinary and rare manuscript, as the celebrated Casiri pointed out when he was translating it, is practically all in Latin. It could be seen from this that its compiler did not want to

translate these terms into Arabic, although there is no shortage of adequate vocabulary in that language for translating them".⁵⁹ This extraordinary codex, as Simonet describes it, no doubt proves that Latin had continued to be in use among the Mozarabs in the XIth century, but that Arabic did not lack the adequate vocabulary to accommodate the canonical and liturgical nomenclature of the Catholic church, cannot be affirmed with the same certainty.

In pre-Islamic Arabia untidiness of the hair, *sha'ath* was a metaphor for a "fault" or "failing" in a man's character, while the epithet for "tidy" and "well-trimmed", *muhadhhab*⁶⁰ was the metaphor for "well-bred" and "well-mannered". While this stands some interesting comparison with the *comatos* (men with long, or luxuriously curled hair), and the *cinerarios* (servants, or slaves who prepared heated curlers), of Roman culture, the latter terms had no equivalent in Arabic. That such men were out of favour with the church is clear from the title of chapter 67 of the Council of Iliberi (folio 192):

كما لا تتزوج المرأة المؤمنة او السماعة رجال كطايون او جنرار يوس

The marginal note by Casiri renders this: *Né muliér sive fidelis sive catéchuména viros comatos aut cinérarios habéant.*

The translator, it would be noticed, gives *comatos* a sound masculine plural form in Arabic, and perhaps finds it a little too cumbersome to subject *cinérarios* to the same twist in transliteration. For *catéchuména*, (i.e. receiving elementary religious instruction),⁶¹ he chances upon the ingenious *sammā'a*, an intensive form implying "hearing, (or listening) too much or too often", and applied in modern Arabic exclusively to an "earpiece" or a "stethoscope". The translator's work, in cases such as this, amounts to a dogged and "valiant" attempt to accommodate in Arabic the Latin text in hand. He writes *ينتقشان* consistently for "Pentecost", and in one instance, adds the Arabic gloss *يوم الخمسين* (the 50th day, i.e. after Easter) (folio 168). As the Arabic term for "Pentecost", *العنصرة*, seemingly a loan word from Hebrew,⁶² is used in a Mozarabic *kharja* less than a hundred years later,⁶³ one is tempted to conclude with near certainty that *al-'anṣara* had not perhaps become current usage when our text was translated.

* * *

It was not the purpose of the preceding pages to stress the significance and importance of MS. 1623. The purpose of my survey was to put a little more detail on the encomiums it had won a long time ago as a *códice peregrino* and an *unicum*. Simonet was indeed right to stress its importance at one and the same time as a document of Arabic influences on the Mozarabs, and as a testimony to the continued use of Latin among them. But there are few documents perhaps to equal this codex as a testimony of a harmonious symbiosis of cultures. In this respect, and copied in 1049, it represents an important historical watershed.

When communities of different religious beliefs are unable to live in harmony together, the ritual of one, or even the very rhythms of that ritual, become uncongenial to the other. The fact that the clergy of the Spanish church were ready to adopt Islamic religious terminology so willingly and eagerly, confirms all the conclusions of the historians about religious tolerance under the *taifa* kings, and the nature of their rule, and the rule of their predecessors. It also confirms the view that the serious religious excesses at that stage in the history of Spain appertain to the rule of the two Berber dynasties, the Almoravides and the Almohades. Thus Rafael Altamira speaks of "Los alfaqués, quejosos de la tibieza religiosa de los reyes de taifas . . ." ⁶⁴ He speaks also of "Los Almoravídes . . . los nuevos dominadores de África, gente fanática que hacía notable contraste con los descreídos, pero ilustrados musulmanes españoles." ⁶⁵ J. B. Trend, to take another view, speaks of the persecution of the Mozarabs "which took place under the Berber dynasties, Almoravides and Almohades, especially between 1090 and 1146". "For the first time in Spanish history", he adds, "intolerance had appeared". ⁶⁶

The significance of all this for cultural developments cannot be discounted. Those scholars, for example, who like to speak of potent Hispano-Arabic influences on the troubadours at this very time seem to overlook this drastic change in the political tempo. The most enthusiastic of these scholars like to point out that at this time "It might be said far more truly than in the time of Louis XIV that the Pyrenees did not exist". ⁶⁷ But the barriers were becoming more than physical ones. Troubadours are known to have joined the battle against the African invaders both physically and in their poetry. ⁶⁸ Such a situation is not as conducive to the healthy flow of the cultural sap, as it was when codex 1623 was being translated or copied.

NOTES

* Research work on this article, both at the National Library in Madrid and the Escorial Library, during the months of September and October 1986 was made possible through a grant from the British Academy to which I should like to express my deepest gratitude.

¹ Imprimerie Orientale G. Maurin, Paris.

² *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Madrid, 1889.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴ Sr. Manuel Sánchez Mariana, head of the section of old and rare manuscripts at the National Library in Madrid, told me that the new catalogue numbers were introduced at the end of the last century when more manuscripts came to be housed in the present library building. No words can register my deep gratitude to Sr. Sánchez Mariana and his staff for the help I was given while working at the National Library in Madrid during the months of September and December 1986 and January 1987.

⁵ Guillén Robles gives no date, but this investigation of the Escorial manuscripts took place in all likelihood about the middle of the XVIIIth century. Casiri, or, to give him his Arabic name, Mikha'il al-Ghaziri, arrived in Madrid in 1748, and the first volume of his catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts at the Escorial Library (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis), appeared in 1760.

⁶ Catalogue, p. 244.

⁷ It has now been given no. 1623 in Casiri's catalogue, and that is after it was decided, for the purpose of standardising references, to give the manuscripts in Casiri's catalogue the numbers given to them by Derenbourg in his *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris, 1884, 1903, 1928 and 1941. Casiri, writing in Latin, had used Roman numerals.

⁸ Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁹ See n. 19 below.

¹⁰ "Un valioso código árabe de concilios españoles recuperado para El Escorial," the October-December issue, vol. CLXXXIX, no. 4, pp. 681-695. I was guided to this important article by Dr. Braulio Justel Calabozo, Dean of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras at the University of Cadiz, and Director of the Escorial Library from 1974 until 1982.

¹¹ In fact what Derenbourg calls "résumés in Latin and attempts at translation into Latin" is Casiri's consistent attempt throughout his copy to sum up in Latin all the chapter headings, and to indicate the names of the councils from which the particular canons proceeded.

¹² It is difficult to see what pagination Derenbourg is referring to. The original MS. is in 435 folios and is divided into ten books. Casiri's Latin translation of it is complete, and is in two volumes whose catalogue numbers at the National Library are now MS. 8985 and MS. 8986. The first volume contains the translation of the first three books, while the second contains the remaining seven.

¹³ Guillén Robles is clearly mistaken in his *catálogo* where he says:

Más adelante en el reinado de Carlos IV, pensóse en hacer una edición de los antiguos códices de la Iglesia de España, y entonces hicieron otra copia D. Elías Schidiac y D. Pablo Lozano (p. 243).

This remark is rather baffling, because when Guillén Robles goes on to describe this other copy under MSS nos. 595-596 in his catalogue, he clearly states: "Es una copia hecha por D. Pablo Elías Hodar. . . ." More baffling still is the fact that Simonet, writing in 1897 repeats that "Schidiac y Lozano sacaron otra copia del mismo código. . . .", and goes on to state in a footnote that this is "Cód. árabes núms. 595 y 596 del cat. de Guillén Robles." (See *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1967, p. 725, and n. 4 on the same page.) What Schidiac and Lozano in fact did was to collate the two copies of Casiri and Hodar with the original, and with other Latin collections of *concilios*. See Pedro Luis Blanco, *Noticia de las antiguas y genuinas colecciones canónicas inéditas de la Iglesia española, que, de orden del Rey nuestro Señor, se publicará por su Real Biblioteca de Madrid*. Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1798, p. 99. See also de Andrés, *op. cit.*, p. 685. A close reading of the texts might show that both Guillén Robles and Simonet seem to have drawn extensively on the work of Pedro Luis Blanco just cited, but without closely verifying what he had to say.

¹⁴ Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁵ See de Andrés, *op. cit.*, p. 683, where he says that this collection gives in their entirety canons which other collections in Latin do no more than refer to. Its title in Arabic, *Jamī' Nawāmīs al-Kanīsa wa-l-Qānūn al-Muqaddas*, is revealing. See also Blanco, *op. cit.*, p. 97, where he describes this collection as "completa".

¹⁶ See Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 41, and de Andrés, *op. cit.*, p. 682.

¹⁷ For a detailed account of the fire of 1671 and the damage resulting from it, see Braulio Justel, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes*, Instituto Hispano-árabe de Cultura, Madrid, 1978, pp. 187-191, and Gregorio de Andrés, *Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, Madrid, 1970, pp. 15-16 and 39.

¹⁸ As quoted by de Andrés, *op. cit.*, p. 685. In fact de Andrés wonders why Carlos III never came round to ordering the publication of this work, and thinks that it was perhaps the unfavourable attitude of the Royal Librarian at the time, Francisco Pérez Bayer, which prevented publication. (*loc. cit.*)

¹⁹ "Casiri", says de Andrés, "trying to make known such a sensational manuscript, and hence to get it published, had obtained from Carlos III the permission to take the manuscript to his home in Madrid in 1751 where he worked over a number of years translating it into Latin" and preparing his Arabic copy of it. The manuscript remained in the National Library in Madrid after Casiri had used it, until its return to the Escorial in 1966. *Ibid.*, p. 682.

²⁰ See de Andrés, *op. cit.*, p. 685. It should be pointed out that the Escorial manuscript,

which is on parchment, has about two dozen folios at the beginning either totally blotted out or hardly legible. Damp has similarly affected various other sections of this massive codex, and made reading them a laborious task. In view of this, and in view of the excellent copies by Casiri and Hódar preserved at the National Library in Madrid, it could well be said that the Escorial's gain by the return of the original MS. in 1966 was not a measure of the National Library's loss. Casiri's copy is in the greater part of it a supreme model of Arabic calligraphy, and a delight to read.

²² This work (see full title and details in note 13 above) is now kept in the printed manuscripts section at the National Library in Madrid, under number 3905 MSS IMP.

²³ So called, according to Blanco, (p. X of the introduction), because they were composed in the reign of the Visigothic kings.

²⁴ p. 168.

²⁵ Full name, Manuel de Godoy y Álvarez de Faria (1767–1851).

²⁶ See *op. cit.*, p. 686. Although Godoy's name is associated with the foundation of various cultural institutions, he is pictured by most historians as primarily intent on self-aggrandisement. H. R. Madol called him "the first dictator of our time". It was Godoy apparently who used the title of *generalísimo* for the first time in Spain, and that as commander of the Spanish army in 1801. His meteoric rise to power and the favour he found at Court were apparently the result of a sensational scandal. See on this *Diccionario de historia de España*, edited by Germán Bleiberg, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1968, vol. II, pp. 213–218.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

²⁸ Among them the statesman and author Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos (1744–1811).

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 686–687.

³⁰ *Colección de canones de la Iglesia Española* (with translation into Spanish by D. Juan Tejada y Ramiro), Madrid, 1849, Introduction, pp. X–XI.

³¹ This work was first published in Madrid in 1903. But the preface points out that it was ready for publication in 1897, and that the author saw the first proofs of it before his death in that same year. In a footnote in his other well-known work, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mozárabes*, published in 1888, n. 2, p. XIV, Simonet speaks of this work as "que aun yace inédita". All references here are to the Amsterdam, Oriental Press reprint, 1967.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 728.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 720.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 724.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 726.

³⁶ Folio 333 recto in the Escorial MS; folio 227 in Casiri's copy. The date is in fact given as 1087 of *al-tarikh al sufri*, apparently the copyist's term for the *era española* which was widely used at the time. Cf. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, p. 836.

³⁷ Changing *Malik* to *Mālik* in the first hemistich, *kiṭābun li-'Abdi l-Māliki l-usqufi l-nadbi*, allows the poet to avoid substituting a *mafū'lu* foot, with a final short or open syllable, for *mafū'īlun*, a licence categorised as *qabīh* (jarring and crude) by all prosodists. Casiri, perhaps unaware of the poetic necessity, corrected the name in his copy to read *'Abd al-Malik*. The four verses in question heap encomiums on the bishop in a manner reminiscent of Arabic poetry in what has been termed by the Arabs *'uṣūr al-inḥiṣā'* (the period of decline). But it is the kind of fulsome praise characteristic of Arabic poetry at various stages, and which still occurs in what is being written today.

³⁸ Folios 279–280 of Casiri's copy, MS. 4877, and pp. 1225–1227 of Hódar's copy, MS. 4906, both at the National Library in Madrid, as already indicated. Casiri copied out each folio of the compact original into two folios of his own copy.

³⁹ Vincencio, Vicente and the Latin Vincentius have been suggested as the original name. At least four or five centuries before the *Aljamiado* texts, MS. 1623 is an excellent guide for linguists intent on discovering how the Romance letters were realised in Arabic at that early stage. Since Spanish *v* was invariably transcribed as *ب* in Arabic (e.g. *tavernas* transcribed in Ar. as *طبرن*), and as Spanish *c* was realised *ج* (e.g. *Barcelona* transcribed in Ar. as *برجلونه*), the surmise that *بنجشنش* is the Spanish Vincencio or the Latin Vincentius is

not a mere conjecture. The Spanish *s* is invariably realised as **ش** throughout this MS.

⁴⁰ Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 43, and Blanco, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁴¹ This tone of philosophical desperation is not unfamiliar in Arabic ascetic or *zuhd* poetry.

⁴² As quoted from his 'Idiculus lumenosus' by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, in *El idioma español en sus primeros tiempos*, 9th ed., Madrid, 1979, p. 32.

⁴³ *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ He states that he finished (copying) Book 8 on the first Sunday in Lent. As he had completed Book 7 on 17 October, 1049, this is most likely to be in Lent of the following year, 1050. See Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 724.

⁴⁵ This assertion can be made notwithstanding the fact that two of the four verses at the end of Book 8 are copied in a clumsy manner which obscures the sense and mars the metre.

⁴⁶ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 728, and *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mozárabes*, Madrid, 1888, Introduction, p. XIV.

⁴⁷ *Historia de los Mozárabes*, p. 738.

⁴⁸ Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 5.

⁴⁹ All folio references are to Casiri's copy, MS 4877 at the National Library in Madrid. As Casiri copied each folio of the compact original into two folios, no reference is made here to recto or verso. See n. 37 above.

⁵⁰ See Suras II, 154, V, 53, XXXIII, 33, XLVIII, 26 and XLIX, 6.

⁵¹ It is very rare indeed that Casiri is misguided by the compact script of the original MS., the deterioration it has suffered, and the many pitfalls it presents as a result, but this term appears as **بليدين** in his copy, which neither in this context nor otherwise would make sense.

⁵² (Casiri's Latin translation of Codex 1623), MS. 8986 (vol. II), National Library, Madrid, folio 9.

⁵³ *Mahārīb al-qirā* is one version used suggesting the locale of reading-desks or pulpits (cf. folio 154).

⁵⁴ A distinction is made between **اهل الشيعة** and **الخوارج**, the latter term applying to 'schismatics' (cf. folio 5).

⁵⁵ See, for example, the reference to *Khārijīyyat Āryūsh* or "The Arian heresy" (folio 279), with the final *s* in the name of Arius (of Alexandria) realised, as usual, as *sh* in Arabic.

⁵⁶ One can also compare with this *rūs al-ahilla* (folio 280) for what would normally be *ru'ūs al-ahilla*. For more detail on the dropping of the glottal stop in Spanish Arabic, see F. Corriente, *A Grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid (Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura), 1977, pp. 58-60.

⁵⁷ The reference to the *zajal*, apart from anything else, indicates that it was well known long before the time of Ibn Quzmān.

⁵⁸ See notes 30 and 45 above.

⁵⁹ *Glosario*, Introduction, p. XXXII.

⁶⁰ See, for example, the ode rhyming in *b* addressed by Al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī to Al-Nu'mān, King of Hira. While *sha'ath* has become obsolete, *muhaddhab* is still the everyday Arabic term for "refined", "well-bred".

⁶¹ I am indebted to Miss Alison Farrow, Head of Classics at St Martha's Senior School, Barnet, for her enlightening comments on the Latin terms examined here.

⁶² Hebrew *'atzeret*. My colleague, Dr L. H. Glinert, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, tells me that certain Spanish pronunciations of the Hebrew ' as *n* could account for the presence of the *n* in the Arabic term. See R. Nakhla, *Gharā'ib al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya*, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1959, p. 212.

⁶³ In a *muswashshah* by Al-A'mā al-Tuṣīlī (d. 1126). See E. García Gómez, *Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Madrid, 1965.

⁶⁴ *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, Barcelona, 1900, vol. I, p. 343.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁶⁶ *The Legacy of Islam* (ed. Sir Thomas Arnold and A. Guillaume), Oxford University Press, Reprint, 1960, p. 10.

⁶⁷ R. Briffault, after pointing out that "the domains of Provence remained an appanage of the Kingdom of Aragon until the annexation of Languedoc to France in 1229". See his work, *The*

Troubadours, translated by the author; ed. L. F. Koons, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1965, pp. 58–59. (French original, Paris, 1945).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 64–67.

MONGOL RAIDS INTO PALESTINE (A.D. 1260 AND 1300)*

By REUVEN AMITAI

The year 1260 marks the beginning of a sixty year conflict between the Mongols of Persia and the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria. Over this period several large-scale battles were fought in north and central Syria in the course of Mongol invasions of that country. In addition, throughout most of this period, a more or less continuous border war raged on both sides of the Euphrates River, in north Syria and south-west Anatolia. Twice the Mongols were successful in occupying most of Syria: in 658/1260 and 699/1299–1300. In both cases the Mongol conquest lasted for only a few months, but in each instance this was more than enough time to launch raids into what was then south-west Syria, also variously known as the Holy Land, Palestine and the Land of Israel. In the absence of any other central authority over the majority of this territory, it can be said that in a sense Palestine twice also enjoyed the “benefits,” again temporary, of Mongol occupation.

I

Mongol forces had been present in the eastern Islamic world since Chingiz Khān's invasion of Transoxania and Persia (A.D. 1219–1221); by 1242 these had even reached as far as eastern Anatolia and two years later raided northern Syria. These forces, however, were of a relatively small size and the Ayyūbid princes of Egypt and Syria rarely concerned themselves with this new danger from the east.¹ The situation changed dramatically in the second half of the 1250's, when Hülegü Khān, having been entrusted with an enormous army by his brother, the Great Khān Möngke, set out to expand the territory under Mongol rule in south-west Asia. After the elimination of the Ismā'īlis of northern Persia, the conquest of Baghdad, the killing of the Caliph Musta'sim and the occupation of al-Jazīra (the northern Iraq of today), by the beginning of 658/1260, Hülegü was ready to move on to Syria.²

Hülegü attacked Aleppo on 2 Šafar 658/18 January 1260. The city was conquered in a week and this was followed by a large-scale massacre. The citadel, however, withstood another month of siege before capitulating.³ Hülegü himself remained near Aleppo with the majority of his army, but not for long. News soon reached him of the death of Möngke (August 1259) and the emerging struggle over succession between two other brothers. Hülegü thereupon moved east with most of the army, in order to be in a better position to wait upon developments, and eventually set up camp in Ādharbāyjan.⁴ No exact date for his movement away from Aleppo is known, but he passed Akhlāṭ near Lake Van on 26 Jumādā II/7 June 1260.⁵

At some point after the taking of Aleppo, but before the fall of the citadel, Hülegü sent ahead an advance force under his general Kitbuqa (Kitbughā in the Arabic sources) to take possession of Damascus. Kitbuqa reached the city at the end of

Şafar/middle of February 1260,⁶ encountering no opposition, because the Ayyūbid Sultan of most of Syria, al-Malik al-Nāşir Yūsuf, who had been camped with his army near Damascus, had simply panicked upon hearing of the speedy Mongol conquest of Aleppo and had fled with his troops towards Gaza on 15 Şafar/31 January. On his way south, al-Nāşir stopped at Nablus for several days and left there a contingent, presumably to act as a rearguard.⁷

Kitbuqa had no problem gaining control of Damascus, since the notables of the city wisely made no attempt to resist and had already sent their submission to Hülegü. Kitbuqa himself soon left Damascus and began the task of subjugating the neighbouring areas.⁸ He only returned to the city when later a rebellion broke out in the city's citadel (see below). Early on, and perhaps even before entering Damascus, Kitbuqa had dispatched southward a contingent under the command of Ḥusām al-Dīn Kushlūkhān.⁹ Most likely, Kushlūkhān's mission was to reconnoitre, to loot and to strike terror into the hearts of the local population, thus defusing any incipient desire to resist on their part.¹⁰

Abū Shāma (d. 665/1267), a Damascene jurist and writer who remained in this city during the Mongol occupation, left the most detailed contemporary report of the raid into Palestine. It is evident that most of the accounts of subsequent Mamlūk writers are based on this passage:

In the month of Rabi' II (March-April) the Mongol forces returned to Damascus. They had previously passed by Damascus and afterwards wreaked havoc in the regions of Hawrān and the country of Nablus and its surroundings. It is said that their raids reached as far as the regions of Gaza, Bayt Jubrīl (= Jubrīn), Hebron, al-Şalt, Birkat al-Zayzā¹¹ and Mawjib al-Karak¹² and its environs. As is customary with them, they killed the men and captured the children and women. They brought back a large amount of prisoners and loot, that included cows, sheep and plunder, and they arrived in Damascus with this.¹³

At least some of these Mongol forces, under the direct command of Kushlūkhān himself, arrived at Nablus, either in Rabi' I or early in Rabi' II, and encountered the rear guard left by al-Nāşir Yūsuf. Fighting ensued in the olive groves near the city and the Ayyūbid force was completely defeated. Most of its soldiers were killed, including the commander, whose bravery is singled out by a number of Arabic writers.¹⁴

Suprisingly enough, neither Abū Shāma nor his contemporary fellow townsman, the Christian writer Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 672/1273), have anything to say about a possible Mongol incursion against Jerusalem. Yet such an attack would seem likely, seeing that the City had no walls to speak of,¹⁵ and the Mongols must have passed near it on their way to or from Hebron. In fact, two other contemporary sources attesting to a Mongol attack have been identified by Professor B. Z. Kedar in a recent article.¹⁶ In addition, a third contemporary writer has been found who explicitly mentions the Mongols in Jerusalem at this time. For the sake of completeness, all three accounts will be briefly mentioned.

The first is by Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (d. 684/1285), known for his biography of Baybars. In his topographical work *al-Aṭāq al-khaṭīra* he writes: "When the Mongols gained control over the country (i.e. all of *al-shām*, Syria), they entered [Jerusalem]¹⁷ and killed people (*nuwaysan*). It remained in their hands until al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [Qutuz] defeated them at 'Ayn Jālūt."¹⁸ The fact that Jerusalem "remained in their hands" does not necessarily mean that the Mongols actually stayed in the City, but probably that after their raid there was no other authority in the area to claim it for itself.

The second source is a letter written in Hebrew in 1267 by Nachmanides (d. 1270), who is popularly credited with re-establishing the Jewish community in Jerusalem. He writes: "... There are nearly 2000 [people] living in [Jerusalem] and among them there are some 300 Christians, refugees from the sword of the sultan, and the [People of] Israel are not among them, because since the Mongols (*tatarim*) came they fled from there, and there were those killed by their sword . . . and they have begun to rehabilitate [the community] and have sent to Nablus to bring from there the Torah scrolls which were smuggled there from Jerusalem when the Mongols came."¹⁹

The third piece of evidence is by Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298), then living and working in Egypt. He states: "As for the Mongols who went to Nablus and did what they did, they reached as far as Gaza. They entered Jerusalem and enslaved and looted."²⁰ There is little doubt, then, that the Mongols included Jerusalem in the itinerary of this raid into Palestine. Why such a "news-worthy" event, at least from a religious point of view, went unreported by Abū Shāma and Ibn al-'Amīd remains an unanswered question.

Various pieces of information about the activities of the Mongols in Transjordan and the periphery of Palestine are scattered in the sources. As previously mentioned, Abū Shāma lists the attacks on al-Ṣalt, Mawjib al-Karak and Birkat al-Zayzā. It was in the last named location that a later, separate contingent of Mongols finally caught up with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, who had been wandering around the desert.²¹ No dates are given, but it appears that this would have taken place after the suppression of the revolt in the citadel of Damascus on 15 Jumādā I/28 April, since according to Ibn al-Furāt, Kitbuqa was besieging 'Ajlūn at the time, where he evidently went after regaining control of the Damascus citadel and subsequently taking Ba'labakk.²² The Mongols treated this prince (for the time being) honourably, and at their request he ordered the castles of 'Ajlūn and Ṣubayba to surrender.²³ In Jumādā II/May-June information reached Damascus that the Mongols had destroyed the fortifications of al-Ṣalt, 'Ajlūn, Ṣarkhad, Buṣrā and Ṣubayba. In addition, the Mongol forces fell upon the bedouin of the Transjordan area, taking plunder and capturing many people.²⁴

It is unclear whether the Mongols actually attacked the town of Karak itself. On the one hand, Ibn Wāṣil states that the Mongols "entered Balqā' and Karak, killing, looting and enslaving in such numbers that they cannot be counted."²⁵ On the other hand, Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326) says that the Ayyūbid ruler of Karak, al-Malik al-Mughith, submitted to the Mongols when called to do so by one of their envoys. However,

according to this author, this was only a ploy to keep the Mongol danger away from the town, upon which no attack is mentioned.²⁶ Perhaps it is possible to reconcile these two accounts. The Mongols may not have raided the city of Karak proper, but only the surrounding territory (e.g. Birkat al-Zayzā and Mawjib al-Karak). This would have been enough to dispel any doubts on al-Mughīth's part about the wisdom of submitting to what then seemed to be Syria's new long-term rulers. In any event, there is evidence that a Mongol governor was appointed for Karak, although apparently he never reached his new charge, because the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt intervened before his arrival.²⁷

As for Palestine proper, the Mongols conducted at least two more operations in the country. Firstly, there is the report that "Kitbughā went with those with him to Ṣafad, which belongs to the Franks. They sent down supplies and built a gigantic tent for Kitbughā."²⁸ This short excursion of Kitbuqa probably took place during his stay at nearby 'Ajlūn, as mentioned above. Ibn Waṣīl describes what may well have been a different aspect of the same operation: the Mongols, having taken Ba'labakk and destroyed its citadel (this was all after the suppression of the rebellion in Damascus), then went to Ṣubayba and took it (with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's assistance). They installed there the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Sa'id, who had earlier thrown in his lot with the Mongols.²⁹ Thereupon, and this is the second operation, "they turned towards (*qaṣadat ilā*) the Franks on the coast. A group of them went towards Gaza in order to prevent any assistance to the Franks from Egypt. They embarked upon destroying the Islamic fortresses and razing them."³⁰ The Persian author Rashīd al-Dīn, writing a semi-official history of the Mongols half a century later, refers to this force in Gaza as an advance guard (*yazak*) and places it under the command of one Baydar,³¹ a personality also found in various capacities in the Mamlūk sources.³² Later, in Ramaḍān/August 1260, this force was encountered by the future Sultan Baybars, leading the van of the Mamlūk army on its way into Syria. As soon as contact was made, the Mongols withdrew, probably because they were vastly outnumbered.³³

It has recently been suggested that Kitbuqa may have been planning an invasion of Egypt and that Baydar's force in Gaza was the advance contingent of such an operation.³⁴ This hypothesis is based on two contemporary accounts: the Armenian Constable Smpad (d. A.D. 1276), brother of King Het'um I (rendered in European languages Hayton or Hethoum) of Cilician (Lesser) Armenia,³⁵ and Ṣārim al-Dīn Ōzbeḡ (in Arabic Uzbek, d. ?), mamlūk of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf, prince of Ḥimṣ.³⁶ This evidence, however, is problematic, and when it is taken together with other reports, alternative explanations are possible.

First of all, these accounts do not say exactly the same thing.³⁷ Smpad reports how Kitbuqa decided to attack Egypt of his own volition, while Ōzbeḡ says this invasion was ordered by Hülegü himself. Leaving aside momentarily the former evidence, the latter is found to be questionable on a number of grounds. Our suspicions are first aroused by Ōzbeḡ's attributing to himself great importance in the events which he describes: he meets Hülegü on several occasions, his advice is sought and accepted by

the Khān and he is also sent by him to retrieve his Ayyūbid patron, al-Ashraf. It is not to Özbek's credit that his version of the last mentioned incident is contradicted by other contemporary accounts, which state categorically that before Kitbuqa had even arrived in Damascus, al-Ashraf had gone to Aleppo to make his submission before Hülegü.³⁸ The veracity of Özbek's description of the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt, which includes an account of how al-Ashraf and his followers deserted to the Mamlūks during the battle, also cannot be accepted without reservations, as has been done by some scholars.³⁹ Not only are the events therein related unsubstantiated by any other source, but they are even belied by another contemporary writer.⁴⁰ While this does not mean that Özbek's account of the battle must be rejected out of hand, in the light of the above difficulties it should not be accepted without question. The final verdict should be that much of Özbek's account is doubtful at best and at worst is imaginary, deliberately invented to explain away his and al-Ashraf's embarrassing cooperation with the Mongols and to magnify his own significance. Within this context, the information on Hülegü's order to Kitbuqa must remain doubtful. It is true that his claim is substantiated by one other author, Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), but this author has obviously been influenced directly by Özbek, whom he has quoted *in extenso* (thus preserving Özbek's report).⁴¹

Two other sources, albeit later than Özbek, contradict him on this point. The first, Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) presents a semi-official Mongol version of these events, and being privy to the Mongol inner circle and the records of their state has a certain claim to veracity, although given the tendentiousness of his work, it must be used with caution. He writes that "[Hülegü] left Kitbuqa Noyan⁴² in [Syria] to guard [it], and he returned from Aleppo."⁴³ Rashīd al-Dīn is seconded by his contemporary, the Mamlūk historian, Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 726/1325), who says that "Hülegü [MS. Hūlākū] sent Kitbughā with 12,000 horsemen and ordered him to remain in Syria and to guard it."⁴⁴

Finally, we have Hülegü's words on the subject, contained in the 1262 letter from him to King Louis IX of France, in which he gives a somewhat selective account of the events leading up to and including 'Ayn Jālūt. Without mentioning Kitbuqa by name, he does say that when he withdrew from Syria, he did leave "behind a few of our men in these localities to destroy certain remaining fortresses of the Assassins."⁴⁵ There is no mention of an impending invasion of Egypt here. Taken altogether, Özbek's account of Hülegü's orders to Kitbuqa to invade Egypt can be rejected with a good deal of confidence and instead it seems likely that Hülegü ordered Kitbuqa to remain where he was to guard the newly conquered territory, and to consolidate Mongol authority there, probably until such time as when Hülegü himself would return with the mass of the Mongol army.

This leaves us with the first piece of evidence, that of the Constable Smpad. The question of its veracity is not easily resolved because of the contradictory nature of the information found in other sources. However, a careful balancing of this evidence leads to the rejection, although not unequivocally so, of Smpad's account.

This writer states that Kitbuqa wilfully disregarded Hülegü's orders, "gathered his soldiers . . . and advanced against Egypt."⁴⁶ The Egyptians, alerted by their spies, seized the initiative and defeated him (at 'Ayn Jālūt). In Smpad's favour is firstly a statement by Baybars al-Manṣūrī, who wrote that "Hülegü sent Kitbughā with 12,000 horsemen, and he passed on, heading for Egypt."⁴⁷ More supporting evidence is provided by Ibn al-Furāt, who in his chronicle collects an enormous amount of material, some of which would have otherwise been lost.⁴⁸ Without naming his source, this writer relates how the Egyptian amirs, at least, expected a Mongol invasion of their country. For them the question was whether to wait for the invasion or to launch a pre-emptive strike into Syria.⁴⁹ Elsewhere, this author writes that the Mongol army (under Kitbuqa) was absent from Hülegü for six months and "they advanced towards Egypt" (*qaṣadū al-diyār al-miṣriyya*).⁵⁰

However, for better or worse, alternative evidence exists which must be reconciled with the above. Firstly, Ibn al-Furāt describes the state of Kitbuqa's forces when he received word of Quṭuz's advance into the country: they were scattered throughout Syria and had to be hastily gathered.⁵¹ This is surely not the state of an army on the verge of an attack. Secondly, it is related how Kitbuqa, camped in the Biqā' valley, consulted with various notables on the course of action to take, i.e. whether to meet the Egyptian army head on or to retreat before them until reinforcements from Hülegü could arrive.⁵² This indecision does not create the impression of a commander bent on invading Egypt, admittedly a risky undertaking. In fact, it is the military illogicality of such a campaign which remains the strongest objection to Smpad's account. Having a relatively small army at his disposal (see below), with which he was supposed to garrison all of Syria and to keep an eye on the Franks on the coast, (and possibly to subjugate the Syrian Ismā'īlīs) it makes little sense that he would have attempted to march on Egypt, especially in the middle of summer, when after passing through the Sinai he would have had to face a large Egyptian army, near its base, awaiting him. Quṭuz was confronted with these same problems in reverse but he was more desperate, and he could at least look forward to the grasslands of the Syrian coast, along with the welcome and assistance of the indigenous Muslim population, plus probably the tacit support of the Franks at Acre.⁵³

In the light of this contrary circumstantial evidence, it seems that the reports of Smpad and the two Arabic writers can not be taken literally. This does not mean, however, that they must be rejected altogether. Firstly, it is conceivable that some or even all these sources "refer simply to the Mongol operation in the vicinity of Gaza."⁵⁴ A second explanation is even more possible: these authors actually understood the movement of Mongol troops southward to confront the invading Mamlūk army as the beginning of a campaign to invade Egypt. The origin of such a mistake is in the fact that every movement southward from Damascus, even a slight one, is in the direction of Egypt. Perhaps it is thus possible to understand Rashīd al-Dīn's title for his chapter on 'Ayn Jālūt: "The Setting-off of Kītbūqā Noyan towards Egypt

(*ba-jānib-i miṣr*) and the Battle with its (i.e. Egypt's) army."⁵⁵ As for Smpad's account in particular, it would appear that his interpretation was not completely innocent, but rather was an attempt to explain away a disconcerting Mongol defeat in which Armenian troops participated. The implication is that if only Kitbuqa had followed orders, then victory would have been his at 'Ayn Jālūt. It would follow then that Baydar's mission at Gaza, the original impetus for this somewhat discursive discussion, was purely defensive, i.e. to keep an eye on developments in Egypt and to prevent any surprise moves into Syria.

Apparently the Mongol forces which raided Palestine were small in number, because Kitbuqa's corps from which they were drawn was not particularly large. On several occasions during Hülegü's campaign through Iran, Kitbuqa had been sent ahead with the van.⁵⁶ It seems that in his movement towards Damascus he was fulfilling the same function. Various figures for the number of troops he commanded are offered:⁵⁷ 10,000,⁵⁸ 12,000,⁵⁹ 20,000,⁶⁰ 30,000.⁶¹ For our purposes the exact numbers are not what is important,⁶² but rather that the force from whence came the raiders was not a large one. It can be assumed that most of the army stayed with Kitbuqa in the general area around Damascus or later in the Biqā' valley.⁶³ Certainly these numbers, even the largest of them, strengthen the assertion that Kitbuqa's mission was to guard the conquered areas until Hülegü's return, and not to indulge in dangerous attempts to conquer Egypt.

The Mongol "conquest" of Palestine can thus be defined as a transitory raid, or rather raids. At least three separate operations can be discerned, and there may have been more about which we have no knowledge, or the information about them having been perhaps conflated by Abū Shāma and others into one account. The purpose of the raids was to spread panic among the local population, to satisfy the desire for loot of the Mongol soldiers, to act as an advance guard to the main body of Kitbuqa's army (which in turn was the advance guard of Hülegü's army) and to collect intelligence.⁶⁴ The extent of Mongol control is directly connected to the disappearance of any other central authority in the area, with the exception of the area controlled by the Franks on the coast. Thus it is possible to understand Abū 'l-Fidā's (d. 732/1331) statement: "The Mongols gained control of Damascus and the rest of Syria up to Gaza. Their governors (*shahāyin*) were established for this country."⁶⁵ The Mongols penetrated Palestine, raided and withdrew. But because there was no other authoritative element in the area, it is possible to say that the Mongols were the only rulers of Palestine, again with the exception of the Frankish coast, until the arrival of the Mamlūks in August–September of 1260. As for the information on the governors, it would seem that Abū 'l-Fidā intended to imply that they were appointed for the major cities of Muslim Syria, i.e. Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ. He is probably not referring to the towns of Palestine proper, as there is no information on a Mongol administration in this territory as there is on the above mentioned cities (with the exception of Ṣubayba in the north, which was given to their client, al-Sa'id). Essentially, during these months, it seems that there was no central authority in Palestine.⁶⁶

II

The Mamlūks, under the leadership of Sultan Qutuz and the amir Baybars, wisely exploited the withdrawal of the majority of Mongol forces from Syria and set off to attack Kitbuqa's small army. This campaign ended in the total Mamlūk victory at 'Ayn Jalūt on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260.⁶⁷ The Mongol presence in Syria came to an end and the Mamlūks gained control of the entire country up to the Euphrates. This also was the beginning of a long-lasting and bitter struggle between the Mamlūks and the Mongols of Iran under Hülegü and his descendants, the Ilkhānids. In the entire sixty year length of this conflict the Mongols only once succeeded in defeating the Mamlūks in a major battle and again occupying Syria. This was on 28 Rabi' I, 699/23 December 1299, when the Īl-Khān Ghazan, great-grandson of Hülegü, led a large army, joined by Armenian and Georgian contingents, to victory at Wādī al-Khāzindār near Hims. Officially, the Mamlūks were commanded by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn. In reality, he was a mere boy king and was under the control of the senior amirs. After its defeat, the Mamlūk army broke up into little groups, each attempting to make its way back to Egypt as best as it could. A corollary of this rout was the abandonment of central Syria and Palestine to the Mongols.⁶⁸

There is a disagreement among the sources over whether the Mongols immediately pursued the fleeing Mamlūks into central Syria and Palestine. Certain writers, beginning with Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), tell how Ghazan failed to order a pursuit because of his fears that the Mamlūk retreat was a stratagem to draw the Mongols into an ambush.⁶⁹ In addition, among the stories (perhaps rumours would be a better word) current in Damascus in the days after the battle was one to the effect that the Mongols had not pursued the retreating troops.⁷⁰ Ibn al-Dawādārī, a slightly later contemporary of these events, indirectly strengthens this supposition, when he describes how the retreating Mamlūk soldiers suffered at the hands of the local bedouin and Druze; there is, however, no mention of Mongol pursuit, which we would have expected had it happened.⁷¹ On the other hand, several Mamlūk writers, including contemporaries, contradict these reports and state unequivocally that Mamlūk soldiers were pursued.⁷² It seems, however, that there is a greater likelihood that the Mamlūks were not chased immediately, because had it occurred, the results would probably have been most devastating and it would have been unlikely that the Mamlūks would have launched a second campaign to Syria within several months. Certainly had this been the case, we would expect to hear about it in more than a handful of chronicles, who report it in a cursory fashion. Perhaps the references to Mongol pursuit do not imply a massive, immediate chase, but rather, only describe it in a general sense, meaning that at some point the Mongol raiders set off on the tracks of the routed Mamlūks. And if an immediate pursuit into central Syria and Palestine did take place, it must have been on a small-scale or executed in a desultory fashion. If there was a later, small-scale or lackadaisical pursuit, the Mongols must have caught up with and annihilated some

Mamlūk stragglers: hence the above report in Dhahabī and others. The failure to pursue the Mamlūks in a serious way was a missed opportunity; had it happened, the Mongol victory at Wādī al-Khāzindār might well have been a decisive one.

At some unknown place and time Ghazan ordered one of his senior officers, Mūlāy, who in some sources is called Būlāy,⁷³ to lead a raid through Palestine. Ghazan himself, with the lion's share of the army, moved on to Damascus, taking up position near the city.⁷⁴ Keeping in mind the above reservation about the nature of the Mongol pursuit of the Mamlūks, we turn to the first account of this raid into Palestine, by Kutubī (764/1363), who writes:

Ghazan had sent after the Egyptian and Syrian armies that had been defeated at the battle of Wādī al-Khazandār [*sic*] an officer named Būlāy, and with him 10,000 horsemen. They caught up with some of the Muslim [soldiers] and [civilian] refugees. They looted property and [took] booty and prisoners, in such amounts that only God could count it. With his army he fell upon the region of Gaza, the Jordan River Valley (*al-aghwār*) and Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*)⁷⁵ . . . Būlāy came [to Damascus], and with him his army, from the Jordan River Valley, Gaza, Ramla and Jerusalem (*al-quds*). With him was an extremely large number of prisoners.⁷⁶

The second source for the activities of the Mongols during their raid into Palestine is Baybars al-Manṣūrī, who at the time of these events was a senior Mamlūk amir and later was to write two important historical works. His account is the main source for several contemporary and later Mamlūk writers. Baybars' account is especially credible because in the aftermath of Wādī al-Khāzindār he had been dispatched with 200 horsemen to Sālīhiyya, some 120 km north-east of Cairo. His mission, according to his own words, was to be an advance guard against possible Mongol forays into Egypt, to send scouts (*kassāfa*) to discover the whereabouts of the Mongols and also to dispatch agents (*quṣṣād*) to the commanders of yet unconquered castles in Syria, so as to strengthen their resolve.⁷⁷ On the Mongols' deeds he writes:

Ghazan sent from his army 20,000 soldiers⁷⁸ with Mūlāy, Esenbuqa (?), Hujaq and Hülechü.⁷⁹ They fell upon the Jordan River Valley (*al-aghwār*) and Baysān. They wreaked havoc and raided that country. They looted what they found of livestock, supplies and equipment and they killed whoever fell into their hands. Their raids reached Jerusalem and Hebron, and they got as far as Gaza, where they killed in its mosque five Muslims⁸⁰ who were cut off in it.⁸¹

Elsewhere, Baybars al-Manṣūrī writes that these raids lasted only a short while, i.e. Mūlāy's stay in Palestine was cut short by his return to Damascus (see below).⁸²

This passage is quoted, not very literally, by the Egyptian Christian writer Ibn Abī'l-Faḍā'il (wrote ca. 758/1359–60), who mentions Baybars al-Manṣūrī as his source. This author adds, without telling us that this is not in the original, that the Mongols also raided Ṣafad, and when they reached Jerusalem, they "killed both Muslims and Christians, drank wine on al-Haram al-Sharīf (the Temple Mount) and took young

women and children [as captives]. They did despicable deeds, destroyed, killed, looted and captured children and women."⁸³

An interesting addendum to this last account is the report of the crossing over of a group of Jerusalemites (*al-maḡādisa*) into Mongol territory in an attempt to retrieve their family members from Mongol captivity, taken it would seem during Mūlāy's raid. Unfortunately for this group, it encountered a party of Mongol soldiers in Diyār Bakr and all were killed.⁸⁴

Information about this raid is also found in non-Mamlūk sources. The Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn, whose primary occupation was acting as Ghazan's wazīr and in this capacity was present in Damascus during the Mongol occupation, briefly relates that the amir Mūlāy returned to Damascus after chasing the defeated (Mamlūk) troops to Gaza.⁸⁵ Perhaps Rashīd al-Dīn's laconic comments resulted from his unease at the Mongol raid on Jerusalem and the cruelty towards the local population. Or perhaps the Mongols did not attach too much importance to this expedition. Rashīd al-Dīn's contemporary, the Persian Waṣṣāf, is even more terse and somewhat misleading: Mūlāy was sent with a *tūmen* (theoretically 10,000 troops) to Gaza to govern the country.⁸⁶ There is an echo of this raid in a Hebrew letter by Rabbi Nisim ben Moshe of Marseilles, which has recently been re-published and analyzed anew: "You will not believe that which is told to you about what I heard and what was related to me about a Mongol army (*ḥayl hatatar*) coming to Jerusalem."⁸⁷

There are also two Armenian writers who describe this raid, which is not surprising, since the King of Little Armenia, Het'um II, himself participated in the battle at the head of the Armenian contingent.⁸⁸ The first of these writers is the king's namesake and relative, the historian Het'um, who was also present in Syria during this campaign, which he mistakenly wrote took place in A.D. 1301. According to him, after the victory of Hims (i.e. Wādī al-Khāzindār), Ghazan himself pursued the defeated Saracens for a short while. He then sent the King of Armenia and Mūlāy with some 40,000 Mongols with orders to follow the Sultan to the desert of Egypt and to bring under his command the country up to Gaza. They set off, killing all the Saracens they could lay their hands on. After three days, however, Ghazan called back Het'um, ordering Mūlāy to continue on with his troops. This general was unable to catch up with the Sultan, who was accompanied by bedouin on swift horses. Eventually Mūlāy returned north from Gaza via Jerusalem and the Jordan valley.⁸⁹

While this report differs from the various Mamlūk accounts in several respects, some of them important, there is a rough agreement between them. The discrepancies can be attributed to their different perspectives, along with some exaggeration on the historian Het'um's part about the role of the Armenian king and the number of soldiers involved. A less charitable attitude can be taken towards the other Armenian source, written by the anonymous continuator of Constable Smpad's work. His account is full of exaggerations and inaccuracies, the first of which is the year given for the campaign (751 of the Armenian calendar, which equals 5 Jan. 1302–4 Jan. 1303). This unknown writer does not even mention Mūlāy or the Mongols in the raid into

Palestine. In their stead only King Het'um of Armenia is found: after the victory at Hims, the king rushed forward to pursue the fleeing sultan. He was joined by 4000 of his troops. After eleven days of hard riding, Het'um arrived at a location near Cairo called Doli (which I cannot identify). Throughout the pursuit, the sultan was but 10–12 miles ahead of the king. The latter soon withdrew from Doli because he was afraid of being captured. On his return, Het'um entered Jerusalem and gathered all the Christians from the city who had hitherto hidden in caves. During the 15 days he spent in Jerusalem, Het'um performed magnificent Christian ceremonies and also received a patent from Ghazan granting him the city and its surroundings. Afterwards, Het'um left Jerusalem and rejoined Ghazan in Damascus, spending the rest of the winter with him.⁹⁰

Even the editor of this work, Édouard Dulaurier, unequivocally denies the veracity of this account and writes that the author's purpose was to glorify King Het'um.⁹¹ There is little resemblance between the facts described here and the Mamlūk works or even the account of the historian Het'um, who certainly cannot be accused of lacking a desire to euologize the Armenian king. It is quite improbable that the Mamlūk writers would have missed an opportunity to attack Ghazan for such a despicable action, i.e. abandoning Muslim territory, especially Jerusalem, to Christian depredations. Ghazan, as may be remembered, had converted to Islam several years previously and presented himself as the defender of the Muslims. In contrast with this silence, the Mamlūk authors go to great lengths to tell us of the important role played by the Armenians in the despoiling of the environs of Damascus during the Mongol occupation.⁹²

The only reference in the Mamlūk sources that might possibly be taken as a confirmation of the entrance of the Armenian king into Jerusalem is a passage from a letter written in the name of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Ghazan in 701/1301, in which it is said: "You came against the Lands of Islam with an army composed of groups professing different religions. Worshippers of the Cross trod on pure places and they defiled the holiness of Jerusalem, which is second [in importance] to the house of Allah [in Mecca] and its brother, the Mosque of the Prophet of Allah [in Medina]. . ."⁹³ This sentence appears in only one of the two versions of this letter, and speaks only of Christians in general and neither of Armenians nor their king. In any event, this accusation can be seen as an example of the exaggeration and flexible use of the truth that were an integral part of the polemical correspondence between the Mamlūk Sultans and the Īlkhāns and other examples are found in the letter itself.⁹⁴

It is interesting to compare the account by the Continuator of Smpad with the anonymous Georgian chronicle translated by M. Brosset.⁹⁵ After giving an account of the Mongol victory at Wādī al-Khāzindār, in which the courageous role of the Georgian King Wakhtang III is praised, as is to be expected, the Chronicler then writes: "The Egyptians took to flight with their Sultan 'Nasir-Melik'; Qazan stopped the pursuit and reached a small body of the enemy, which he exterminated. The Mongols, who had dispersed to take captives, reached as far as the Holy City of

Jerusalem, where many Christians and above all Persians [i.e. Muslims] were massacred." It does not come as a surprise that the Armenians are not mentioned at all. After all, both Armenian sources cited above offer no hint that the Georgians participated in the battle on their side. What is especially telling is that the Georgian Chronicle supports Ibn Abī l-Faḍā'il's account of the Mongol depredations against Jerusalem. The Continuator of Smpad chose not only to ignore the suffering of the Christian population of Jerusalem, but in its place paints an idyllic picture of Christian well-being under the aegis of King Het'um. Finally, in passing it may be noticed that this account also coincides roughly with the above suggested resolution of the contradictory evidence regarding the Mongol pursuit of the defeated Mamlūks.

It seems most likely then that the Mongols raided Palestine by themselves in 699/1299–1300. The Mongol forces rode as far as Gaza, looting and killing as they went, and they entered several towns, including Jerusalem. In the end, all the raiders returned to the Damascus area, according to the Mamlūk sources by the end of Jumādā II/middle of March 1300.⁹⁶ Upon their return they found that Ghazan and the majority of his army had already set off for their country, apparently in the aftermath of reports of an invasion into Īlkhānid territory from Central Asia, although other explanations have been offered.⁹⁷ After a few days Mūlāy also left Damascus and crossed the Euphrates. Soon the Mamlūk army returned to Syria, bringing it back into their kingdom. The Mongols were never again to succeed in conquering Syria.

III

As a summary, the raids of 1260 and 1300 may be compared. Both of them were executed by a relatively small part of the Mongol army, most of which remained further north, although it would seem that the numbers in the latter raid were somewhat larger than those of the first. In both cases the Mongol forces did not meet any serious opposition, except for the incident at Nablus in 1260, and they covered approximately the same extent of territory, i.e. up to Gaza. The raiders had a free hand to loot, kill and destroy, while keeping an eye on the enemy army in Egypt. It seems that at this point the Mongols had no intention of integrating Palestine into the Mongol administrative system and on both occasions the extent of Mongol control over the country was quite loose.⁹⁸ There remain, however, several differences between these two raids. First of all, in 1300, it seems that a number of fortified points throughout Syria, and possibly also in Palestine, were not subjugated during the Mongol occupation. Secondly, there is no record of Mongol raids in this latter instance into Transjordan. Thirdly, again in 1300, the Mongols no longer had a Frankish presence on the coast about which to worry, and if anything, their attitudes towards the Western Christians had changed and they would have been quite happy if some Frankish knights had been in the area.⁹⁹ Fourthly, only in 1260 did the Mongols leave forces in the country, at Gaza, to act as an advance guard. Finally, and most important perhaps, in 1260 Palestine was the battleground between the nascent

Mamlūk Sultanate and the apparently ever expanding Mongol empire. As long as relatively large Mongol forces remained in central Syria, the likelihood was that the front line would fall somewhere in Palestine. In 1300 the country was again a candidate to be the battlefield between these mortal enemies. But this time the raiders withdrew from the country after wreaking havoc and the Mongol army retreated from Damascus in stages before the Mamlūk army even left Egypt. The Mamlūks re-established their control over Syria, including Palestine, without a battle. Palestine changed from a potential battlefield to part of the hinterland. Its inhabitants lived far from the threats from the east, defended on one hand by the province of Syria and on the other by the military might of Egypt. Only at the beginning of the XVth century was this situation disturbed when the armies of Tamerlane invaded Syria and the threat to Palestine was renewed.

NOTES

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In this paper, the name "Syria" refers to geographical Syria, i.e. the western Fertile Crescent. South Syria indicates Palestine and Trans-Jordan, central Syria the area delineated roughly by Damascus and Ḥims, and northern Syria the area north of Ḥims.

¹ For the Mongol activities in the pre-Hülegü period and their relations with the Ayyūbids, see: J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and political history of the Īl-khāns," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, V, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 303–40. On the Mongol threat to the Ayyūbids before Hülegü, see: R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyūbids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, 1977), index, s.v. "Mongols," esp. pp. 333–5; cf. H. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Ägypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1958), pp. 106–7, 182–3.

² Boyle, pp. 340–50.

³ For these events, see Abū Shāma, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa'l-sābi al-ma'rūf bi-dhayl al-rawḍatayn*, ed. M. Kawtharī (Cairo, 1947), p. 203; Ibn al-'Amīd, *Kiṭāb al-majmū' al-mubārak*, in "La Chronique des Ayyoubides," ed. Cl. Cahen, *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* (Damascus), 15 (1955–7), pp. 171–2 (cf. for different dates); Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, MS. Bib. Nat. (Paris) ar. 1703, fol. 149a–150a; Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir'at al-zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61) I, p. 349; Abū'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ta'rikh al-bashar* (Istanbul, 1286/1869–70), III, pp. 209–11; Ibn al-Furāt, *Kiṭāb al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, MS. Vatican ar. 726, fols. 226b–227a, 231a (cf. for different dates); Maqrīzī, *Kiṭāb al-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, I, ed. M. M. Ziyāda (Cairo, 1934–9), pp. 422–3. For a view from the Mongol side, see Rashid al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, III, ed. A. 'Alizādah (Baku, 1957), pp. 67–9; cf. *idem*, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. E. Quatremère (Paris, 1836), pp. 326–38.

⁴ For Hülegü's withdrawal from Aleppo and the underlying reasons, see P. Jackson, "The dissolution of the Mongol Empire," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 22 (1978), p. 320; D. O. Morgan, "The Mongols in Syria, 1260–1300," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), p. 232.

⁵ Rashid al-Dīn, ed. 'Alizādah, p. 70; ed. Quatremère, p. 340.

⁶ Abū Shāma, pp. 203–4; Ibn al-'Amīd, p. 173; Ibn Wāsil, fol. 151b; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (rpt. Beirut, 1977), XIII, p. 219; Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 234b–235a; Maqrīzī, I, p. 424; Ibn Taghri Birdī, *al-Manhal al-sāfi*, MS. Bib. Nat. ar. 2072, fol. 40a–b; Rashid al-Dīn, ed.

'Alizādah, p. 70; *ibid.*, ed. Quatremère, p. 338. There is some confusion about the date of Kitbuqa's arrival. Maqrīzī states that he came on 16 Rabī' I/1 March along with *nuwwāb* (representatives) of Hülegü; see also Humphreys, p. 353. However, Abū Shāma (p. 203) and Ibn al-Furāt (fol. 234a), write that on 17 Rabī' I only *nuwwāb* of Hülegü arrived. There is no mention of Kitbuqa at this time. This is a clear example of how Maqrīzī's abridgements of Ibn al-Furāt confuse the issue and misconvey information.

⁷ Ibn Wāsil, fol. 150a-b; Abū 'l-Fidā', III, 210; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 232b.

⁸ Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 235a; Ibn al-Amīd, p. 174; cf. Humphreys, pp. 353-4.

⁹ It seems most likely that this commander can be identified with the leader of the Khwārizmiyya with this name who joined the Mongols after their defeat by the Ayyūbid princes in 644/1246; Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, V, ed. H. M. Rabī' and F. 'A.-S. 'Ashūr (Cairo, 1977), p. 359. Interestingly enough, another ex-Khwārizmī leader, Nāṣir al-Dīn Kushlūkhān b. Il-Arslān is named among the refugees who joined Qutuz in 658/1260; Rashid al-Dīn, ed. 'Alizādah, pp. 71-2; ed. Quatremère, p. 342. (I would like to thank Dr. P. Jackson for these references). This is an indication that at least part of the "Mongol" army was composed of Turks, both of Central Asia and Middle Eastern origin.

¹⁰ Ibn al-Amīd, p. 174. His chronology is confusing, in that he places this event, undated, after the suppression of the rebellion in the Damascus citadel (this was on 15 Jumādā I/28 April). However, from the following passage quoted from Abū Shāma, it is clear that this reconnaissance raid took place earlier. See also n. 14 below.

¹¹ This pool, also called al-Zayzā', is two days march north of Karak; Ibn Wāsil, fol. 144b. Yāqūt, *Kitāb mu'jam al-buldān* (*Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*), ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1867-70), II, p. 966, writes that Zayzā' was one of the villages of the Balqa' region (in central Transjordan), was on the *hajj* route, boasted a market and contained a large pool.

¹² This can be identified with Wādī Mawjib, which is the Naḥal Arnōn of the Bible, some 40 km north of Karak; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), III, pp. 486-7. I am grateful to Prof. M. Sharon for this suggestion. For the city of Karak itself, see below.

¹³ Abū Shāma, p. 204. This account appears, with slight changes, in Yūnīnī, I, pp. 250-1; Kutubī, *Uyūn al-tawārīkh*, XX, ed. F. Sāmīr and 'A.-M. Dāwūd (Baghdad, 1980), p. 224. The report in Maqrīzī, I, p. 425, which is the one usually cited by modern scholars, is a shortened version of Abū Shāma: the former has the above list of locations which the Mongols attacked, except for Mawjib al-Karak. It is most probable that Maqrīzī derived his passage from Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 234a, who has the exact list, i.e. minus Mawjib al-Karak. Whether Ibn al-Furāt is responsible for this editing or took it from another, earlier writer is unknown. See also Ibn Taghri Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk miṣr wa'l-qāhira* (Cairo, 1930-50), VII, p. 77 for an even terser redaction of the passage.

¹⁴ Abū Shāma, p. 204; Abū 'l-Fidā', III, 210; Yūnīnī, I, 350; Ibn Shaddād, *al-A' lāq al-khaṭira fī dhikr al-shām wa-jazīra, ta'rikh lubnān wa'l-urdunn wa-filasṭīn*, ed. S. Dahhān (Damascus, 1963), pp. 248-9; Kutubī, XX, p. 223; Ibn al-Amīd, p. 174; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, MS. Bodleian Laud Or. 305, fols. 252a, 309a; Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 235b-236b, 259a. The last three writers add that after the battle the Mongols entered the city and slaughtered many of its inhabitants. For a different view, cf. J. Prawer, in the Hebrew version of *The Crusaders: Portrait of a Colonial Society* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 316.

¹⁵ See M. Sharon, "The Ayyūbid Walls of Jerusalem: A New Inscription from the Time of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 179-95.

¹⁶ "The Jews of Jerusalem, 1187-1267, and the Role of Naḥmanides in the Reestablishment of their community," [in Hebrew] in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 122-36, esp. pp. 127-31. On p. 130, Kedar also refers to some European and Armenian accounts which, while either very general and/or full of fanciful exaggeration, also mention the Mongol presence in Jerusalem. See also P. Jackson, "The crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," *English Historical Review*, 95 (July 1980), p. 485, n.6.

¹⁷ While only the preposition is used in this passage, it is part of a chapter on Jerusalem.

¹⁸ Pp. 236-7. This passage was copied, with slight changes, by Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. and tr. U. and M. C. Lyons, notes and intro. J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 1971), I, p. 78;

tr., II, p. 63. This passage is found in the Vienna MS. of Ibn al-Furāt's work, which I have not yet examined.

¹⁹ The letter has been re-edited by Kedar in the above mentioned article (n. 16), pp. 134–66. In the past there has been some question of the authenticity of the letter or whether the "Tartars" referred to here were actually the Khwārizmiyya of 642/1244. See J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, tr. G. Nahon (Paris, 1970), II, p. 411, n. 48; B. S. Dinur, *Yisra'el ba-golah* [Israel in the Diaspora], II, pt. 1 (Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, 1965), p. 451, n. 46. Lately, however, there is a tendency to give this letter much more credence and to attribute it to the Mongol raid of 1260: Prawer, *Crusaders* (Hebrew), p. 316; Kedar, pp. 127–9.

The decision to send the Torah scrolls to Nablus seems inexplicable, since that is the direction from where the expected Mongol attack would come. It would have made more sense to send them south, or even to Egypt.

²⁰ Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 152b; the author had previously (fol. 150b) mentioned the Mongol attack on Nablus itself.

²¹ He had previously reached as far as Qatya in Egypt, but becoming afraid of Sultan Qutuz's wrath he turned back into the desert until he reached Birkat al-Zayzā'; Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 154b; cf. Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 237a–238b. See also Humphreys, pp. 356–7.

²² Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 238b; Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 154b.

²³ Abū 'l-Fidā', III, p. 213; Abū Shāma, p. 205. No dates are provided here, but Ibn Shaddād, pp. 89–90, gives the date for the taking of 'Ajlūn as Rajab 658/June–July 1260. Al-Nāṣir Yūsuf was taken to Hülegü on 14 Rajab/25 June; Abū Shāma, p. 206; Yūnīnī, I, pp. 358–9.

²⁴ Abū Shāma, p. 206; Yūnīnī, I, p. 358. The bedouin did not take this attack lying down and in Sha'bān (July–August 1260) they successfully raided the Mongol horses grazing near Damascus; *ibid.*, p. 360.

²⁵ Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 152b.

²⁶ Yūnīnī, I, p. 358; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 238a, tells the same story, although without any mention of Mughīth's subterfuge. Ibn Shaddād, pp. 76, 242, states simply that this ruler joined the Mongols when called to do so and was given control over Hebron in return.

²⁷ Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'arab*, MS. Leiden Or. 2m, fols. 107a, 132b. See also L. Hambis, "La lettre mongole du gouverneur de Karak," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 15 (1962), pp. 143–6. Cf. Ibn Shaddād, p. 76, who implies that the governor reached Karak.

²⁸ Dhahabī, MS. Bodleian, fol. 252a. Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) source is unclear.

²⁹ Al-Sa'id was executed after the Mamlūk victory at 'Ayn Jalūt, because he had served the Mongols too loyally, and there were reports that he had even been converted to Christianity; Ibn al-'Amīd, p. 175; Ibn Shaddād, p. 143; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 250a.

³⁰ Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 154a. The forts destroyed were in all probability the ones referred to above (see n. 24). This passage was copied, with changes, by Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 236a, and then in turn summarized by Maqrīzī, I, p. 426. Ibn al-Furāt replaces *qaṣada ilā* with *ḥaṣara* (to blockade or surround), emphasizing the Mongols' less than friendly intentions towards the Crusaders, which resulted in the Mongol attack on Sidon in the summer of 1260. The second part of this passage shows the Mongol fear of Mamlūk-Frankish cooperation against them, a feeling justified by later events. For the tense relations between the Franks and the Mongols at this time, see Jackson, "Crisis," *passim*, esp. pp. 496, 499–500.

³¹ Ed. Quatremère, pp. 346–7; cf. ed. 'Alizādah pp. 73–4. This is the only reference in Rashīd al-Dīn to a Mongol presence in Palestine at this time, which does not prevent him from writing, upon completing the description of the Mongol occupation of Damascus: "In this way, and in this period, Baghdad, Diyār Bakr, Diyār Rabī'a and all of Syria were conquered and placed under the control of the officers of Hülegü Khān." Ed. 'Alizādah, p. 70; ed. Quatremère, p. 340.

Humphreys, p. 358, placed this force under Kushlūkhān, but as seen above, Kushlūkhān's force had previously returned to Damascus.

³² The Mamlūk chronicles refer to this figure as Baydarā. Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 246a, says that at the time of the entrance of the Mamlūk army into Syria, Baydarā was with Kitbuqa near Damascus. For more on Baydarā, see below, no. 41 and 62. Cf. also, the source cited in n. 52.

³³ Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 245a (=ed. Riley-Smith and Lyons, I, p. 51); Maqrīzī, I, pp. 429–30. Both the Mamlūk and Mongol forces are called here *ṭalī'a*, i.e. "advance forces."

³⁴ Jackson, "Crisis," pp. 501–2.

³⁵ *La Chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, tr. G. Dédéyan (Paris, 1980), p. 105; S. Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle of Constable Smpad or of the Royal Historian," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), p. 160.

³⁶ This account was preserved for posterity by Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 227a–231a, 241b–242b, 246b–247b, who took it from Qirtāy al-Khazandārī. These passages were extracted and edited by G. Levi della Vida, "L'invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 nei ricordi di un testimone oculare," *Orientalia*, NS., 4 (1935), pp. 358–66, esp. pp. 365–6.

³⁷ This point was made by Jackson, "Crisis," p. 502.

³⁸ Ibn Wāsil, fol. 151a; Ibn al-'Amīd, pp. 172–3; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 233a, 235a; Maqrīzī, I, p. 423; Abū 'l-Fidā', III, p. 211. See Jackson, "Crisis," p. 502, for other details in this report which present difficulties. There is, however, a grain of truth in Özbek's account. In the list of the few people found with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf upon his capture, there is given the son of al-Malik al-Ashraf; Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 237b–238a.

³⁹ Özbek's description of the battle has been analyzed and given much credence by P. Thorau, "The battle of 'Ayn Jalūt: A re-evaluation," in Edbury (see n. 4), pp. 238–9. See also Prawer, *Histoire*, II, p. 434, n. 28.

⁴⁰ Ibn Wāsil, fol. 161a, writes that al-Ashraf, who was with the Mongols at 'Ayn Jalūt, left them during the battle. Only then, however, did he send to Qutuz to ask for an *amān*.

⁴¹ See the chapter heading on fol. 239b: "The Chapter about King Hülegü's departure from Ḥalab and his return to the Land of the East (*bilād al-mashriq*), and his order to Kitbughā and Baydarā to fight the people of Egypt and to subjugate it." He also tells (fol. 241a–b) of how Hülegü decided to send Kitbuqa and Baydarā to attack Egypt on the basis of his astrologers' recommendation that only they would be permitted to rule it. The apocryphal and anachronistic nature of this story is indicated by the author's remark that the astrologers were in reality referring to two other individuals named Kitbughā and Baydarā, important Mamlūk amirs of the 1290's who became sultans (Baydarā, however, for less than a day). Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 339, citing Jazarī (d. 739/1338), transmits a shorter version of this story. See also Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar*, VIII, ed. U. Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), p. 368 and n. Finally, in another passage (fol. 239b), Ibn al-Furāt contradicts himself by stating that Hülegü sent Kitbuqa and ordered him to remain in Syria. This passage was evidently taken from Baybars al-Manṣūrī, cited below, n. 44.

⁴² *Noyan* was an honorific given to Mongol generals.

⁴³ Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. 'Alizādah, p. 70; ed. Quatremère, p. 340.

⁴⁴ Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta'rikh al-hijra*, MS. Br. Lib. Add. 23, 325, fol. 37b. But see the parallel passage from his epitome, *al-Tuhfa al-mulūkiyya*; cited n. 47 below. Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 239b, quotes the former passage without naming his source.

⁴⁵ P. Meyvaert, "An unknown letter of Hülegü, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France," *Viator*, 11 (1980), p. 258. I am grateful to Dr. P. Jackson for bringing this passage to my attention and providing me with a draft translation of the complete letter. These Ismā'īlīs were the Syrian branch of the sect, whose main body had earlier been destroyed by Hülegü. Hülegü's claim is the only evidence we have of this particular mission of Kitbuqa's force, and should thus be accepted with some reserve.

⁴⁶ Cf. the somewhat cryptic remarks of Grigor of Akner, "History of the Nation of Archers," ed. and tr. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 12 (1949), p. 349: "Then K'it'buqa [who was in Jerusalem, R. A.] . . . became overweening and went out to a place ten days journey from Jerusalem." S. Der Nersessian, "Armenian Chronicle," p. 106, n. 68, takes this as a confirmation of Smpad. This interpretation can be rejected, since Kitbuqa was never in Jerusalem and had he been, would have gone north (to 'Ayn Jalūt) and not towards Egypt. However, this passage, confused and inaccurate as it is, does hint at Kitbuqa's having contravened Hülegü's orders. See the discussion below.

⁴⁷ Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *al-Tuhfa al-mulūkiyya fī al-dawla al-turkiyya*, MS. Austrian National Library, Flügel no. 904, fol. 8b: . . . *wa-sāra qāṣid al-diyār al-miṣriyya*. The wording is virtually identical in the first part of this sentence with that of the parallel passage from the author's larger *Zubda*, cited above in n. 44. For some unknown reason Baybars saw fit to make a change in this passage. It is tempting to try to see these two parallel passages as complementing each other:

Hülegü gives Kitbuqa 12,000 men and sends him to take up position in Syria. [He disregards his orders] and advances towards Egypt. However, see below in the discussion. For the relationship between this author's two chronicles, see D. P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 9–10.

Dr. Jackson informs me that there is a similar reference to Kitbuqa going towards Egypt in Qirṭāy al-Khazandārī, *Ta'rikh al-nawādir*, MS. Gotha 1655, fol. 66b. I have not yet been able to examine this work.

⁴⁸ E.g., the extensive passages of Šārim al-Dīn Özbek mentioned above.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 244a–b, 255a. The author continues and tells how Sultan Quṭuz cajoled the recalcitrant amirs into moving on to Syria.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, fol. 252a.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, fol. 246a.

⁵² Yūnīnī, I, p. 360; Dhahabī, MS. Bodleian, fol. 254a. Kitbuqa of course picked the former course. According to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, p. 346; cf. ed. 'Alizādah, pp. 73–4), Kitbuqa was near Ba'labakk, which is in the Biqā', when he heard from Baydar in Gaza that the Mamlūks had moved into Syria.

⁵³ Frankish attitudes vis-à-vis the Mongols and Mamlūks on the eve of 'Ayn Jālūt are discussed in Jackson, "Crisis," p. 503. It is reasonable to suppose that Quṭuz had some inkling of his reception from the Franks of Acre before leaving Egypt.

⁵⁴ Jackson, "Crisis," p. 502, referring only to Smpad's account taken by itself, i.e. without Özbek's report, which we have rejected above.

⁵⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. 'Alizādah, p. 71; ed. Quatremère, p. 342.

⁵⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. 'Alizādah, pp. 22, 27, 68; ed. Quatremère, pp. 138, 166, 328. In the last instance, he had led the Mongol van into Syria itself.

⁵⁷ It should be mentioned that in some of the following cases, the numbers given are those of those left with Kitbuqa after Hülegü returned to the east and not specifically those sent with him when he was first dispatched south towards Damascus. We are assuming that the size of Kitbuqa's army did not change after Hülegü's departure. It would seem that given the weight of evidence, the first number quoted most likely represents the true figure.

⁵⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, ed. and tr. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1932), I, p. 436; cf. the Arabic version, Ibn al-'Ibrī, *Ta'rikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. A. Saliḥānī, 2nd ed., (Beirut, 1958), p. 280; Hayton (Hethoum), "La Flor des estoires de la Terre d'Orient," in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens* [henceforth RHC,Ar], II (Paris, 1906), p. 173; Shāfi' b. 'Alī al-Kātib, *al-Faql al-ma'thūr min sīrat al-sulṭān al-malik al-manṣūr*, MS. Bodleian Marsh 424, fol. 55a. The last mentioned writer states that Kitbuqa commanded one *tūmen*, and that a *tūmen* equals 10,000. See also Vardan, in É. Dulaurier, "Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens," *Journal Asiatique*, 5 Ser., 16 (1860), p. 294; cf. Jackson, "Crisis," p. 492, n. 8.

⁵⁹ Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, fol. 37b; *idem*, *Tuhfa*, fol. 8b. It is an interesting coincidence that when Kitbuqa was given command of the Mongol van in ca. 1253, before even entering Iran, he had 12,000 men under his command; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. 'Alizādah, p. 22; ed. Quatremère, p. 138.

⁶⁰ Kirakos of Ganjak, in É. Dulaurier, "Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens," *Journal Asiatique*, 5 Ser., 11 (1858), p. 498.

⁶¹ Waṣṣāf, *Tajziyat al-amṣār wa-tajziyat al-a'sār* (rpt. Teheran, A. S. 1338/1959–60), p. 46, actually writes 3 *tūmens* (each of which should contain 10,000 soldiers). See also Jackson, "Crisis," p. 492, n. 8.

⁶² In a recent article, Prof. J. M. Smith ("Ayn Jālūt: Mamlūk victory or Mongol failure," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 44 [1984], pp. 309–11) has sought to reconcile these figures, seeing Kitbuqa and Baydar each as commanding a *tūmen*, the former of Mongol troops, the latter of local Syrian troops who joined the Mongols.

⁶³ At least in the early months of the Mongol occupation, i.e. when the raiders were in Palestine, because Kitbuqa still had to subjugate several castles in its environs. According to the evidence cited in n. 51 above, at the time of Quṭuz's advance into Palestine, the Mongol troops were scattered throughout the country, probably in order to graze their horses.

⁶⁴ Although all the Arabic sources were not available to him, Prawer (*Royaume Latin*, II, p.

431) already observed the transitory nature of these raids.

⁶⁵ Abū 'l-Fidā', III, p. 211. *Shahāyin* (properly *shahā'in*, singular *shihna*) were Mongol representatives appointed to occupied cities in order to keep an eye on local affairs, especially to make sure taxes were collected and no seditious activities (towards the Mongols) were afoot.

⁶⁶ S. Runciman, *The History of the Crusades*, III (Cambridge, 1954), p. 308, has stated that the Mongol detachments never reached Jerusalem itself. Likewise, Humphreys, p. 355, has written:

With Baalbek and Nablus taken, the Mongol occupation of Lebanon and Palestine was effectively completed (although, oddly enough, they seem never to have entered Jerusalem). . . By late summer of 658/1260, therefore, the Mongols had gained direct control of all Muslim south Syria except for the Jabal al-Duruz and Transjordan.

However, it has been shown in the above pages that the Mongol conquest of Palestine was never really completed, but was quite tenuous at best. Secondly, to the same extent, the Mongols conquered most of Transjordan. Finally, it is quite clear that the Mongols did enter, and terrorize, Jerusalem.

⁶⁷ See Thorau, pp. 236-9; Smith, pp. 311-14, 326-8; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Ayn Dīālūt" (B. Lewis); R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250-1382* (London, 1986), pp. 33-4.

⁶⁸ For more details on the battle, see: S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 4th ed. (rpt. London, 1968), pp. 295-6; G. Weil, *Geschichte des Abbasidenkalifats in Egypten* (Stuttgart, 1860), I, p. 226; Boyle, pp. 386-8; Irwin, pp. 99-101.

⁶⁹ Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ārab fī funūn al-adab*, MS. Leiden University ar. 2n [=vol. XXIX], fol. 100a. See also: Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mī'at al-thāmina* (Hyderabad, 1348-50/1929-32), III, p. 214; Maqrīzī, I, p. 888.

⁷⁰ Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, MS. British Library Or. 1540, fol. 124a. Certainly, were this piece of evidence to be read by itself, it would have to be taken with a large pinch of salt, because this was only one of several rumours, some of which were quite outrageous, then circulating in Damascus. These were perhaps an attempt by the Damascenes to rationalize their imminent submission to Ghazan. The author himself expresses his doubts about the veracity of these rumours.

⁷¹ Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar* (*Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawādārī*), IX, ed. H. R. Roemer (Cairo, 1960), p. 17.

⁷² Abū 'l-Fidā', IV, p. 44; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar* (Cairo, 1289/1867-8), V, p. 414; Dhahabī, MS. Br. Lib., fol. 126b (cf. tr. in J. Somogyi, "Adh-Dhahabī's record of the destruction of Damascus by the Mongols in 699-700/1299-1301," in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, ed. S. Löwinger and J. Somogyi, I [Budapest, 1948], p. 368; this translation is often inaccurate and should be used with caution). The last writer mentions a letter which reached the commander of the citadel in Damascus, who succeeded in holding out against the Mongols during the entire period of their occupation of the city. This message told how the Mamlūks in Gaza fell upon the pursuing Mongols and defeated them. See also K. V. Zetterstéen, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane* (Leiden, 1919), p. 62; Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-tawārikh*, MS. Chester Beatty Library (Dublin) Ar. 4257, fol. 143a. The last source reports how the commander of the citadel tried to use this letter to arouse support in the city for his opposition to the Mongols, but to no avail. This "letter" appears to have been a ploy, invented by either the Mamlūk authorities in the yet unconquered south or by the commander himself, in order to raise the morale of his beleaguered troops. Confirmation of this incident in Gaza is not found anywhere else. For non-Mamlūk sources indicating a pursuit of some sort, see below.

⁷³ On the various forms of his name, see the editor's comments in Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī 'l-Faḍā'il, *al-Nahj al-sadīd wa'l-durr al-farīd fī mā ba'd ta'rikh Ibn al-'Amīd* (*Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*), ed. and tr. E. Blochet (*Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. XII, XIV, XX), (Paris, 1919-28), p. 583, n. 4.

⁷⁴ The notables of Damascus surrendered to Ghazan before he arrived in the city and he granted them an *amān* (letter of protection). Even so, the inhabitants of the city suffered greatly during the Mongol occupation. See Dhahabī, MS. Br. Lib., fols. 124a-129b (tr. Somogyi, pp. 362-73); Zetterstéen, pp. 64-6; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, pp. 7-9.

⁷⁵ Kutubī, MS. Ch. Beatty, fol. 144b.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 148a. It is unclear what was Kutubī's source, but it was most probably one of the earlier Syrian writers, i.e. Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326), Jazarī (d. 739/1338) or Birzālī (d. 739/1339), the relevant parts of whose works are either not extant (in Jazarī's case) or still in manuscript and I have yet to examine them. It seems that Abū 'l-Fida', IV, 44, must also have used the same source, directly or indirectly, that Kutubī used, since he mentions both Ramla and how the Mongols fell upon refugees (*juffāl*).

⁷⁷ During the actual campaign itself, when the vast majority of the Mamlūk army went off to defeat at Wādī al-Khāzindār, he had been left behind with 200 troops to guard the citadel of Cairo; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, fol. 217a; *idem*, *Tuhfa*, fols. 73b–74a; Ibn Abī 'l-Faḍā'il, p. 523, cites Baybars, but with some changes. According to him, Baybars left Cairo sometime during the last days of Rabī' II 699 (January 1300) and reached Sālīhiyya the same day that Mūlāy and forces arrived in Gaza. But cf. the date found in Rashīd al-Dīn below.

⁷⁸ In the shortened version of this account in his *Tuhfa*, Baybars says that a "tūmen (i.e. 10,000 soldiers), from among the tūmens," was sent in this raid. He only names Mūlāy and not the other three commanders. Dhahabī, MS. Br. Lib., fol. 126b (tr. p. 368), also has 10,000 soldiers in this raid. These numbers, like all numbers in Mamlūk sources, should be taken with a large pinch of salt.

⁷⁹ The mentioning of these four officers, along with the number of 20,000, seems to mitigate somewhat against Smith's argument (pp. 310–11) that in general the names given for Mongol commanders can be taken to be commanders of tūmens. The names are quite unclear in the MS., but are more legible in the MS. of Nuwayrī, fol. 104a–b, whose account is taken from Baybars al-Manṣūrī. The reading of Esenbuqa was suggested by Dr. P. Jackson from the letters in the MS. '-SH-B-Q-'; another possible reading was Abishqa. Hūlechū was found in the MS.: Hūlajū.

⁸⁰ Cf. Nuwayrī, *loc. cit.*, who writes that 15 Muslims were killed in the Mosque. Maqrīzī, I, 896, evidently derived his account from Nuwayrī, possibly indirectly.

⁸¹ Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, fol. 217a; cf. *Tuhfa*, fol. 73b.

⁸² Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, fol. 218a; this was cited in Ibn Abī-Faḍā'il, p. 523.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 502–3. Little, p. 35, has pointed out this writer's tendency to cite his sources in a flexible manner and to embellish these passages with additional information derived from other sources, without explicitly mentioning that these constitute additions to the original citation.

⁸⁴ Dhahabī, MS. Br. Lib., fol. 226a (obituary of 'Alī b. al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī).

⁸⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. 'Alizādah, p. 338; *idem*, *Ta'rikh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī* (*Geschichte Gāzān-Hān's*), ed. K. Jahn (London, 1940), p. 130; summary tr., p. xxxvii. This writer gives the date of Mūlāy's return as 29 Rabī' II, while the Mamlūk writers report that Mūlāy returned at the end of Jumādā II. See n. 98.

⁸⁶ Waṣṣāf, p. 381.

⁸⁷ I. Ḥazānī, "A Hebrew source on the Mongol incursion into Eretz Israel and Jerusalem in 1299," [in Hebrew] *Zion*, 47/3, pp. 343–6.

⁸⁸ S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *A History of the Crusades*, II, R. P. Wolff and H. W. Hazard, eds., 2nd ed. (Madison, 1969), p. 657.

⁸⁹ Hayton, *RHC*, Ar, II, pp. 194–8.

⁹⁰ "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie," in *RHC*, Ar, I (1869), pp. 657–60. I have gone to some length to analyse this passage because of the credence given to it by S. Schein, "Gesta Dei per Mongolos 1300. The genesis of a non-event," *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), p. 810 and nn. See also Ḥazānī, p. 345 and n. 12.

⁹¹ "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie," p. 659, n. 1. M. van Berchem also saw little historical value in this account; *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Deuxième Partie: Syrie du Sud. Vol. II, Jérusalem "Haram" (Cairo, 1927), p. 115, n. 1.

⁹² See, e.g.: Dhahabī, MS. Br. Lib., fol. 129a (tr., p. 376); Ibn Kathīr, XIV, p. 8; Maqrīzī, I, p. 892; Baybars, *Zubda*, fol. 207b.

⁹³ Appendix to Maqrīzī, I, p. 1019; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, fol. 226b; Translated in Weil, I, p. 246. Parallel passages are found in the second version of this letter: Ibn al-Dawādārī, IX, p. 68; Ibn Abī 'l-Faḍā'il, pp. 576–7 (with translation). In the second version there are reports of

the misdeeds of the Mongols in Jerusalem and Hebron without any specific mentioning of the Christians. This passage was adduced by Schein, p. 810, n. 5, to prove the veracity of Smpad's Continuator.

⁹⁴ A most interesting piece of disinformation in this letter is al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's claim that he came to the battle of Wādī al-Khāzindār without all of his army, because the Mongol invasion just happened to catch him visiting in Syria with only part of his forces; Maqrīzī, I, p. 1020.

One of the key elements of this polemic, as seen here, was the doubt cast by both the Mamlūks and the writers of the Arabic sources (who were almost unanimously pro-Mamlūk) upon the quality of the Islam professed by their recently converted enemies. See, e.g., Ibn Taymiyya's justification for the continued fighting against the parvenu Muslim Mongols, as cited and discussed by E. Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 97–8.

⁹⁵ M. Brosset, tr., *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I (St. Petersburg, 1849–51), pp. 630–31.

⁹⁶ Zetterstéen, p. 76; Dhahabī, MS. Br. Lib., fol. 130b (tr. Somogyi, p. 380); Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, fol. 218a; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, p. 11; Maqrīzī, I, p. 900.

⁹⁷ Hayton, p. 196; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, rpt. (Paris, 1949), p. 458. Cf. Boyle, p. 388; Morgan, pp. 231–5; Smith, pp. 329ff.

⁹⁸ It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the long-term plans of the Mongols for Palestine. Briefly, however, it appears that in both 1260 and 1300 the Mongols had intended to continue their conquests into Egypt in the near future, and as a result, Palestine would have been more firmly integrated into the Ilkhānid state. For indications of Mongol intentions, see Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 252a (for Hülegü); Zetterstéen, p. 75 (for Ghazan).

⁹⁹ For contacts between Ghazan and the Latin West around the time of this campaign, and half-hearted attempts at Mongol-Frankish cooperation, see Schein, pp. 811–12.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TRAVELS OF IBN BAṬṬŪṬA IN PALESTINE: IS IT ORIGINAL?*

By AMIKAM ELAD

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that large parts of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of his travels in Palestine were in fact copied, with certain abbreviations and deletions, from the records of another Muslim traveller, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Abdarī.

The significance of the Riḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

It is generally agreed among students of medieval Muslim geography in general and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in particular that the description of the journey of this Moroccan Muslim (b. 1304; d. 1368/9 or 1377),¹ entitled *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharā'ib al-amṣār wa-'ajā'ib al-asfār* (more commonly known as *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*), is one of the most interesting and important documents to be produced as regards the political and social history of the Muslim world during the second quarter of the XIVth century.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gave new dimensions to the genre of travelogue known as the *riḥla*.² One is hard put to find a single piece of research relating to Muslim geographers and geography of the late Middle Ages which does not at least mention the name of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the greatest of the travellers of the Middle Ages, whose travels extended over a period of thirty years and covered more territory and more countries than did those of Marco Polo. In fact, his travels covered almost all lands under Muslim rule in his time.³ His descriptions and reports are not all on the same level of course. In some cases, such as the Maldives, his is the only report available; in others, such as the Kingdom of Mali, India or Asia Minor, his reports represent one of the major sources; with respect to yet other regions, his testimony forms an incidental, unimportant source, no more than background information. But in any case, it is impossible to ignore him as a witness to the events of the time.⁴ It is generally agreed that his work is reliable, providing a wealth of important detail, as well as descriptions and fine distinctions relating to many aspects of Islamic civilization.⁵ The wide respect in which his *Riḥla* is held is reflected in the many translations which have been made into English, French, German (partial), Italian (selections), Japanese (partial), Portuguese, Czech, Turkish, Persian, Russian, Hungarian and Polish.⁶

Problems of Credibility and Chronology

Most scholars agree that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not keep written records. It was Ibn Juzayy, one of the chief secretaries to the *wazīr* of the Sultan of Morocco, who was commissioned by the Sultan to assemble the passages dictated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa into one composition. Consequently, the book is the product of Ibn Juzayy's editing.⁷ The fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relied solely upon his memory explains, in the opinion of most scholars, the many inaccuracies found therein, such as incorrect names and historical

data, and inaccurate chronology. While these shortcomings are mentioned by practically all scholars, it is generally felt that they do not undermine the general credibility of the work, when one considers the large number of countries visited and the vast amount of information provided.⁸

Gibb, the most important of the researchers dealing with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, finds the greatest difficulty with the totally impossible chronology of the travels as they are presented in the book. One often gets the impression that many dates were introduced casually, possibly upon the urging of the editor, Ibn Juzayy.⁹ The lack of chronological order, as well as the impossible dates, have been specifically noted by many scholars when dealing with various aspects of the book. The reaction of Hrbek,¹⁰ for example, is that this is no reason either to disqualify the book or to consider it a work of fiction. At the same time, the very existence of so many contradictory facts and reports forces us to approach this work much more critically than would otherwise be the case. The suspect points are of various types, but as they are all related in some way to the element of time, we may justifiably lump them together under the heading of problematic or inaccurate chronology.¹¹

Against this background of extreme chronological inconsistency, there are some scholars who have cast doubt upon the authenticity of certain sections of the *Rihla*, particularly those relating to Bulghār and China. A few have gone so far as to question entire segments of it. Outstanding among the latter is Stefan Janicsek, whose 1929 article bears the provocative title "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey to Bulghār: Is It a Fabrication?". He concludes that the description of Bulghār¹² is indeed a fabrication and that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa never went there at all. His analysis, differing from that of other scholars in that it made use of a combination of investigatory procedures, revealed:

- 1) imprecision and incompatibility in the dates of the journeys; in his opinion, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa could never have travelled 1,300 kms. in ten days, given the conditions prevailing in that period;¹³
- 2) changes or incompatibility within the text itself as compared to other descriptions by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa appearing elsewhere;
- 3) lack of any description of conspicuous landmarks along the road itself or in its immediate vicinity;
- 4) clear indications of copying from other parallel geographical texts, based upon specific comparisons.

Such an approach to the Ibn Baṭṭūṭa text is rare; in fact, this is practically the only example of its kind.¹⁴ The other scholars have dealt primarily with the discrepancies between the dates of the journeys. It was Gibb who pointed to the extent of the chronological problem, suggesting that it might cast a shadow upon the credibility of his travels. In his English translation, Gibb attempted to eliminate a number of the chronological problems by re-ordering certain parts of the journey. While he does not present his own unequivocal opinion of the Bulghār issue, the quotations which he brings from Janicsek and others make it appear that he accepts the fabrication theory

with respect to that particular journey.¹⁵ In fact, most scholars have adopted this position with regard to Bulghār¹⁶ but they are not of one mind when it comes to the descriptions of the journeys to China and Constantinople.¹⁷

Methodologically speaking, scholars have analysed small segments and specific points within the chronology of the *Rihla*. Virtually no attention has been paid to the question of the direct and/or indirect influence which other historical and geographical works have had upon it, with one exception: the direct influence of the well-known *Rihla* of Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217).¹⁸

Various scholars, with Gibb at the forefront, have called attention to the obvious reliance of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (or more precisely, his editor, Ibn Juzayy) upon Ibn Jubayr, occasionally in the form of summaries or capsulization, and occasionally through outright copying. Thus we find a clear-cut, direct borrowing of the description of the ceremonies at Mecca (at the time of the *hajj* as well as at other times of the year) and of Medina; as well as partial descriptions of Acre, Tyre, Damascus, Homs, Aleppo, Hama, Kūfa, Mosul, Baghdad, Nasibin and Mardīn,¹⁹ all of which have been extensively and exhaustively dealt with by Mattock in his recent article. With the exception of one or two instances, Ibn Juzayy does not mention Ibn Jubayr by name in conjunction with sections copied from the latter's work. To the best of my knowledge the only source to have been noted in connection with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (other than Ibn Jubayr) is al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. Levzion and Hopkins have pointed to the occasionally great similarity between whole sections of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the road to the Sudan and to parts of Mali and that of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī.²⁰

Despite this clear-cut borrowing from Ibn Jubayr, none of the scholars dealing with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, with the exception of Mattock, has attempted a fundamental, in-depth investigation of the relationship between these two works.²¹ Moreover, no one of these many scholars, including Gibb, has given serious consideration to the historical/geographical sources of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's work, contenting themselves with the mention of sections clearly and unmistakably borrowed from Ibn Jubayr. For Gibb, the cardinal problem is the chronology rather than the borrowing, and with regard to the former, he was of the opinion that a meticulous analysis of the chronology of the *Rihla* and its subsequent correction was a hopeless and impossible undertaking.²² He did, however, draw attention to a number of basic problems in the chronology in the copious notes which accompany his translation of the *Rihla*.

In summary: Most scholars have limited themselves to pointing out a number of isolated chronological difficulties or to amending one or two dates. Attention has not been directed towards the chronology of the work as a whole, except in the case of the Czechoslovak scholar Hrbek, who devoted his eighty page article to introducing some order into the confused chronology of the *Rihla*, and whose aim was to eliminate the internal contradictions among the various groups of dates.²³

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey to Syria and Palestine

Let us now turn to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of his journey to Syria and especially Palestine. This discussion highlights, albeit on a small scale, the central problem of chronology as presented above. Hrbek, Gibb and Janssens relate primarily to the impossible chronology, which is rife with contradictions and confusions.²⁴ The problem centers around the fact that according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's own testimony, he left Cairo between the 16th and the 19th of July, 1326, and arrived in Damascus on the 9th of August. In other words, the journey lasted for between 17 and 22 days. Had he taken the shortest possible route, this might have been possible, but he claims to have chosen a most complicated route, covering practically all of Syria and visiting more than twenty cities in the course of the travels. (See attached map of his itinerary.) A journey of this sort is simply impossible in the allotted time. The scholars see this as a classic example of a composite or contrived "journey", based upon a number of separate trips. Both Hrbek and Gibb are of this opinion, the latter claiming that Ashkelon marks the turning point, after which the description is artificial and relates to a visit undertaken at a later date,²⁵ Hrbek is not content with this and sets out with unfailing diligence to reconstruct the chronology of the first Syria/Palestine journey, with its many place descriptions, dividing it up into four journeys which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa made to Syria and Palestine.²⁶

The following is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's itinerary in Palestine: Al-Khalīl (Hebron) – Nabī Yaqīn – the Grave of Jonas (Ḥalḥūl) – Bayt Lahm – Bayt Al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) – 'Asqalān (Ashkelon) – Ramla – Nābulus (Shechem) – 'Ajlūn – Al-Ghūr (the Jordan Valley) – the Grave of Abū 'Ubayda b. Al-Jarrāḥ ('Amtā) – Al-Quṣayr – the Grave of Mu'adh b. Jabal – 'Akkā (Acre) – Ṣūr (Tyre) – Ṣaydā (Sidon) – Ṭabariyya (Tiberias) – Bayrūt – Al-Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) → Northern Syria . . .

The Relationship Between the Description of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels in Palestine and that of al-'Abdarī

Most of the descriptive passages relating to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels in Palestine are copied from the work of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Abdarī entitled *Al-Rihla al-Maghribiyya*. Al-'Abdarī set out on his travels in December 1289 and reached Palestine several months later. His visit was limited to Gaza – Hebron – Nabī Yaqīn – Ḥalḥūl (the grave of Jonas) – Bayt Lahm – Jerusalem – Ashkelon.

His book was first published, in its entirety, in 1965²⁷ and was republished in 1968, in an apparently improved edition.²⁸ Virtually none of the scholars dealing with al-'Abdarī has noticed Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's blatant borrowing from him,²⁹ with the sole exception of Wilhelm Hoenerbach who translated the section of al-'Abdarī's work about North Africa into German.³⁰ In his important, detailed introduction to this translation, Hoenerbach shows how various authors, such as Khālīd b. 'Īsā, Abū l-Baqā' al-Balawī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, borrowed from al-'Abdarī, through summarization or verbatim transcription of smaller or larger segments of the *Rihla*.

Hoenerbach only translated portions of the journey to North Africa and the description of Alexandria, noting that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa copied certain sections of the latter, especially the description of the lighthouse. He refers to this matter again in the article which he co-authored with Ben Cheneb in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.³¹ This research has not received the attention which it deserves nor has there been any follow-up to his admirably discerning work, despite the fact that since the publication of his book much new research on Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has been carried out, some of it by the finest Islamicists. Clearly, had Hoenerbach himself continued to deal with the other parts of al-'Abdarī's *Rihla*, he would have discovered the many other segments of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's work which were borrowed directly from the former, i.e. large parts of the description of Cairo and, further on, the greater portion of the journey to Palestine. The fact that this journey was copied verbatim may explain some of the chronological inconsistencies in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in relation to Palestine and Egypt, which have been noticed by Gibb and Hrbek.³²

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled to places in Palestine which al-'Abdarī did not visit. Gibb has already noted that parts of the descriptions of Acre, Tyre and Aleppo are taken from Ibn Jubayr.³³ The rest, for which Gibb did not find parallels, should be considered authentic, at least until such time as additional borrowing can be proven.

The problem is complex, and by treating it lightly or simplistically, we do a disservice to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. When discussing the credibility of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and the authenticity of his descriptions, we must recall that throughout his massive work, he refers to known historical events which occurred in his time, to hundreds of personages (rulers and administrators but primarily men of religion) whom he met in his travels throughout the Muslim world. His descriptions are full of topographical and architectural detail, personal experiences and seemingly credible details, all of which certainly enhance the degree of authenticity of the descriptions of his travels. Gibb, and to an even greater degree Hrbek, rightly attempt to establish his credibility through the independent identification of the many men of religion and other personages to whom he refers. A considerable number have been thus identified by Gibb as having lived in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.³⁴

In addition, along with the place descriptions, we often find detailed and precise economic and social data such as details of goods produced, with reference to their appropriate local names and the manner in which they were produced, the kind of detailed information which certainly increases the general sense of authenticity. These elements are to be found throughout Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's work; their verification would require a lifetime of work by one or more researchers. Even within the context of the description of those parts of Alexandria and Cairo which we know to have been copied or summarized from al-'Abdarī, we find apparently authentic testimony. For example, following the borrowed description of the lighthouse situated outside the city, the following appears: "I went in the direction of the lighthouse when I was on my way back to the Maghrib in 750 (=1349) and I found it ...",³⁵ or the description of the scholars and other important personalities of

Alexandria,³⁶ or the description of Cairo. After the description of the cemetery in Cairo, the holy pilgrimage sites, the Nile and the Pyramids, copied almost verbatim, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa turns to a description of the Mamlūk Sultan of his day, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn, lists twelve (!) important amīrs of Cairo, the city's four chief justices, other judges and sixteen (!) religious scholars as well as describing his own experiences.³⁷ As has been said, some of these personages have been identified by Gibb but at times these identifications do not resolve the chronological difficulties; occasionally, they complicate them even more. For example, with respect to one of the most important Cairene scholars, claimed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to have been in Cairo during his 1326 visit to that city, Gibb states that he served as a lecturer at the Madrasa al-Rawwāhiyya in Damascus from 1325 – 1332, in which case Ibn Baṭṭūṭa could not possibly have met him in Cairo then. Concerning the day of the *Mahmal* procession in Cairo, held in the months of Rajab and Shawwāl and described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in a lively and detailed fashion, Gibb says that it is virtually impossible for our author to have witnessed it personally, as he spent the entire month of Rajab, 726 (1326), travelling to and from 'Aydhāb, while in the month of Shawwāl he was already on his way from Damascus to Mecca; in the year 749 (1348), he claims that the Rajab procession had already departed from Cairo before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived there.³⁸

These comments, as well as others made by Gibb, only serve to strengthen our contention that detailed and life-like descriptions are not necessarily proof of authenticity. We shall return to this point in relation to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's descriptions of places in Palestine which al-'Abdarī had not visited, namely Ramla, Ashkelon, Acre, Tyre and Tiberias.

The description of Ramla is short and quite superficial. Mention is made of the White Mosque, south of which the graves of 300 prophets are said to be located. So far, an ordinary description. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ends by saying, "One of the greatest legal scholars, Majd al-Dīn al-Nābulī, lives there." This personage is not identified by Gibb.³⁹ The description of Tiberias is similarly short and superficial, mentioning hot-water baths and a number of famous tombs, such as that of Shu'ayb (Jethro), Reuben, Judah and King Solomon, all of which had already been noted by other travellers who preceded Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.⁴⁰ According to Gibb, the short description of Acre is copied in part from Ibn Jubayr.⁴¹ In fact, it is clear from a comparison of the two texts that the entire description of Acre is taken from that source. Unlike the above, the description of Nābulus (Shechem) contains an overwhelming amount of detail, in respect of agricultural produce and of the culinary specialities of the city: according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the city was renowned for the olive oil produced from its numerous trees and exported to Egypt and Damascus, and for its special melons; we are also treated to a detailed description of the process whereby sugar syrup was produced from the carob fruit peculiar to Nābulus. These apparently realistic details make a strong impression upon the reader but here too, a partial parallel to this description can be found in the writings of al-Dimashqī who died in 1327 and

who described both the unique yellow melons of Nābulus and the olive oil, known for its high quality, which was exported to Syria and Egypt.⁴² He does not mention the carob syrup however, and I have not found the source of this description. However, details of this kind are found in the descriptions of some of the Syrian cities in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Rihla*.⁴³

Two additional places mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa are the tombs of two well known companions of the Prophet, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh, in the Jordan Valley, and of Mu'ādh b. Jabal, in al-Qusayr. There are various tombs associated with Abū 'Ubayda, the best-known of which is at 'Amtā in Transjordan.⁴⁴

We now turn to an analysis of those sections of the description of Palestine taken directly from the work of al-'Abdarī: Hebron, (Masjid) Nabī Yaqīn, Jerusalem and Ashkelon.

Hebron

A large part of al-'Abdarī's description of Hebron is excerpted from an earlier document by 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Rāzī who lived in the first half of the Xth century. The work is entitled: *al-Musfir li-l-qulūb 'an ṣiḥḥat qabr Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl wa-Ishāq wa-Ya'qūb*. The work was copied by the Spanish writer of the mid-Xth century, Ibn al-Mufarrij al-Andalusī, and it was this copy with which al-'Abdarī was familiar and from which he in turn copied whole sections, citing the authors in each instance.⁴⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa copied these same portions verbatim from al-'Abdarī but eliminated any reference to him or to Ibn al-Mufarrij, saying instead that he had copied them directly (!) from the original work of al-Rāzī. While al-'Abdarī writes that the first *ḥadīth* in al-Rāzī's work is accompanied by an *isnād*, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa leaves out this interesting item of information and simply states that one of the *ḥadīths* is from Abū Hurayra before going on to give its contents.⁴⁶ This is followed by a number of traditions copied from al-'Abdarī's text but with a very interesting change, as follows:

After completing the citation of a *ḥadīth* of al-Rāzī, which he had received through the copy made by al-Mufarrij, al-'Abdarī goes on to say, "in the aforementioned collection [i.e. of al-Mufarrij] and in his own hand, it is said: I ['Alī b. Ja'far al-Rāzī, in the book which Ibn al-Mufarrij is quoting] have heard Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Jābir say, when he was asked about the tomb of Abraham The Friend (of Allāh), may Allāh's prayer be upon him, and regarding its authenticity, . . .", after which this transmitter (i.e. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, the direct transmitter of al-Rāzī and who seems to have lived in the beginning of the Xth century) confirmed the authenticity of the tombs of the Patriarchs. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, however, replaces this entire section with the following: "And when I met the righteous elderly teacher of this city, the preacher, al-Imām, Burhān al-Dīn al-Ja'barī, one of the righteous whose prayers are answered, one of the famous Imāms, I asked him about whether the tomb of The Friend (of Allāh) may he rest in peace, was truly found there . . .".⁴⁷ In other words, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa claims to have

personally received this confirmation from a scholar in Hebron. What could have led Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, or more precisely Ibn Juzayy, suddenly to interrupt his copying from al-'Abdarī and to replace the Xth century scholar Abū Bakr with a contemporary personage, even though the Ja'barī family is well-known in Hebron, members of the family having resided there already at that time? Moreover, a scholar by the name of Burhān al-Dīn al-Ja'barī did live in Hebron at that time.⁴⁸ Had we not known otherwise, this statement originating from a learned man of Hebron might have served to increase the credibility and authenticity of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description, and this may well have been the intention of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (and/or Ibn Juzayy). This example shows once again that reference to a particular personage, even one who did live during the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, is no proof of the authenticity of the whole description of his travels and certainly not of the chronology. Having once changed the original text, through the introduction of a Hebroni scholar from whom he claimed to have received the tradition, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Ibn Juzayy continues to make similar changes. For example, further on, al-'Abdarī continues to quote traditions from al-Rāzī's book. One of these traditions runs as follows: "I heard 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Rizq say: Abū Zur'a, the Damascene qāḍī,⁴⁹ came to the Mosque of Abraham and we came to look at him . . .", after which the tradition describes how Abū Zur'a verified the location of the tombs of the Patriarchs in the Hebron Mosque. Here Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses the same text but replaces Abū Zur'a, the famous IXth century qāḍī, with: "one of the Imāms".⁵⁰ Why did Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Ibn Juzayy do this? In order to introduce a note of contemporaneity as before? To bring the event closer to his own time and to give the reader the impression that he had heard and experienced these things personally? In fact, there is a certain amount of consistency in this matter, in that when copying from al-'Abdarī, Ibn Juzayy systematically eradicates all references to the earlier authors and works cited by al-'Abdarī. For example, al-'Abdarī frequently quotes entire sections from *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* by al-Bakrī; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Ibn Juzayy invariably leaves out both the author and the source.⁵¹

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa includes only two or three traditions from al-Rāzī, as transcribed by al-'Abdarī, whereas the latter included three additional pages of material from this important book, ancient traditions relating to the sanctity of Hebron in Islam, most of which clearly date from the Umayyad period. These traditions concerning Hebron formed part of the vast corpus of the Literature of Praise circulating in Syria and Palestine during this period. The great majority of these, as well as many other traditions, were copied by al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā (mid XIth century), as well as by later authors who collected these Hebron traditions in the Muslim period.

Nabī Yaqīn

After presenting his completely plagiarized description of Hebron, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (or Ibn Juzayy) goes on to copy al-'Abdarī's description of Nabī Yaqīn Mosque⁵² and of the nearby cave, in which there are two inscriptions. One states that this is the

tomb of Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn; the other is a four-stanza poem. According to al-'Abdarī, that part of the stone on which the third stanza was inscribed had been worn away, so that only two letters remained from the second half of the third stanza. Consequently, "he himself completed the stanza, praise be to Allāh". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa quotes both inscriptions but only three of the four stanzas of the poem, making no mention whatsoever of the missing third stanza.⁵³ As a rule, Ibn Juzayy simply changed the form of statements made by al-'Abdarī in the first person⁵⁴ but he could not do so in this case and therefore, instead of becoming involved in an outright lie, which would have been the case had he attributed the third stanza to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he chose to eliminate the problematic stanza altogether.⁵⁵

Jerusalem

From Nabī Yaḳīn, al-'Abdarī (and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Ibn Juzayy) headed for Jerusalem, going via the Tomb of Jonas (Ḥalḥūl) and Bethlehem.⁵⁶

The description of Jerusalem as it appears in the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa consists of three parts:

- 1) the walls of the city and its immediate environs;
- 2) al-Aqṣā Mosque;
- 3) the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra).

All three descriptions are clearly taken from al-'Abdarī.⁵⁷ In the description of the walls of the city we find two interesting additions made by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to al-'Abdarī's material: firstly, that when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conquered the city, he destroyed part of the wall (a statement which, according to Gibb, is not supported by any other source);⁵⁸ secondly, in a more contemporary vein, that the Amīr Tankīz brought water to Jerusalem "at this time", i.e. during the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. And indeed, one of the many things which Tankīz is known to have done is to have attempted to repair the central water channel to Jerusalem, and to have built (or repaired or improved?) the two bath-houses adjacent to the Temple Mount.⁵⁹ How are we to understand this statement within the context of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's complete transcription of the description of Jerusalem from al-'Abdarī? Did he include this detail because it was the only thing which he actually remembered, or did Ibn Juzayy draw upon some other source for this information?

Al-'Abdarī cites the dimensions of the Ḥaram according to al-Bakrī: 752 cubits long (from north to south) and 435 cubits wide (from east to west). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa quotes the same figures, without, of course, mentioning al-Bakrī, but in his desire to be concise and to consolidate the long and complicated description of al-Bakrī/al-'Abdarī, he confuses the two dimensions and writes that the length, from east to west, was 752 cubits, and the width, from south to north,⁶⁰ 435 cubits. Apparently, Ibn Juzayy was never in Jerusalem. But was Ibn Baṭṭūṭa there? Did he actually go up to the Temple Mount? If so, how could he have mistaken the length for the width? Is this simply an error in transcription?⁶¹

The description of the Dome of the Rock is clearly a transcription, albeit a much shortened one; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was always ready to dispense with al-'Abdarī's long, poetic descriptions. It should be noted that the borrowed section is followed by an addition by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in which he refers to seven learned men who were in Jerusalem at the time. Of these, Gibb was able to identify one.⁶² The reference to these scholars is surprising. This is not the first instance in which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa adds names of scholars and religious personages who lived in his own times at the end of a passage copied from al-'Abdarī. These in fact are the only authentic parts of the description of Jerusalem; but is it possible that even these were taken from some other source?

Ashkelon

From Jerusalem, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa went to Ashkelon. Ibn Juzayy apparently never visited Palestine and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, even if he was in Ashkelon at one time, had certainly forgotten both the itinerary and the general appearance of the city after thirty years, so that he had no choice but to copy most of the description from al-'Abdarī.⁶³ This then explains the peculiarity of the choice of route, as noted by Gibb, and supports his conclusion that this is the point at which the chronology becomes confused.⁶⁴ Gibb expressed surprise at the zig-zag nature of the route and found it hard to understand why Ibn Baṭṭūṭa chose it. But if there is in fact no chronological connection between Jerusalem and Ashkelon, and the description is copied, then the problem is resolved.

Summary

If we put aside those parts of the description of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels in Palestine which were borrowed from al-'Abdarī, we are left with no more than two or three unconnected sentences, hanging in mid-air. The answer to the question posed by this article is quite clear: the majority of his descriptions of Palestine are not original. There is no doubt that this conclusion obliges us to re-investigate the journey in its entirety. There is justification for Hrbek's insistence on viewing the work as a whole. It is pointless to deal with only one portion or topic, as many authors have frequently done, since the results are at the best partial and limited. (The present research also fits into this category.) Hrbek attempted to solve the problem by creating a total, "corrected" chronology. But there is clearly no point in attempting to do so before establishing the authenticity of the material itself; if any one section is a forgery, i.e. does not represent an actual journey but is merely copied from another source, the sequence is thereby interrupted, and the painstaking work of reconstructing the chronology becomes meaningless.

The *Rihla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still awaits a basic in-depth study, based upon internal and external criteria, such as Janicsek's study of the journey to Bulghār. Any study of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa must address itself, first and foremost, to an investigation of his sources, which is at best difficult, and may even be impossible in some instances. Important records by

North African and other travellers are still in manuscript form. A large part of al-Bakrī's important book, *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, has been lost. It is somewhat surprising that one of the basic methodological principles which guides the Muslim (as well as all other) historiographers, i.e. the painstaking investigation of the historical sources used by a historian in order to establish the authenticity and therefore the value of his contribution, is not always applied by students of the geography and of the Muslim geographers of the Middle Ages. Clearly, with regard to the *Rihla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, this principle has been applied only infrequently, and then only partially and superficially. It is only after this extremely difficult background work has been accomplished that it may be possible to establish a credible chronology of his travels.

NOTES

*An earlier version of this paper was read at the Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, 1984.

¹ The Arabic edition of the *Rihla* quoted throughout this paper is: *Voyages d'Ibn Battoutah*, texte arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti, Tome premier (Paris, 1893). [= Ibn Baṭṭūṭa]

Following is a list of the studies of the *Rihla* and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa which have been used in this work:

a) *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, Translated and Selected by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1929). [= Gibb, *Selections*]

b) *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Translated with Revisions and Notes from the Arabic Text. . . by H. A. R. Gibb, Vols. I-II (Cambridge, 1958). [= Gibb, *Travels*]

c) H. F. Janssens, *Ibn Batouta "Le Voyageur de l'Islam" (1304-1369)* (Bruxelles, 1948). [= Janssens]

d) *The Reḥlah of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (India, Maldives Islands and Ceylon), Translation and Commentary by Mahdi Husain (Baroda, 1953). [= Mahdi]

e) Ahmad Nafis, *Muslim Contribution to Geography* (Lahore, 1947). [= Ahmad Nafis]

f) Ḥusayn Mu'nis, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wa-Riḥlatuhu*, (*taḥqīq wa-dirāsa wa-taḥlīl*), (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1980). [= Mu'nis]

g) Stephen Janicsek, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey to Bulghār: Is It a Fabrication?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1929, pp. 791-800. [= Janicsek]

h) I. Hrbek, "The Chronology of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels," *Archiv Orientalni*, Vol. XXX (1962), pp. 409-489. [= Hrbek]

i) J. N. Mattock, "The Travel Writings of Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, Vol. XXI (1965-66) pp. 35-47 [= Mattock]

j) *Idem.*, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Use of Ibn Jubayr's *Rihla*," *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* (Amsterdam, 1st to 7th Sept., 1978), Ed. R. Peters (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), pp. 209-18 [= Mattock, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa"]. I wish to thank Prof. E. Kohlberg for drawing my attention to this article.

k) I. R. Netton, "Myth and Magic in the *Rihla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Vol. XXIX/1 (1984), pp. 131-140. [= Netton]

l) I. V. Krachkovski, *Istoriya Arabski Geograficheskoi Literatury* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1957). I have used the Arabic translation, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-jughrafiyy al-'arabi, naqalahu ilā 'l-lughā al-'arabiyya Ṣafāh al-Dīn 'Uthmān Ḥaṣīm, qāma bi-murāja'atihi* Ighur Bliyaḥ, Vol. I (Cairo, 1963). [= Krachkovski]

m) A. Miquel, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*,² s.v.

² Miquel, *loc. cit.*

³ Mu'nis, pp. 240-41; Ahmad Nafis, p. 45.

⁴ For evaluations of this sort, see Gibb, *Travels*, I, pp. xi-xiii; Hrbek, pp. 409-11;

Krachkovski, pp. 421, 431; Mahdi, introduction; for the importance of the *Rihla* in literature, folklore and social affairs, see also Netton, pp. 133–34; N. Levzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, Translated by J. F. P. Hopkins, Edited and Annotated by N. Levzion and J. F. P. Hopkins (Cambridge, 1981), p. 280.

⁵ Miquel, *loc. cit.*; Hrbek, pp. 409–10; Gibb, *loc. cit.*; Krachkovski, *loc. cit.*; Mahdi, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Hrbek, p. 411 n. 8; Miquel, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Gibb, *Selections*, pp. 10–12; Krachkovski, p. 427; but see also Mahdi, p. lxxiv, who is quite certain that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did have notes; Mu'nis, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 141, 237.

⁸ Gibb, *loc. cit.*; Ahmad Nafis, p. 48; Krachkovski, pp. 421, 425, is of the opinion that most of the deficiencies and faults of the *Rihla* originate with Ibn Juzayy. With respect to most of the places which he described, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa presumably dictated his reports approximately thirty years later; furthermore, he did not always dictate in a logical, continuous sequence. Krachkovski is of the impression that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa never intended to give a full account and that it fell to Ibn Juzayy, who was not familiar with either the names or the places, to put the material together.

⁹ Gibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

¹⁰ Hrbek, p. 410 nn. 3, 4, a partial bibliography.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² The capital of the Bulghars, who adopted Islam during the Xth century. The remains of the city are located near the village of Bolgarskoye or Uspenskoye, located, according to Gibb, 115 kms. south of Kazan, at a distance of approximately 7 kms. east of the Volga River. (*Selections*, p. 357 n. 25; *Travels*, II, p. 490 n. 282).

¹³ See also Gibb, *Selections*, *loc. cit.*; *Travels*, II, p. 491 n. 295) who notes that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa could not have travelled 800 miles in ten days; Mu'nis, p. 140, also expresses surprise in this regard.

¹⁴ It should be noted that Janssens also tried to check the problematic sections in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa against the texts of various other geographers, as for example in the case of the description of the Maldives. (Janssens, p. 109.)

¹⁵ Gibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 490–91.

¹⁶ See for instance, *ibid.*; Krachkovski, p. 421; Janssens, pp. 108–109; Hrbek, p. 472; Mu'nis, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ Ahmad Nafis is one of the few scholars who does not doubt the credibility of the description of Bulghār. Regarding the description of Constantinople, see Hrbek, pp. 473–482; Gibb, *Selections*, pp. 13–14. Krachkovski, *loc. cit.*, believes that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was in Constantinople. With regard to China, he does not make any conclusive statement, even though he unequivocally notes that most scholars conclude that he was never there (*ibid.*, p. 429). T. Yamamoto believes that he was in China: see, *idem.*, "On Ṭawālīsī Described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (The Oriental Library), VIII (1936), p. 103. (Having been unable to procure this article in the original, I have used the quotation from it adduced by Netton, p. 133 n. 12). Janssens, pp. 101–103, concludes that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was neither in Bulghār nor in Asia Minor nor in Constantinople. With regard to Bulghār, he follows the opinion of Janicsek, as we have said; with respect to the latter two places, he bases his opinion upon the thorough critique of P. Witte as presented in "Le Sultan de Rūm," *Mélanges E. Boisacq*, II (1938), pp. 371–72, which he cites (p. 103 n. 1); he also gives two more references on this subject (p. 103 n. 2). With regard to China, Janssens does not totally reject the description even though he is aware, as are other scholars, of the tremendous difficulties which it creates. He even quotes Gibb's humorous comment concerning Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the funeral of the Emperor Toghon Temür, who died in 1370 (while a copy of the manuscript of the *Rihla* in Ibn Juzayy's own handwriting exists from 1356) "this is a problem better suited for investigation by the Psychic Society than by the matter-of-fact historian" (Gibb, *Selections*, pp. 373 n. 35.).

¹⁸ See on him Ch. Pellat, "Ibn Djubayr" *EP*, s.v. The Arabic version of his *Rihla*: *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. W. Wright, rev. M. J. De Goeje (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. V, Leyden, 1907); [= Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*]. English translation: *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. by R. J. C. Broadhurst, with an Intro. and Notes, (London, 1951). [= Ibn Jubayr]

¹⁹ Gibb, *Travels*, I, pp. 83, 84, 94–95, 178–79, 190; *idem.*, *Selections*, pp. 11, 12, 345 nn. 45

and pp. 52, 347 n. 68; Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla* p. 17; Krachkovski, p. 426; Netton, p. 132; Mattock, pp. 36, 38–39; Janssens, pp. 108, 111; Miquel, *loc. cit.*; Mu'nis, p. 12; G. le Strange, "Baghdad During the 'Abbasid Caliphate," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1899), pp. 884–85; *idem.*, *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate*, (Oxford, 1924), p. 346; see also, *Muḥadhdhab Rihla Ibn Baṭṭūta* . . . Vol. I, eds. Aḥmad al-'Awamiri Bek and Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād al-Mawla Bek, (Cairo, 1934), intro., p. ٥; and especially, Mattock, "Ibn Baṭṭūta", whose entire article is devoted to examples of copying and borrowing by Ibn Baṭṭūta from Ibn Jubayr. After an in-depth, painstaking, comparative study, Mattock concludes: "Thus. . . we may say that about 250 pages of Ibn Baṭṭūta are borrowed more or less directly from Ibn Jubayr. This represents about 160 pages of the latter. As a rough fraction of the whole of either work, this is the equivalent of perhaps one-seventh of Ibn Baṭṭūta and three-sevenths of Ibn Jubayr" (*ibid.*, p. 211).

²⁰ Levzion and Hopkins (above n. 4) pp. 280–81.

²¹ His first article (Mattock), deals mainly with stylistic matters but in his second article (Mattock, "Ibn Baṭṭūta"), he extensively compares those texts of Ibn Baṭṭūta which were copied from Ibn Jubayr's *Rihla*.

²² Gibb, *Travels*, I, p. xv; *idem.*, *Selections*, pp. 12–13.

²³ Hrbek, (above n. 1 no. h).

²⁴ Gibb, *Travels*, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Hrbek, pp. 418, 422; Janssens, p. 11.

²⁵ Gibb, *op. cit.*, n. 48.

²⁶ Hrbek, pp. 421–25, 483–84; he reduces the number of places visited by Ibn Baṭṭūta, on his first trip to Syria and Palestine, to seven: Ghazza (Gaza) – Bayt ḥaḥm – Jerusalem – Nābulus (Shechem) – 'Ajlūn – al-Quṣayr.

²⁷ Ed. Aḥmad b. Jadū (Alger, 1965), but I did not have access to this edition.

²⁸ Ed. Muḥammad al-Fāsi (Rabat, 1968); [=al-'Abdari]; in the Introduction, the editor states that the previous edition, that of Aḥmad b. Jadū, was faulty. References in this essay are to the second edition.

²⁹ Following is a partial list of the research dealing with the *Rihla* of al-'Abdari:

a) M. Cherbonneau, "Un Voyage d'el 'Abdary," *Journal Asiatique*, V/4 (1854), pp. 144–76.

b) Jirji Zaydān, *Kitāb ta'rikh adab al-lugha al-'arabiyya*, III Cairo, 1931), p. 223.

c) Maḥmūd al-Fāsi, "al-Rahḥāla al-Shāhir, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-'Abdari," *Ma'had al-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya fi-Madrid* (*Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*), IX–X (1961–62), pp. 1–14.

d) Niqūla Ziyāda, *al-Jughrafiyya wa-l-riḥlāt 'inda l-'arab* (Beirut, 1962), pp. 170–80.

e) Ḥusayn Mu'nis, "Al-Jughrafiyya wa-l-Jughrafiyyūn fi-l-Andalus," *Ma'had al-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya fi-Madrid*, XI–XII (1963–64), pp. 244–54, which also appeared as a book under the same title, Madrid, 1386/1967 pp. 518–28.

f) [A]bū Yaḥyā al-Shādhilī, "Al-Rihla al-Maghribiyya," *Hawliyat al-Jāmi'a al-Tūniyya*, IV (1967), pp. 177–87. On p. 180, Shādhilī comments upon the very poor edition of this work produced by Ibn Jadū in 1965.

g) Krachkovski, p. 368.

h) W. Hoenerbach, *Das nordafrikanische Itinerar des 'Abdari*, (Leipzig, 1940).

i) *EP*, "Al-'Abdari" (Mūh. Ben Cheneb – W. Hoenerbach), s.v.

j) The recent article of J. Frenkel, "References to Palestine in *al-Rihla al-Maghribiyya*, by al-'Abdari," *Cathedra* XXXI (1984), pp. 67–75 (in Hebrew).

³⁰ Hoenerbach (above n. 29 no. h).

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–40, 153–54 n. 3, 155 n. 2, 156 nn. 2, 4, 158 nn. 1, 4–6; concerning the lighthouse of Alexandria, he concludes that Ibn Baṭṭūta should not be considered an independent source for the history of that place, as he was by Asín Palacios in *Andalus*, I, 1933; see also Hoenerbach's comment in this vein in *EP*, "Al-'Abdari", s.v.

³² See for instance Gibb's amazement over Ibn Baṭṭūta's description of the division of the Nile (*Gibb, Travels*, I, p. 50 n. 156; the confused, interrupted description of the Pyramids (*ibid.*, p. 51 n. 161) and references to Ashkelon (*ibid.*, p. 81 n. 48); cf. Hrbek, p. 422 (quoting Janssens, p. 11).

³³ Acce: Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 83 n. 59 (the paragraph concerning 'Ayn al-Baqar); Tyre: *Ibid.*, p.

84 n. 63; Tiberias: *ibid.*, p. 85 nn. 68 and 69.

³⁴ See for instance, *ibid.*, pp. 21–23, 27, 29–30, 34, 36–37, 39, 44–45. There are many more such examples.

³⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, p. 30; Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, pp. 31–40; Gibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–25.

³⁷ Sections clearly copied from al-'Abdarī 1) the cemetery of Cairo: cf. al-'Abdarī, pp. 152 1.11–153 1.6 to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 76 1.1–77 1.2; 2) the Nile: cf. al-'Abdarī, pp. 145 1.14–146 1.16 to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 77 1.3–80 1.7; 3) the Pyramids: cf. al-'Abdarī, pp. 146 1.20–148 1.15 to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 80 1.6–83 1.6; apparently authentic details: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 83–93 (= Gibb, *Travels*, I, pp. 52–58).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58 n. 180 (the Damascene scholar); p. 59 n. 181 (concerning the *maḥmal*).

³⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, p. 128 (= Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85, mentions Ibn Jubayr, al-Harawī and Yāqūt.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83 n. 59.

⁴² Al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (ed. Mehrn) (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 200.

⁴³ It is possible that al-Muqaddasī's description of Palestine, written towards the middle of the Xth century, already includes this syrup among the products of Palestine. See *Aḥsan al-taqwīm fi-ma'rifat al-aqālīm* (BGA III) (Leiden, 1906), p. 181, and also pp. 183–84, where he describes this carob syrup, called *al-qubayṭ*, among the other products of Syria and Palestine. Detailed descriptions of manufactured goods and the manner of their production are found throughout Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's descriptions of the places which he visited, as for example, Latakiya, Baalbek and Sarmin.

⁴⁴ Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 83 n. 57; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, III, (Wüstenfeld ed.), p. 722, quoting al-Muhallabī, the author of *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (mid-Xth century), who locates 'Amtā midway between 'Ammān and Tiberias (12 parasangs from Tiberias and 'Ammān). Abū l-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Dresden, 1846), p. 142 1. 12, also quotes al-Muhallabī's book, according to which the distance between Tiberias and 'Ammān is 72 miles; (According to W. Hinz, "Farsakh", *EP*, s.v., a *farsakh* is the equivalent of 3 miles). For the identification of the grave at 'Amtā, see also 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī, *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdél-Thomine, (Damascus, 1953), p. 17 (French translation: *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, Traduction annotée par Janine Sourdél-Thomine, Damas, 1957, p. 45 and nn. 2, 3); al-Harawī also locates the grave of Abū 'Ubayda in Tiberias. *ibid.*, p. 19; (French trans. p. 49); and see also Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fi-mamālik al-amṣār*, I, (Cairo, 1342/1924), p. 217; for al-Quṣayr, see Gibb, *Travels*, I, p. 83 n. 58, who remarks that Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 126, places Quṣayr Mu'īn al-Dīn in the Jordan Valley (al-Ghūr), belonging to the Jordan District (*Jund al-Urdunn*). Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī confirms Gibb's identification of this site: "The grave of Mu'ādh b. Jabal in al-Quṣayr al-Ma'īnī." The editor (?) vocalizes al-Ma'īnī while Yāqūt's version is al-Mu'īnī. This grave has also been identified in other locations: outside Tiberias (Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 512–13) and in Cairo (*ibid.*, IV, p. 555); see also al-Harawī, *loc. cit.*, who locates his grave in Dayr al-Fākhūr (in the vicinity of al-Quṣayr? See the French translation, p. 50, editor's note.)

⁴⁵ This important treatise was first identified by J. Frenkel; see his discussion of the subject, above n. 29, no. j.

⁴⁶ Al-'Abdarī, pp. 222 11. 2–6; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 115 11. 10–11, 116 13.

⁴⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 116 1.6–117 1.2 (= al-'Abdarī, pp. 233 11. 11–17).

⁴⁸ See Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-ta'rīkh al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl*, II ('Ammān, 1973), pp. 153–54.

⁴⁹ He is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī (d. 893); see on him, F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, (Leiden, 1967), p. 302.

⁵⁰ Al-'Abdarī, pp. 223 1.18–224 1.3 (= Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 117 11.2–7).

⁵¹ In the opinion of Lévi-Provençal, Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (d. 1094) and al-Idrīsī (d. 1165) were the most important Muslim geographers of the West. Al-Bakrī's most important geographical work, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, was probably compiled in 1068. Examples of passages copied from al-'Abdarī in which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa omitted the name of al-Bakrī: al-'Abdarī, p. 146 11. 3–4, 6, 16; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 79 11. 2–3, 78 1. 10; and especially al-'Abdarī, p. 147 11. 20–21, 25 (quoting al-Bakrī who quotes al-Mas'ūdī); cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, p. 81 1. 10.

Additional pages of material from al-Bakrī's book: al-'Abdarī, pp. 224–226.

⁵² As it stands, the relationship of Ibn Baṭṭūta's text to that of al-'Abdarī is not always immediately apparent but a change in the order of the sentences as they appear in the former reveals the borrowing. This technique of changing the order of the sentences is common in Ibn Baṭṭūta and is pointed out by Mattock in "Ibn Baṭṭūta", pp. 213–14, in which he gives examples of changes of order between Ibn Baṭṭūta and Ibn Jubayr's original.

⁵³ Al-'Abdarī, p. 227; Ibn Baṭṭūta, I, p. 119.

⁵⁴ Cf. for example al-'Abdarī, p. 146 11. 8–10 to Ibn Baṭṭūta, I, p. 80 11. 2–3; in another place, al-'Abdarī himself measured the inner dimensions of the dome of the mausoleum of al-Shāfi'ī in the al-Qarāfa cemetery in Cairo, and he writes: "... and I measured it from within and found that its width is greater than 30 cubits," (p. 152, 1. 15), but Ibn Baṭṭūta writes: "... and it is wider than 30 cubits," (p. 76 1. 3), after which he goes back to copying and reproducing all the names of the Muslim scholars buried in al-Qarāfa and cited by al-'Abdarī, in the exact order in which they appear there.

⁵⁵ Al-'Abdarī, p. 227 11. 2–20; Ibn Baṭṭūta, I, p. 119 11. 2–12; cf. Frenkel, *loc. cit.* It is interesting to note that Y. Yadin ("Arabic Inscriptions from Palestine," *Eretz Israel* VII, L. A. Mayer's Volume (1964), p. 112) remarks that the plate on which the inscription of the poem appears is broken and that half of the opening hemistiches of stanzas III and IV are missing. Yadin proceeded to complete stanza IV according to Ibn Baṭṭūta. With regard to the third stanza he expresses surprise that Ibn Baṭṭūta omitted it and assumes that he had forgotten it. It is noteworthy that Yadin's completion of the opening of the first hemistich of the third stanza and part of its second hemistich is identical to that of al-'Abdarī.

⁵⁶ Al-'Abdarī, p. 227 11. 22–228 1.4 (= Ibn Baṭṭūta, I, p. 120 11. 1–5). In his short description of Bethlehem, Ibn Baṭṭūta adds (to al-'Abdarī) "and there is the remains of the trunk of the Palm tree," referring most probably to the palm tree mentioned in the Qur'ān (sūra 19, Maryam, V.23) to which Mary went when she was about to deliver Jesus. An early tradition, from the beginning of the VIII century (Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, MS. Saray Ahmed III, p. 74, I fol. 210a) relates that God caused the palm tree to grow in Jerusalem especially for Mary; cf. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 409–10 ("Ahnās"), according to which that same trunk is to be found in al-Ahnās, Egypt, where some say Jesus was born.

⁵⁷ Cf. al-'Abdarī, p. 228 11. 4–14 to Ibn Baṭṭūta, I, pp. 120 1.6–121 1.3; 'A., p. 228 11.15–17 to I.B., p. 124 11. 6–9; 'A., p. 228 11.20–23 to I.B., p. 124 11.1–4; 'A., p. 229 11.1–17 to I.B., p. 121 11.4–8; 'A., p. 230 11. 1–22 to I.B., pp. 122 1.6–123 1.9.

⁵⁸ Gibb claims that, with the exception of the breaching of the wall in conjunction with his entry into the city, there is nothing which would indicate that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn destroyed any part of the wall. See also, M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin, The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 267–77, specifically the statement: "... during the conquest, a part of the northern wall was destroyed by the besieging Muslims." (*ibid.*, p. 273).

⁵⁹ See J. Drori, "Jerusalem in the Mamlūk Period," *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, Selected Papers*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak ben Zvi, 1979), p. 170; see also A. Elad, "An Early Arabic Source Concerning the Markets of Jerusalem," (Hebrew) *Cathedra* XXIV (1982), p. 39 n. 35.

⁶⁰ Ibn Baṭṭūta, p. 121 1. 7: *min al-qibla ilā l-jawf*. For the commonly accepted meaning of *jawf* as "north" among the Maghrib authors see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, p. 235. Prof. P. Shinar has brought this to my attention for which I am most grateful. He also directed me to Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī-Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, eds. G. S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1948), p. 6, where Ibn al-'Idhārī quotes another Maghribī historian, Ibn Ḥammāda al-Ṣinhājī (d. 628/1231) who uses the word *jawf* to mean "north"; see also Ibn Jubayr, *op. cit.*, p. 232, where *jawf* means "north".

⁶¹ See the detailed and important research on the dimensions of the Temple Mount in the Middle Ages by M. Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicorum*, Syrie du Sud, Vol. II (Jerusalem, Hāram Le Caire 1922), pp. 84–99 (no. 163). Al-'Abdarī's work was not known to Van Berchem; al-'Abdarī copied this text concerning the dimensions of the Hāram from al-Bakrī. Nāsir-i-Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 1047, describes an inscription in the northern wall of the Temple Mount which gives the dimensions of the Hāram as 704 × 455 cubits; al-Harawī also reports seeing this (?) inscription, in 1173, but gives the

dimensions as 700×455 ; see Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*; al-Bakrī's description is a little later than that of Nāṣir, since he completed his book in 1068.

⁶² Gibb, *Travels*, I, p. 80.

⁶³ Al-'Abdarī, pp. 231 1.11–232 1.25 (= Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 126 1.1–128 1.1).

⁶⁴ Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 81 n. 48.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY AS POLITICAL AGENT: 1803

By A. S. BENNELL

"A political agent is never so likely to succeed as when he negotiates at the head of an army".

John Malcolm

Political as well as military experience in India, was the making of Arthur Wellesley. In 1797 he landed at Fort William, Calcutta, an unknown Colonel of twenty-seven, a rank achieved by aristocratic connection and by purchase. In March 1805 he sailed from Fort St George, Madras, a Major General and a KCB. The battle of Assaye in September 1803 with other military events of that year had laid the foundation of British paramountcy in India. The story of the Assaye campaign has been told many times; the attempt is here made to highlight some political interactions that flowed from a major delegation of authority to Arthur Wellesley by his brother Richard.¹

I

In 1803 the whole of western India, from the Deccan as far north as Agra and Delhi, was ruled by the loosely grouped bandit kingdoms of the Maratha Confederacy. Nominally all were under the rule of Peshwa Baji Rao in Pune, but other Maratha figures, including Daulat Rao Sinde of Ujjein, Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur, and Jaswant Rao Holkar were in effect independent.²

Month by month control of Indian policy from London was out of the question. It followed that the position of Governor-General of India was one of almost autocratic power. Here the checks and balances of working for group purposes with others of different temperament and opinions scarcely applied. It was to this office, in November 1797, that William Pitt and Henry Dundas had appointed Richard Wellesley, then second Earl of Mornington, an ambitious but almost untried politician. He arrived in Calcutta in June 1798, where Arthur Wellesley had been serving with his regiment for about a year. Richard Wellesley stayed in India from May 1798 to August 1805 and during that time transformed the diplomatic situation within which the British East India Company was working. There was direct displacement of ineffective Indian governments and also an extension of the subsidiary alliance system, by which the British stationed troops within the territory of a "country power", paid for by that state, but available, in return for a defensive guarantee, for the general political purposes of the British. Since the protected state had lost the right to an independent foreign policy, the spread of this system created British paramountcy. This burst of diplomatic, military and political activity, in which Arthur Wellesley was to play an important part was, in its main strategy, the brain child of Richard Wellesley. But its implementation owed much to a group that Keith Feiling rightly called "a magnificent dynasty of administrators." Apart from Arthur Wellesley

and Henry Wellesley, this group included Barry Close, John Malcolm and Josiah Webbe. Richard Wellesley's dominant position in this group was partly one of authority, temperament and character, but status played its part, in an age in which aristocratic title was highly regarded.³

Military administration of Mysore, broken into by the interlude of the preparations for the operation against Egypt in 1801, ended for Arthur Wellesley with the convulsions in the Maratha Confederacy of late 1802. These opened the way for a major initiative in British policy, which Richard Wellesley had wished to set in train earlier, and in which Arthur Wellesley was fully involved. In the autumn of 1802 the Deccan territory more directly held by Peshwa Baji Rao was threatened by an invasion from Jaswant Rao Holkar. Although Daulat Rao Sinde gave some military aid to the Peshwa, in a battle outside Pune on 25 October 1802 his forces were totally defeated and Baji Rao fled from his capital, in the first place to a hill fort in the Western Ghats but then to the coast. For many months before this defeat, Barry Close as Resident had been pressing upon Baji Rao the offer of an alliance with the British, at a cost in cession of territory, but with the potential benefit of the support of British troops. Baji Rao had toyed inconclusively with this proposition. On the morning of the battle he sent Close a simplified agreement which conceded all the main points. After the battle Close carefully kept British options open, in case, in the changed circumstances of the total defeat of the Peshwa, Richard Wellesley had wished to vary policy. But the policy was promptly confirmed, the hope being that an alliance with the nominal sovereign of the Marathas would introduce British mediation into Maratha disputes. Close arranged for the move of Baji Rao, still within his own territory, to a position where he could be defended by British troops from Bombay. Here the provisional agreement was converted into the definitive Treaty of Bassein.⁴

The vital clause of the Treaty of Bassein, signed in the last moments of 1802, was its unwritten one; the British had undertaken to restore Baji Rao to his capital. At the time of the battle before Pune in October, Barry Close had sent warning instructions to the Governors of Madras and Bombay and to the Resident at Hyderabad, urging that military preparations be set in train. The timing of the calling forward of British troops had been delegated by Richard Wellesley to Close. The subsidiary force with the Nizam of Hyderabad was moved towards Pune while still in Hyderabad territory. In northern Mysore, Arthur Wellesley set himself to prepare a detachment which he anticipated would be sent into Maratha territory, although at this stage he did not know that he would be asked to command it. He was totally sceptical, in private letters, of the value of an alliance with Baji Rao. On military practicalities, as distinct from political speculation, he wrote to Close indicating the time scale of a potential advance to Pune with impressive foresight ("you ought not to look out for us at Pune before the end of April") and recommending the creation of a depot at Bassein or Salsette from which to provision an army on the Deccan plateau. He corresponded with the Government of Bombay on the detail of this proposed supply system. By the first days of March he knew that he was to lead forward the detachment which he had

prepared into Maratha territory.⁵

The instructions of March 1803 to Arthur Wellesley as detachment commander show the political pre-suppositions of the venture. He was to "encourage the southern jagirdars to declare in favour of the Peshwa's cause", to move to Miraj where he was to effect a junction with the Peshwa, and finally "to proceed eventually to Pune and establish an order of things in that capital favourable to the return of the Peshwa and the attainment of the ends of the Treaty". In conciliation of the rulers of southern Maharashtra specific commitments were to be avoided:

"if the majority of the southern jagirdars, and the sentiments of the body of the people, are found to declare in favour of the restoration of Baji Rao, the British detachment ought to persevere in the endeavour to re-establish his authority . . . should the detachment . . . encounter the hostility of any individual jagirdar . . . they are to employ every practicable means to overcome opposition".

The politicals were confident that Pune could be occupied without hostilities with Jaswant Rao Holkar, and without a union between Sinde and Holkar. Although it would be in the interest of Daulat Rao Sinde that the power of Holkar should be reduced or destroyed by British intervention, Josiah Webbe wrote to Arthur Wellesley, "our natural policy is to adjust Holkar's claims if possible by our mediation, in order that the Holkar family may be preserved as a rival and counterpoise to Sinde in the northern parts of the empire". The advance to Miraj would be "through a friendly country". On his second day in Maratha territory, Arthur Wellesley confirmed to his brother that he hoped to "be able to bring forward for the service of the Peshwa all the jagirdars in the southern part of the empire".⁶

Some ten days before the occupation of Pune, but once the detachment had reached Akulj, and was in touch with the subsidiary force that had moved from Hyderabad, Arthur Wellesley set himself, in a private letter to his brother, to analyse the political situation that would follow from the probably peaceful restoration of the Peshwa. Private letters from the Calcutta Secretariat show that Richard Wellesley was in broad agreement with his approach. Arthur Wellesley began by stressing that the advance thus far had been unopposed:

"I have been joined by some of the southern jagirdars, and of the Peshwa's officers . . . but there are many of both descriptions still absent . . . In all it is easy to observe not only a want of attachment and zeal, but a detestation of his person, and an apprehension of his power, founded upon a long series of mutual injuries".

It was evident that the extent to which the southern jagirdars would assist the British, if there were to be conflict with the other major Maratha rulers, was entirely open. In the event, in a series of negotiations with Baji Rao, conducted by Barry Close, John Malcolm and Arthur Wellesley, Baji Rao refused to meet any of the demands of these jagirdars, and the British received virtually no support from them.⁷

II

The Assaye campaign developed from a military and political confrontation with the Marathas in June and July 1803, in which the issue was control of Peshwa Baji Rao, and in which the forces of Daulat Rao Sinde and Raghuji Bhonsle brought together in the Purna valley, faced two detachments of the army of the East India Company, supported by two King's regiments, both in the Deccan, one in the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Instructions from Richard Wellesley as Governor-General to Arthur Wellesley set out the political objectives to be secured by the assemblage of British military force, by menace if possible, by war if necessary. Prepared in Fort William in early June, transmitted late in the same month, and received on 18 July, these widely-drawn instructions gave "general direction and control of all political and military affairs in Hindustan and the Deccan". Subject only to the over-riding authority of the two Presidency Commanders-in-Chief, Stuart in Madras and Lake in northern India, Arthur Wellesley was given "the chief command of all the British troops, and of the forces of our allies, serving in the territories of the Peshwa, of the Nizam, or any of the Maratha states or chiefs". The authority empowered Arthur Wellesley to negotiate and conclude agreements with Daulat Rao Sinde, Raghuji Bhonsle or Jaswant Rao Holkar, which would lead to the withdrawal of their forces within their own territories. He was also empowered to arbitrate between the Maratha rulers, so as to preclude or frustrate any confederacy "directed to the subversion of the Treaty of Bassein". Although intervention in the internal affairs of the government of the Peshwa was in general to be avoided, "provisional interference" was appropriate if essential. The authority passed to Stuart if he moved north to take command of all forces in the Deccan, but even in this event Arthur Wellesley was recommended as chief adviser.⁸

Arthur Wellesley hoped to the last that war would be averted. He felt that the base of military strength on which he must challenge was insecure. The political setting brought further dangers, on which he enlarged in an extended report sent to his brother when he received the delegated powers:

"it could not be expected that even a government regularly organised would be able to resume its functions and its powers immediately after a revolution such as that effected by the victories of Jaswant Rao Holkar, much less one conducted by a man as weak as Baji Rao . . . The whole of the Maratha territory is unsettled and in ruins. Holkar's armies consumed the produce of last year and . . . entire districts were depopulated . . . For a series of years governments and even jagirdars can have received little if any revenue".

Nor was the position in the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad better:

"the precarious state of the Nizam's health is another circumstance of encouragement to the confederates . . . In the event of a war, particularly if there should not speedily be a signal success on the part of the British troops, it must be expected

that the Nizam's death will be attended by the assumption of independence by some of the chiefs . . . The hope of producing confusion in the Nizam's territories is one of the principal inducements to war".

Daulat Rao Sinde and Raghuji Bhonsle had brought their armies together in the first days of June. By their unwillingness to negotiate rather than by direct statement, they had demonstrated a refusal to withdraw from this position, which directly threatened the territories of both Peshwa Baji Rao and the Nizam of Hyderabad. British military operations, if these were determined upon, would be partly dependent on the degree of effectiveness of the governments of these two powers.⁹

The exposed British detachments in the Deccan, commanded by Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, were dependent on the further transit of supply trains through the southern Maratha territories, which owed the most nominal allegiance to the Peshwa. In the previous year, in the very different circumstances before the signature of the Treaty of Bassein, Arthur Wellesley had written of the consequences of "taking up a ruined cause if we interfere at all in favour of Baji Rao". The refusal of Baji Rao in early April to join the Madras detachment after it had first entered Maratha territory, and the interviews at Pune that Arthur Wellesley had attended in May, had only confirmed this distrust. Lamenting to Stuart in June that his detachment had received no assistance after arrival at Pune, Arthur Wellesley had spoken of the servants of Baji Rao as "profuse in promises but very sparing in performance". He suspected "counteraction" at the court. In a private letter to John Malcolm he expressed his doubt whether the British would really gain by the Treaty of Bassein, and to Barry Close, the Resident with the Peshwa, his conviction that there was an intention "to prevent us from enjoying any of the resources of Pune". To the Resident with Daulat Rao Sinde he argued that to withdraw from the alliance with Peshwa Baji Rao, which on the grounds of its total inutility he would have wished to do, would suggest "lack of confidence in ourselves". Arthur Wellesley therefore entered the campaign expecting not to be able to rely at all on Baji Rao, "the only principle of whose character that is known is insincerity".¹⁰

The relationship with the Nizam of Hyderabad was also crucial. From the outset of the Governor-Generalship, the British had sought to exploit for their own purposes, in the setting of the coming conflict with the Marathas, the weakness of the Nizam. John Malcolm had stated this central point in a survey of policy written in April 1798, in what was probably the document that first brought him to the attention of Richard Wellesley:

"though it is our interest to support the Nizam . . . it is equally if not more our interest to prevent his becoming formidable, as on his weakness rests the policy of our connection".

By means of the Hyderabad alliance, in two treaties of September 1798 and October 1800, the British political frontier had been advanced, so making it less likely that

British territory would be ravaged by Maratha horsemen, and some of the expense of military preparation and deployment was transferred to the Nizam. But the policy had its costs. The counterpart of British willingness to assist the Nizam was the treasuring by Hyderabad of claims or grievances against the Marathas that had prospect of being realised only with British support. The policy could founder also on the incapacity for government of the Nizam and his court. Control over the major feudatories was slight, the army was not effective, revenue was not easily collected. The British alliance was seen at Hyderabad as safeguarding the succession following the prospective death of the Nizam, who was almost seventy-five. In the event there was no succession crisis following the death of the Nizam in August 1803 and it was the political survival of the chief minister that was soon to be in doubt.¹¹

As Arthur Wellesley in September 1803 came to the end of the series of military movements which defended the Godavari valley and led to the decisive battle of Assaye, he must have realised that since both rulers were in the Deccan it would fall to him to negotiate terms of peace with Daulat Rao Sinde and Raghujii Bhonsle. Authority had been delegated to him in June 1803 to declare war or to make peace with direction to attempt to "destroy the military power of either or both chiefs". The central political objectives had been set out. From Daulat Rao Sinde they were the cession of all territory north of a line joining Gohad to the northern boundary of Jainagar, the possession of the person of the blind Mughal Emperor in Delhi, cession of all the maritime territory including Broach, the possessions of Sinde in Gujerat, and those south of the Narbada. From Raghujii Bhonsle the key cession was "the whole province of Cuttack, so as to unite the northern Circars by the continued line of seacoast with Bengal". These instructions had been framed on the assumption that the two Maratha rulers would shrink from conflict and be faced down by the confrontation with deployed military power. In early August the Fort William Secretariat had explained to Arthur Wellesley that further guidance would be sent to him later. In a note by Barlow, senior member of the Bengal Council, Arthur Wellesley was reminded of a necessary condition of any peace concluded in the Deccan, namely that treaties made by Lake in Hindustan must be accepted by Daulat Rao Sinde, and feudatories of Sinde who had elected to change their allegiance and aid the British should not suffer for doing so.¹²

In mid-October, before more than the first indications of the victory of Assaye could have reached Calcutta, Barlow produced a further note: it was annotated by Richard Wellesley. In the event, this became the latest expression of the views in Fort William on peace terms available to Arthur Wellesley when he found himself called upon to undertake negotiations. Requirements of a peace settlement now stated for the first time included the requirement that both Daulat Rao Sinde and Raghujii Bhonsle should be obliged to exclude Frenchmen and other Europeans from their territories, that the frontiers between Berar and Cuttack on the east and Berar and the Nizam on the west should be "rendered compact and connected", that Daulat Rao Sinde should be deprived of territory south of the Tapti and in

Gujarat, and that both courts should be required to receive a British Resident. On a recapitulation of territorial requirements in the north, Richard Wellesley commented

"the occupation of the right bank of the Jumna will secure the tranquillity as well as the safety of the whole Doab. Our garrisons must be Delhi, Muttra, Agra, Kalpi and some position in Bundelkhand".

On the issue of the confirmation of treaties signed with lesser rulers by British detachment commanders he noted

"an article of the treaty must provide for this, peace ought not to be delayed for the specification of every name".

So was first stated the difficulty that was to be the cause of dispute after the treaty settlement.¹³

Since it now seemed possible that peace negotiations were imminent, Arthur Wellesley set out in a long letter to the Governor-General the terms on which he proposed to negotiate. In this letter he was taking into account the June 1803 instructions as well as the points made in the first note that Barlow had produced in August. The cessions proposed were of all territory north of Jodhpur and Jainagar, the forts of Broach and Ahmednagar, territory south and east of the Ajanta hills, and the renunciation of Maratha claims on the Nizam and on the Rana of Gohad. By other proposed provisions, Daulat Rao Sinde was to undertake that there would be no Europeans in his service, that the Mughal Emperor should be under British protection, and that he would "not molest the chiefs who may have assisted the British Government in the War". Since these intended treaty elements went markedly less far than the June 1803 instructions on a significant point, in that there was no intention to claim the forts of Asirgarh and Powanghar or the city of Burhanpur, north of the Ajanta hills, Arthur Wellesley explained why he had altered the proposals. There were "weighty objections" to an increase of the territory of the Nizam on his northern frontier. More was here involved than continuing resentment at the ineffectiveness of the government of the Nizam of Hyderabad. There emerged here for the first time a difference of view on British policy towards Daulat Rao Sinde that was to become important in early 1804. It could be held that it was in the British interest "to preserve a part of Sinde's strength, to enable him to support himself against Jaswant Rao Holkar". Territory to the south and east of the Ajanta hills, destined for the Nizam, should, in the view of Arthur Wellesley, be transferred only after a significant modification of the subsidiary treaty by which the Resident would have the right to muster the troops the Nizam was bound to maintain and to inspect forts that his government was bound to supply.¹⁴

Within a few days, Arthur Wellesley had also received the second note that Barlow had prepared in mid-October with annotations from Richard Wellesley. On the whole he was relieved to find that his first thoughts coincided to a great degree

with those of his brother. He now questioned the advisability of forbidding the entry into the military employ of the country powers of Europeans, although he had placed this in his own list of requirements. He also stated for the first time his support for the view, much echoed later, that although the European presence had helped to bring the Maratha armies to a formidable state of discipline, it had diverted the Marathas from their natural style of warfare. They had come to feel that should their artillery and infantry be lost, defeat was inevitable. They could perhaps have been more formidable if they had concentrated on cavalry operations. On peace terms, Arthur Wellesley now additionally proposed to stipulate the independence from Daulat Rao Sinde of the Sikhs, and of "all persons north of Jodhpur, Jainagar and Gohad." He also intended to insist that the treaty must confirm any arrangements that had been made by Lake in territories to the north of the line Jodhpur, Jainagar, Gohad.¹⁵

III

Even before the informal guidance prepared in Fort William in October could reach him, Arthur Wellesley was faced with the prospect of peace negotiations. In early November, after the return of his detachment to the Godavari valley, as the army of Raghuji Bhonsle was retreating eastwards into Berar, and Daulat Rao Sinde was hesitating in the upper Purna valley, news came that an agent from Daulat Rao Sinde would arrive in camp in a few days. Jaswant Rao Ghorpade duly presented himself, and had a first discussion with Arthur Wellesley on 10 November. The talk was discursive, much time being spent on the events of the first days of August. Ghorpade was anxious to demonstrate that the outbreak of hostilities had been due to the "precipitate and violent conduct" of the Resident at the court of Daulat Rao Sinde. Arthur Wellesley disputed this. As he pointed out to John Malcolm:

"all this preliminary anxiety about the cause of the war is very natural, as they well know that we shall found our claims to satisfaction and security on the fact that they were the aggressors".

Ghorpade lacked authority to negotiate, and on this Arthur Wellesley insisted, although he noted in private letters that he had himself no written authority to act on behalf of either the Nizam of Hyderabad or Baji Rao the Peshwa. Ghorpade was allowed to stay in camp, but further position-taking was suspended until credentials, which Arthur Wellesley believed were already available, were produced. The distress to which Daulat Rao Sinde had been reduced as a result of the war seemed to make it probable that the status of Ghorpade was genuine, and his mission "intended to obtain peace".¹⁶

There was further delay before Ghorpade could show that he had authority to negotiate. In the first part of the discussions that took place in Arthur Wellesley's tent

on 21st November, he was at pains to establish that the war, which the *darbar* of Daulat Rao Sinde now wished to end, was one of aggression by Sinde and

"particularly noticed the conduct of Daulat Rao Sinde in first calling upon the British government to come forward to assist the Peshwa against Holkar; and afterwards his making peace with Holkar and sacrificing to him the vast territories which he had conquered from the Holkar family, only to induce him to become a party in the war against the British Government".

In response, Jaswant Rao Ghorpade set out the serious losses that Daulat Rao Sinde had sustained. He had been obliged to assemble large armies and had lost them; he had lost the territories he had ceded to Jaswant Rao Holkar, but most of all he had lost his position at Pune. All the power of the Peshwa had once been in his hands, and now it was in those of the British. Arthur Wellesley pointed out that all this was so, but that it was the result of the actions of Sinde himself. The issue now was whether the *vakils* were empowered to enter into negotiations on the principle that the British and their allies were entitled to compensation for the injuries which they had received. They were not so empowered and Arthur Wellesley refused to indicate "the extent of the compensation" to them until they were.¹⁷

But the discussions did not end there. Having accepted that there could be no negotiation on terms of peace, the agents nonetheless sought an armistice. They showed Arthur Wellesley their instructions from which it appeared that the evolving threat from a detachment moving eastwards from Gujerat and the risk of conflict with that commanded by Stevenson, moving eastwards in the Purna valley after the capture of Asirgarh and towards Gawilgarh, had alarmed Daulat Rao Sinde. Sinde wished to station himself, an armistice having been concluded, at Burhanpur during negotiations for peace. Making it clear that he was prepared to discuss an armistice with Daulat Rao Sinde only, that he would not permit Sinde taking up a position at Burhanpur, and that the armistice would apply to hostilities in the Deccan and Gujerat only, Arthur Wellesley agreed to state a possible armistice in detail the following day. He refused to consider the suggestion that the armistice should be extended to northern India; as he pointed out, he had no authority over the troops there, and he could not communicate with Gerald Lake, the Commander-in-Chief in northern India, in less than six weeks.¹⁸

The following day Arthur Wellesley imposed his terms for an armistice; Sinde was to move with his armies to the eastward and remain there during the negotiation of peace. Orders were sent to Stevenson, the commander of the other detachment, that if Sinde attempted "to pass to the westward" he was to be attacked. The principal military reason for the acceptance by Arthur Wellesley of the suspension of hostilities was to prevent any delay in the start of the siege of Gawilgarh. The suspension of hostilities was to be kept secret from the officers of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Arthur Wellesley set out more fully his reasons for agreeing to the armistice. In the first place he felt that he had no power to injure Daulat Rao Sinde further, but he feared that

Daulat Rao Sinde still had the means to prevent a British attack upon Gawilgarh. Sinde had sent forces towards Gujerat and Arthur Wellesley was concerned that a British detachment there might be attacked. Finally "by leaving the Raja of Berar out of the arrangement" the interests of Daulat Rao Sinde and Raghuji Bhonsle had effectively been separated and the confederacy dissolved. This armistice agreement, which never came into force, required ratification by Daulat Rao Sinde within ten days.¹⁹

On 25 November, Arthur Wellesley led his detachment north-eastwards into the territory of the Raja of Berar so as to place himself in support of Colonel Stevenson. Four armies were now in the territory of the Raja of Berar, who quite possibly had initiated the war so as to divert marauding by his fellow Marathas from his own territory. The central condition of the armistice agreement with Daulat Rao Sinde, concluded only days before and never ratified, was not carried out. The agents from Daulat Rao Sinde, who were still in the camp of Arthur Wellesley, begged him not to attack the two chiefs, but Arthur Wellesley refused. The combined British detachments approached the Maratha forces late on 29 November. The decision was taken to attack. In the resulting battle of Argaum, the Marathas withdrew, the British cavalry pursuing them for many miles. This was the setting of the first peace discussions with an accredited representative of Raghuji Bhonsle.²⁰

In discussions, held late on 30 November, Jaswant Rao Ramchandrar attempted to argue that the movement of the army of the Raja of Berar to join that of Daulat Rao Sinde in the upper Purna valley in early June 1803 had been for the purpose of settling the dispute between Daulat Rao Sinde and Jaswant Rao Holkar. This reconciliation had been necessary to preserve Berar from destruction by the other two Maratha chiefs. Further, he contended that Peshwa Baji Rao should not have concluded the Treaty of Bassein without consultation with other members of the confederacy. Arthur Wellesley replied that it was Raghuji Bhonsle who had been "the original cause of the War". He again stated, as he had to the agents of Daulat Rao Sinde, his view of the abortive negotiations of the last days of July. He then

"recapitulated the injuries received from, and the various acts of aggression committed by the Raja, the losses sustained and the expenses incurred by the Company in the war . . . for all of which . . . compensation would be required as the price of peace".

Arthur Wellesley enquired from Jaswant Rao Ramchandrar whether he had authority to negotiate on the basis of the British right to compensation. As he had not, he was required to leave the British camp, a request for an armistice to last while he sought the necessary authority being decisively rejected. Both British detachments now deployed for the attack on the hill-fortress of Gawilgarh.²¹

On 9 December, while preparations for the siege of Gawilgarh were in train, Jaswant Rao Ramchandrar brought letters of authority from Raghuji Bhonsle. The Raja of Berar now agreed to give compensation to the British for the injuries which

they had received and sought information on the terms which would be required. Arthur Wellesley stated the requirements; cession to the British of the province of Cuttack and the port of Balasore, linked by "a convenient frontier" to other British territory, and cession to the Nizam of territory which would extend his boundary to the hills on which Gawilgarh stood, and to the Wardha valley to the eastward, and renunciation of all claims within these territories. Jaswant Rao Ramchandrar replied that acceptance of these demands would destroy the state of the Raja, and received the classic response that

"the Raja was a great politician, and ought to have calculated rather better his chances of success before he commenced the war, but . . . having commenced it, it was proper that he should suffer".

Requests that Raghuji Bhonsle should agree to receive a British Resident and that the Raja should undertake not to employ Frenchmen or other Europeans were readily accepted. Ramchandrar argued strongly that the British were seeking too much territory for the Nizam. The Maratha rulers despised the military potential of Hyderabad, and the limited extent to which it had contributed to the British victories. Arthur Wellesley countered that the British would never fail "the ancient ally of the Company". He again refused to consider an armistice, warning that delays could be hurtful to the Raja, and saying that he would insist on a hostage, although in the event he did not do so.²²

On the day following the storming of Gawilgarh, and after John Malcolm had joined Arthur Wellesley, Jaswant Rao Ramchandrar again discussed the settlement, having received a letter from Raghuji Bhonsle. The areas of the settlement which the Raja of Berar wished especially to question were the scale of the cession to the British in Cuttack, and that to the Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan. On the first the contention was that a partial cession went far enough, and on the second that the compensation to the Nizam should be in money and not in territory. Such payments were rarely made in full or without further prolonged wrangling. Arthur Wellesley insisted that the whole of Cuttack must be given up, so as to secure the land communication between Calcutta and Madras, and that the Nizam must have territory worth Rs 30 lacs, or at the least, the river Wardha for a boundary. He also insisted on the elimination of other Maratha claims on the Nizam. A major difficulty arose over the provision for the acceptance of treaties made with lesser chiefs in Cuttack and neighbouring territories. On this Arthur Wellesley stated that

"the demand was indispensable . . . there was no intention to injure the Raja's state and . . . he might rely with security on the honour of the British government, that no engagement should be entered into, after it should be known that the peace had been concluded".

In further discussion on this point, Arthur Wellesley added that his article "should be as little injurious . . . as possible, and that so far from increasing the numbers of those

who should be the objects of it . . . so far as could be done consistently with the honour and good faith of the British Government, it should have no operation at all". This was to be a fateful promise. The agent then accepted that the treaty should be prepared, and it was signed in the morning of 17 December. It was subject to ratification by Raghuji Bhonsle.²³

IV

At the same time there were informal and unrecorded exchanges with delegates from Daulat Rao Sindé. These covered ground which was to be gone over again later in the month when the principal minister of Sindé arrived in camp. On 12 December, the day before the attack on Gawilgarh, Arthur Wellesley commented on the main difficulty, which was

"a want of information regarding the proceedings of General Lake, even to the extent to which he has pushed his conquests, and of the country from which he has expelled the Marathas and taken possession".

He was soon more optimistic on the prospects for these negotiations:

"I have no doubt but that . . . Sindé will make his peace as soon as he can. Indeed, his *vakil* and I are agreed on the principal points, and we should have concluded a treaty some days ago, if I had received from Bengal any information whatever, or even the names of the countries which the Governor-General wished to have. I was therefore obliged to acknowledge my ignorance, and to ask the *vakil* for information of the state of the countries in Hindustan".²⁴

Formal and recorded conferences followed on 24 December, the representative of Daulat Rao Sindé now being Vithal Pant, his chief minister. He initiated a discussion of the possibility that Daulat Rao Sindé might "connect himself more closely with the Company . . . and establish an alliance". Arthur Wellesley had been forewarned in the informal discussions of the concern of Daulat Rao Sindé that Jaswant Rao Holkar, having stood aside from the contest with the British, was about once again to turn on the northern territories of Daulat Rao Sindé:

"the *vakils* . . . disclosed a great apprehension of Holkar's power, and they almost expressed an expectation that Holkar would attack them, as soon as the peace with the Company should be settled. They said that, in that case, they must depend on the Company for assistance in money and troops".

Arthur Wellesley pointed out to Vithal Pant that such an alliance could only be defensive in character. The irony of the request went deep. During the attempt to form a confederacy against the British in June 1803, in which the moving spirit had been Raghuji Bhonsle, a treaty had been signed between Jaswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindé, by which territory earlier seized by Sindé was to be returned to

Holkar. The British now found themselves insisting that an alliance that had been created against them must be carried through in its main contractual features, so as to eliminate a potential source of conflict from the external relations of a now proposed ally. Arthur Wellesley finally secured a direct admission that the unfulfilled element of this treaty had been that Holkar should join in the attack on the British. This was public avowal of the attempted confederacy of June 1803, of which at the time Arthur Wellesley had been most sceptical.²⁵

V

As a result of the need to delegate political direction away from Fort William to Arthur Wellesley, at the margin of the peace settlement there were disputes over the terms. That over Gwalior, although not in itself, as has sometimes been assumed to be the case, the cause of further war in 1804 between the British and the Marathas, certainly worsened the atmosphere at the court of Daulat Rao Sinde and made it far less likely that Richard Wellesley could look with any confidence in 1804 to an alliance with Daulat Rao Sinde against Jaswant Rao Holkar. Arthur Wellesley saw the imperative in future relations with Daulat Rao Sinde to be conciliation, so that Sinde would accept the position within the structure of paramountcy. The objective was conciliation, the method the conclusion of a subsidiary alliance, the agent John Malcolm; the auguries should have been set for success, but they were not. In the dispute caused by the determination of Richard Wellesley to secure Gwalior both Arthur Wellesley and John Malcolm considered the course of policy ill-advised, even if correct in legal terms. Although a subsidiary alliance was concluded, the attitude of the court of Daulat Rao Sinde had been so altered that a later alliance with the British against Jaswant Rao Holkar was purely nominal.²⁶

Reflecting in Bombay on a group of despatches from John Malcolm of mid-March 1804, Arthur Wellesley set himself to invite his brother to look afresh at his Maratha policy. A powerful and well-reasoned statement, taking also into account the standing of Richard Wellesley with the government in London and the Court of Directors, it was the outstanding example of written brotherly advice during the Governor-Generalship. Of the conclusion of the subsidiary alliance with Daulat Rao Sinde, which Malcolm had just negotiated, Arthur Wellesley commented to his brother that "this completes everything you wished for in this part of India". The prospects of peace with Sinde he considered turned on the arrangements that had still to be determined on Gwalior. It would be unwise to assume too easily either that Sinde had lost all resources and means of waging war ("I have many proofs that pay is not an object to Maratha horsemen compared with plunder") or that there was substantial potential British influence at the court of Sinde. But the central point was the standing of Richard Wellesley at home; in that context, renewal of war was "the greatest misfortune that could occur . . . What a falling off it would be if the consequence of

the peace should be a renewal of the war under circumstances of greater difficulty than have hitherto occurred". According both that he had himself been insufficiently informed during the peace negotiations, and also that there were arguments on the British side, he urged compromise: "the whole question of the peace of India turns upon this point". If further war with Sind was inevitable it would be successful "although possibly we might not enjoy all the advantages in carrying it on that we had even in the last war". But, "I should prefer the continuance of the peace, for the public and for you".²⁷

Relations with the Raja of Berar after the peace settlement were also endangered. There were potential quarrels about the terms of the peace settlement both in the west of the former Berar territories, where the Nizam of Hyderabad had been the gainer, and in the east where greed in the interpretation of the settlement with former feudatories of Berar in the Cuttack province led to an over-ruling of the recommendation of Arthur Wellesley and the prolonged refusal of the court at Berar to accept the settlement. A direct threat of the renewal of hostilities in May 1804 led to a temporary acceptance by the Raja of the disputed interpretation, but at the end of the year, when the star of Jaswant Rao Holkar seemed to be in the ascendant, Berar hesitated and all but joined the potential revival of the Maratha confederacy against the British. Again in this dispute Arthur Wellesley felt both that Richard Wellesley was ill-advised to proceed as he did, and also that in legal terms he was on weak ground. Conciliation here too would have aided the political structure and had been deliberately not chosen.²⁸

At a first level, the dispute was personal. Arthur Wellesley in June 1803 had been given extensive political authority. He had exercised political discretion in the conclusion of the peace settlements working from interim statements of intention. The political authority remained that of Richard Wellesley, who could determine when that authority reverted to himself. Richard Wellesley deliberately stood at a distance from the negotiating tent and did not personally negotiate with any of the country powers. The main concern was with territorial acquisition, viewed from the standpoint of military security, applied to places that Richard Wellesley knew only from the maps of James Rennell. Divergence of view at this level was an early instance of the difference of perspective of the field officer and the secretariat.

But there was a deeper level. Richard Wellesley by his actions had damaged the peace settlement that Arthur Wellesley had secured. As a result, initial failure in the further conflict with the Marathas cost him the last of his support in London. What was at issue was a differing assessment by the brothers of the expedient end to the Governor-Generalship, and also differing views on the future condition of central India. Conciliation implied that the measure of possible change in the political map had been reached, that renewal of the political mandate from London was not possible, and that the Maratha Confederacy in its totality, though gravely weakened, was not at once, or at least not completely, to be brought to an acceptance of British paramountcy. The determination of Richard Wellesley in the first months of 1804 to

secure the last vestige of the claims that could be based on the peace settlements with Daulat Rao Sinde and Raghuji Bhonsle implied that the objective remained that of total acceptance of the self-defined and self-imposed British role of mediator. Richard Wellesley did not show, as Arthur Wellesley did, the capacity for flexible acceptance of lesser aims; the ultimate had become the enemy of the possible.

NOTES

Detailed references are not given to letters printed in either of the editions of the *Despatches* edited by Gurwood, although the date of the letter is always given. A reference is given for a letter from Arthur Wellesley, or a conference, if it is to be found in the *Supplementary Despatches (India)* or in the *Poona Residency Correspondence*.

¹ A little known study of the Assaye campaign of real value is W. D. Bird "The Assaye Campaign, *Journal of the United Services Institution of India* (April 1912) vol. 41, pp. 101-124.

² A description of the Maratha Confederacy as it appeared to the British in 1803 can be found in *Papers relative to the Maratha war in 1803* (House of Commons, June 1804) pp. 255-63.

³ The life of the group working with Richard Wellesley can be seen in *Send Malcolm: The Life of Major General Sir John Malcolm 1769-1833* Rodney Pasley, (Putney, BACSA, 1982) and in the account of Merrick Shawe, the original of Major Pendennis, in Gordon N. Ray *The Buried Life* (OUP for RSL 1962) pp. 58-77.

⁴ On the Maratha policy of Richard Wellesley see A. S. Bennell "The Road to Poonah" in *East India Company Studies* ed. K. Ballhatchet and J. Harrison, (Asian Research Service 1986) pp. 183-206.

⁵ AW - Close 1 Jan. 1803, AW - Duncan 20 Jan. 1803, AW - Close 4 Mar. 1803.

⁶ Stuart - AW 9 Mar. 1803 *Poona Residency Correspondence* (Bombay 1936-51) ix. 81 (cited as PRC), Webbe - AW 10 Mar. 1803 Wellington Papers 3/3/93 (cited as WP), AW - RW 13 Mar. 1803.

⁷ AW - RW 15 Apr. 1803, Shawe to Malcolm 5 May 1803 (letter misdated) Richard Wellesley Papers, British Library 13,602 f.4. (cited as A.Mss).

⁸ RW - AW 26 Jun. 1803 *Despatches of the Marquess Wellesley* 5 vols (London 1836-7) ed. M. Martin iii. 149 (cited as Martin).

⁹ AW - RW 24 Jul. 1803. On the events before the outbreak of war, see A. S. Bennell "The Anglo-Maratha Confrontation of June and July 1803" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1962) pp. 107-31.

¹⁰ AW - Stuart 19 Jun. 1803, AW - Malcolm 20 Jun. 1803, AW - Collins 29 Jun. 1803 *Supplementary Despatches (India)* iv. 123 (cited as SD).

¹¹ J. Malcolm "Reflections on the policy of forming a more intimate alliance with the Nizam." 19 Apr. 1798 Harris Mss (Kent R.O.) U 624 0276, Kirkpatrick Mss (Somerset R.O.) 63/16.

¹² RW - AW 27 Jun. 1803 Martin iii. 153, Shawe - AW 3 Aug. 1803 A.Mss 13,778 f.11, WP 3/3/7, Barlow Mem. nd A.Mss 13,722 f.1, WP 3/3/5.

¹³ Barlow Mem. 16 Oct. 1803 A.Mss 13,722 f.27, WP 3/3/5.

¹⁴ AW - RW 11 Nov. 1803.

¹⁵ AW - Shawe 18 Nov. 1803. For discussion on the question of the type of warfare of the Marathas, see J. Pemble "Resources and Techniques in the Second Maratha War", *Historical Journal* (Cambridge June 1976) vol. 19 no. 2, pp. 375-404.

¹⁶ Conference 10 Nov. 1803 SD iv. 221, AW - Malcolm 11 Nov. 1803, AW - RW 11 Nov. 1803.

¹⁷ Conference 21 Nov. 1803 SD iv. 228, PRC x. 165.

¹⁸ Conference 21 Nov. 1803 SD iv. 228.

¹⁹ "Agreed suspension of hostilities" 23 Nov. 1803.

²⁰ AW - RW 30 Nov. 1803.

²¹ Conference 30 Nov. 1803 SD iv. 272, PRC x. 180.

²² Conference 9 Dec. 1803 SD iv. 277, PRC x. 183.

²³ Conferences 12, 16 Dec. 1803 SD iv. 280, 281. PRC x. 185, 186.

²⁴ AW - Shawe 12 Dec. 1803.

²⁵ Conferences 24, 26 Dec. 1803 SD iv. 251, 254, PRC x. 168, 171.

²⁶ Relations with Daulat Rao Sinde in the early months of 1804 are outlined in A. S. Bennell "Factors in the Marquis Wellesley's failure against Holkar, 1804", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, (1965) vol. 38, part 3, pp. 553-581.

²⁷ AW - RW 15 Mar. 1804 SD iv. 355.

²⁸ For the threat to Berar to renew war to secure territory in Cuttack, see Edmonstone to Elphinstone 18 May 1804 *Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records* (Nagpur 1950) i. 58.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: A HUNDRED-YEAR PERSPECTIVE*

By DAVID TAYLOR

India, it is often pointed out both by Indians and by others, is the world's largest democracy, not simply in terms of the sheer number of people who participate in elections but also because of the continuous stream of open political activity. Democracy is not just a label that has been applied to the country at the whim of an individual or clique but is manifestly something that is alive and well. In the last decade alone, there have been two changes of government at the national level, and the government in New Delhi currently coexists, more or less willingly, with non-Congress ministries in several major states. There have indeed been voices to suggest that India in its present economic circumstances cannot afford the luxury of uncontrolled political activity. One of the arguments, for example, put forward for a presidential system has been that the level of "unproductive" political activity would be reduced. It could certainly be argued that the relatively sluggish rate of economic growth that has been maintained over the past four decades is linked to political constraints. That question, however, is not the theme of this article. For better or worse, India's democracy is here to stay, and one of the most important tasks for the historian or the political scientist, is to try to identify the factors that have given it its apparent staying power.

At the most general level of analysis I suspect the answer lies in the dynamic interaction between the social diversity of the country and the sense among a large part of the population that national identity is as important as regional or sectional distinctions. This is a delicate balance to maintain both at the ideological and practical levels and on many occasions, especially in the past decade, it has appeared to be on the verge of collapse. In the Punjab especially the centre has had, indeed is continuing to have, considerable difficulty in containing terrorist-backed demands for regional autonomy or independence, but it could also be said that one of the precipitating factors in the Punjab and elsewhere has been that overcentralization of power in New Delhi has threatened to stifle the urge for self-determination at the local level which is an essential element in the functioning of a healthy democracy.

The framework within which this dynamic interaction was established was of course the Indian struggle for independence which, however one measures it, lasted for well over half a century. During that time the British were gradually placed in such a position that eventually they decided that in their weakened state after the Second World War there was no point in trying to reconstruct a system of imperial control, thus avoiding the mistakes of the Dutch and French. In the course of the struggle the nationalist leadership grew in size and sophistication so that it could incorporate in its thinking traditional, revivalist and Western ideas of politics and society.

The vehicle for much of this incorporation was the Indian National Congress, the centenary of whose foundation fell in December 1985, but before considering the significance of Congress to Indian history I should sound a note of caution. The thrust of much recent writing on Indian history has been to emphasise that the Congress cannot be equated *tout court* with the nationalist movement, nor the nationalist movement with the totality of political activity during the colonial period. For the so-called Cambridge school, associated with the late Professor Gallagher and Dr Anil Seal, the thrust has been to "deconstruct" the Congress and to see it not as a free-floating all-India entity but as a shifting alliance of local groups. From a very different perspective, the "subaltern" school (the name derives from Antonio Gramsci's usage) based in Calcutta, Canberra and elsewhere has emphasised that outside that realm of organized Congress activity, indeed outside the realm of all organized political activity, there were important developments which both influenced the course of nationalist politics and also posed an actual or potential challenge to the way in which the middle and upper classes defined social and political reality. Professor Sumit Sarkar in his *Modern India* refers to "elemental forces" which regularly surfaced during the nationalist movement and which frightened the government at least as much as anything that Gandhi and the Congress did. Whatever position one occupies vis-à-vis Cambridge and Calcutta, however, no one today would wish to argue that the history of the nationalist movement is to be equated with that of Congress or that the initiative within Congress always rested with Gandhi, Nehru or Patel. Although space will not allow me to mention, except in passing, movements and events outside Congress, I do not consider them to be unimportant or secondary.

In this article I will be looking at both the ideological and the institutional aspects of Congress. I will try to trace the genesis of such ideas as democracy, secularism, and planned economic development which have played a major role in India's political history before and after independence, even if often they have been no more than convenient slogans. Debates within Congress reverberated outside the party and set the agenda for wider intellectual debate. At times, of course, other, more exclusive outlooks influenced the thinking of many members of the party. As Nehru once said in the 1930s, many Congressmen were communalists under their secular cloaks. At the institutional level, I will be arguing, as Judith Brown has in her own *Modern India*, that forms matter. During the period after 1920 especially, the top leadership of the Congress at national and provincial levels, used the mechanism of the party to organize mass campaigns against the government as well as to fight elections. Having won the 1937 elections over much of the country, they then succeeded in coordinating the work of up to eight provincial ministries so as to achieve both administrative and political goals. That experience carried the party through into the post-independence period, although from the very earliest days it was clear that final decision-making would rest with the Prime Minister. The rules of the political game in India have changed very significantly since 1947, and Congress,

especially under Mrs Gandhi, was foremost in altering them, but there has always been continuity as well as change.

The idea behind that first meeting in Bombay, that Indians had aspirations and interests in common, had already begun to emerge in the previous decade of intense political activity. The sharp swings of policy from Lytton, the romantic imperialist in love with princely India, to Ripon the Gladstonian liberal, had provided much to provoke and encourage the members of the new political associations which had been founded in the 1860s and 1870s, the East India Association, the Indian Association, the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and so on. Those who were thus provoked and encouraged were men who had had time to reflect on the nature and consequences of British rule in India. In the quarter century since the Great Rebellion of 1857 had signalled the irretrievable breakdown of the old order, what had hitherto been individual and scattered alien elements in India had been brought together into a single structure of government. Physically they had been joined together by the railway, introduced into India only a few years after it had similarly begun to transform the face of Europe, and by the introduction of regular postal and telegraph services. The railways and the post office between them provided the means for contact between different parts of India which cut across the traditional avenues of communication which had tended to be limited to specific groups and used for specific purposes such as trade. Just as important were the changes that were occurring in the form of government. All in a rush in the 1850s and 1860s had come the codification of law and judicial procedure, the establishment of the universities, the introduction of recruitment through examinations for some sections of the civil service and the introduction of a non-official element into the Governors' and Governor-General's legislative councils. All this physical and institutional construction created in the minds of the British, or at least of some of them, what one historian has called "the illusion of permanence". On the Indian side, too, there were those who in the XIXth century would have found it difficult to imagine India without the British connection in some form or other, but they also drew the conclusion that the government was not simply to be equated with the racially defined élite that monopolised its senior positions at the time and that the government had responsibilities for the welfare of the country and its social and economic advancement. From a more self-interested perspective, government was something that was plastic and manipulable, an edifice within which individual careers could be made and whose resources could be used both for group and for national ends.

In the course of time, these ideas were to be brought into a more direct relation with economic interests, especially but not only those of the industrial bourgeoisie. At this point, however, although the first cotton mills had already been established in Bombay and the first Marwari merchants and bankers had moved to Calcutta and begun to compete directly with the British in the jute industry and in other fields, Indian industry was still in its infancy and its leaders, whatever their private views, anxious to remain on good terms with the government. Merchants by and large were

also content to remain at a safe distance from political activity, although in some cities the leading merchant families acted as patrons to the politicians. In the countryside the Deccan riots of 1875 and the Pabna disturbances of 1873 had demonstrated the strains that new forms of land ownership combined with commercialization of agriculture might bring about, but they were easily contained by government action. There was no continuing peasant organization in search of a political voice, although from the very beginning peasant issues were on the political agenda.

In the first instance, then, the possibility of political action in pursuit of *national* goals was explored by the intelligentsia which had taken shape in the schools and colleges and later on in the bar libraries, reading rooms and associations of the big cities. Although there were no doubt unemployed graduates and rootless scribblers among them, the lead was taken by the successful, by lawyers such as Pherozeshah Mehta, whose income and lifestyle were every bit as magnificent as that of his European peers, by Justice Ranade, whose career in public service made him one of the first Indians to become a high court judge, by W. C. Bonnerjea, the first president of Congress and another highly successful barrister, and so on. Although few of them had escaped some personal slight or obstruction to their careers from British arrogance, it could hardly be said that they saw political activity as their only means to personal achievement. Even those like Shishir Kumar Ghose and Anand Mohan Bose who devoted their lives to political organization and journalism clearly had the abilities and opportunities which would have enabled them to make successful careers elsewhere.

These early pioneers of the Congress had had time to reflect on the transformation of Indian society that appeared to be underway and to consider how best to channel it. In many cases, their concern with social and political change went together with an interest in one or other of the religious reform and revival movements of the period. The interrelationship of religious fervour, intellectual rationalism, which in Bengal as in contemporary Europe was often given quasi-religious status, and social orthodoxy, however, was extraordinarily complex. Depending on their intellectual orientations and personal positions, the early pioneers explored different aspects of this transformation, both in writing and through personal involvement. Among the most powerful ideas that were developed at this initial stage were those that had to do with the economic impact of British rule, its strengths and its weaknesses. In 1867 Dadabhai Naoroji had in his lecture "England's debt to India" formulated for the first time in public the most important theme in nationalist critiques of British rule in India, namely the notion of the drain of wealth from India to Britain. Although it has subsequently been refined and modified, its basic approach was enormously influential throughout the nationalist movement and up to the present day. But the important point about Naoroji, Ranade, R. C. Dutt and others is that they recognized the irreversible changes that contact with the West had brought about and sought to harness the potentiality of the industrial revolution to the elimination of

the grinding poverty that perhaps they had come to see with new eyes through their knowledge of progress in Europe and America. As Professor Bipan Chandra, the leading historian of this aspect of Indian nationalism has written:

"Their criticism was never merely or even mainly that the traditional social order was disintegrated by British rule but that the structuring and construction of the new was delayed, frustrated, and obstructed."

(*Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, p. 43.)

From this perspective, writers like Ranade advocated a positive role for the state which would begin to propel India along the path that European countries were already following. In the rural sector the dominant view was that if the burden of taxation could be lifted from the peasantry through fixing once and for all the level of the revenue demand, and if the discretionary powers of the bureaucracy could be reduced, then production would increase, a market be provided for new industries, and so on. Looking back from the experience of development in the XXth century, in India itself and elsewhere, one can see that this was too simple a view of how the process can be set in motion. It ignores, as British officials at the time were very ready to point out, the possible clashes of interest between the landed and the landless in the rural areas, although the early political associations were far from being unconcerned about the rights of tenants and cultivators against the demands of landlords and moneylenders, and on occasion actively campaigned for them.

Simultaneously, many of the early nationalists were involved with schemes for social reform. Many of them saw the key to progress in education and became heavily involved in running schools and colleges within the new framework of university affiliation and officially sponsored and recognized examinations. Within, for example, the institutions run by the Deccan Education Society or, a little later on, by the "College" wing of the Arya Samaj, students could be taught that Western education was not incompatible with a proper respect for Indian traditions and with a desire for national service. Efforts were made by a few individuals, Karve in Maharashtra for example, to extend the scope of education for women. Education is a permissive process, which brings the young person to the position where he or she can make an informed choice in his or her own life. For some early nationalists, however, this was not enough and they sought to use the power of the government to impose changes in key areas of Indian life, most notably in marriage customs. B. M. Malabari was able in 1891 to cajole sufficient support to persuade the government to pass the Age of Consent Act, but the opposition that his actions aroused demonstrated the limits beyond which such activities could not be taken.

Some of the people I have mentioned were politically highly active in their own cities and provinces, particularly in Bengal where the lines seemed more sharply drawn between rulers and ruled. Others, however, either through choice, or, in the case of officials like Ranade, out of necessity, were inclined to a more quietist position. In its earliest years, though, Congress was able to bring together most shades of opinion among the educated middle class. It is sometimes suggested that

Congress at this time spoke only for the selfish interest of that class in its apparent overriding concern for access to jobs and places, but this is, I think, to misunderstand its nature and purpose. The delegates to the early Congresses saw themselves as delegates to a national convention which had of necessity to move slowly and to concentrate on problems that had to be tackled at that level and where a consensus existed. At least in some cases, however, they represented local bodies which were active, as we have already seen, in many different fields. One must not forget, as well, that until 1895 the Social Reform Conference was held in conjunction with the annual sessions of Congress, just as a little later there would be industrial exhibitions to educate and inform the delegates of the progress that India was making in this field.

The early Congress thus encompassed a significant diversity of interests and outlook, despite its domination by men with legal training and experience who had made their base in the cities of XIXth-century India and despite the overpowering sense of Victorian earnestness that one gets reading early Congress reports or looking at group photographs of the delegates. In the earliest years of the Congress the diversity was also masked by the fact that those who occupied the most prominent positions in it, the chairmen of the reception committees and the presidents of the annual sessions, were prosperous, secure, on easy terms as far as that was possible under the raj, with the British. In the 1890s, however, it became clear that there were in fact quite marked differences of opinion on many issues. Initially historians tried to make sense of these differences by making use of a neat distinction, which followed of course the labels used at the time, between the "moderates" who dominated the early Congress and pursued the "politics of mendicancy" and the "extremists" who, in a Whiggish progression and emerging from a somewhat different social matrix, put forward a purer view of nationalism and in their political activity remained unremittingly hostile to the government. One of the most decisive achievements of more recent historical research, however, has been to show how difficult it is to draw any clear line between groups except in specific contexts and at very precise points in time. It was not just that, as the greatest "extremist" of them all, Tilak, said, the extremists of today are the moderates of tomorrow, prophetic as that statement was to be concerning his own followers, but equally that there was no necessary correlation between radical or conservative views in the political field and similar views in other areas. It would in any case be impossible to find value-neutral definitions of radical, moderate, conservative or whatever that would enable us to make comparisons. Reflection on Tagore's writings on nationalism would be a useful exercise for anyone who thinks otherwise. At this early stage of the development of Congress, in fact, it was those with a more "reformist" mentality who probably found it easier to think in terms of an all-India political movement, while those who found the compromises that such a stance involved too much to take may at the same time have been unsure of their position concerning the appropriate base on which to build a mass movement, and

therefore in some cases less able to sustain a campaign beyond their regional or linguistic community.

Before proceeding further something should be said concerning Allan Octavian Hume and the other British sympathisers with the early Congress. Although Hume's part in the actual foundation of Congress has perhaps been exaggerated in the past, what he did for Congress, as he had already done for causes as diverse as Indian ornithology and theosophy, was to act as a gadfly working away both at officials and at the various provincial leaders to encourage them to take each other seriously and to see Congress as a vehicle through which a dialogue could be developed. In his attempts to popularize the idea of Congress among the rural population he anticipated later developments, but his views were always somewhat idiosyncratic and when he finally left for England in 1892 there must have been some discreet sighs of relief. Apart from Hume there were other British sympathizers, some with direct Indian experience as officials or businessmen, others with commitments in British politics which they saw as correlating directly with Indian interests. Both categories tended to perform true to type. Those with links to the Gladstonian wing of the Liberals looked to the introduction of representative institutions as the way to stimulate responsible political activity in India, but stuck staunchly to the tenets of free trade, regardless of the comparative strengths of the two economies. The radicals within British politics, including some of the Irish nationalists, were more prepared to back the Congress line without reservation but only one or two were prepared to put very much effort into actually publicizing and working for the cause.

II

For the first thirty years or so of its existence Congress remained almost entirely an apex organization sitting on top of a pyramid of local and provincial organizations which were themselves of very disparate character and level of activity. Although its individual leaders were men of some substance in national affairs and taken seriously by the government, Congress as a body had little *locus standi*. Up to the First World War, in fact, the British Committee of the Congress and its publication *India*, acted as the main focus of Congress activity outside the annual sessions. It also took, to the increasing irritation of many Congressmen, the bulk of whatever funds were available at the national level. Outside Congress itself, however, but with the participation of many Congressmen, there had been major developments in the idea of nationalism and in forms of political agitation. Some of these had been foreshadowed by Tilak in Maharashtra where he had succeeded, in the urban areas at least, in using religious festivals and religious symbolism for political purposes. They came to fruition in the course of the agitation against the partition of Bengal, during which some of the ideas associated with the extremist school of thought were put together in new and more powerful ways. Although the emotional focus of the movement remained firmly rooted in Bengal, the earlier inspiration of Vivekananda and the direct leadership of men like Aurobindo enabled

a wider meaning to be given to the association of religion and political action. The motto of "swadeshi" became both the inspiration of new ventures in a variety of fields, even if few of them lasted very long, and also the basis of a programme of action that followed the Irish example in attempting to strike at the economic foundations of British rule. The agitation against the partition eventually died down, although it was only during the First World War that the revolutionary societies or terrorist groups were finally repressed, but it had changed the terms on which the nationalist movement and thereby Congress saw the task ahead. The agitation had also, however, exposed for the first time some of the practical obstacles that would lie in the way of those who sought to implement the nationalist dream. As has been pointed out often enough, the means by which the agitation's leaders sought to mobilize support alienated as many as it recruited. Above all, the Muslim population of Bengal, the majority of the population, although they were concentrated in the vast rural backwater of East Bengal, soon found themselves out of sympathy with what was going on, both because of the translation of Bengali nationalism into an overtly Hindu idiom and also because of the feeling that the leaders of the agitation had no intention of changing the basic order of things whereby the rural areas supported the middle class of Calcutta in their cultured pursuits.

The attitude of the Congress leaders in other parts of India was only coolly sympathetic to the plight of the Bengalis, and even at the height of the agitation the December 1906 session of Congress only endorsed the boycott programme within Bengal itself. A year later the tensions between the Bombay-based leadership of Mehta, Gokhale and their colleagues in the "moderate" wing and the "extremists" came to a head with the split at the Surat Congress session, in which the moderates won the day. Apart from wishing in general terms to maintain their hold on Congress, the moderates were particularly anxious to do so at a time when the British were about to introduce the first major instalment of constitutional reforms in the shape of the 1909 Councils Act. Yet even though Tilak was shortly to be sentenced to six years' imprisonment in Mandalay, and Aurobindo was to flee to Pondicherry and there to begin an entirely new phase of his life, the "extremist" view of the world, because it was not in fact exclusively associated with a specific group of individuals, made its own very definite contribution to the corpus of Indian nationalist ideas. The partition agitation itself, despite its confinement to Bengal, was equally important in that it was the first prolonged confrontation between the British in India and a politically organized movement with a far-reaching programme of demands.

The methods of the partition agitation were to be adopted in 1919 and 1920 by Mahatma Gandhi in the Rowlatt satyagraha and the non-co-operation movement, but none of those who had led that agitation were to join him in these latter movements. Between, let us say, the Surat split at the end of 1907 and the special Congress session in Calcutta in September 1920, enormous changes had taken place

within Congress, even though the links with the past were far from broken.

The first change was, as I have indicated, one of leadership. Of the old leaders, some had died, Gokhale and Mehta most notably. Others had taken part in the setting up of the National Liberal Federation in 1918 with the intention of responding positively to the new reforms promised by the British after the Montagu Declaration of 1917. This event, it should be noted, took place well before Gandhi began to take an active part in Congress affairs. In their place had come first of all young men recruited either directly by Gandhi through his early local campaigns or through the Home Rule Leagues, particularly the one led by Mrs Besant. Such figures as Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, and of course Jawaharlal Nehru, all became involved in nationalist activity at this stage, as well as such less well-known but equally energetic figures as Indulal Yajnik in Gujarat. But there were others as well who had been involved with Congress at an earlier stage but not centrally so who now moved forward to take a more prominent position. Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das fall into this category. Alongside this shift in leadership went a move from the old centres of Congress activity, which by and large had coincided with the main centres of colonial government and economic penetration, to new areas. Gandhi's home region of Gujarat was now to become the most committed of all to Congress activity, while Bihar, Karnataka, the Andhra region of Madras and other areas also provided theatres in which the nationalist struggle could be carried on. Most significant of all, in the north Indian heartland of U.P., the then United Provinces, Congress began to acquire a solid base. This expansion in part reflected the shock waves set up by the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and by subsequent related events in India and Britain. It was also however a consequence of more generalized economic and political changes. Increased commercialization of agriculture had brought a greater proportion of the rural population within reach of economic forces over which they had little control, for example the wide fluctuations in prices during and just after the First World War. At the same time the industrialists of Bombay and Ahmedabad, who had done well during the wartime boom, were beginning to be conscious of their potential power, although their attitude to direct involvement in Congress activity was still very ambivalent. Politically, and here the work of the Cambridge historians has been important in increasing our understanding, the transfer of control over real, if very limited resources, at the provincial level from British to Indian hands had led to a rethinking by many of how political action could best be utilized for group interest. In some cases this led men to sever their formal connections with the Congress so as to contest the first elections for the new "Montford" councils which took place at the end of 1920, and during the decade more were to follow. In other cases, however, depending both on the position of the individual and on the balance of forces within the province, it could lead to decisions to join Congress or to take a more prominent part in its activities. In general Congress was, whether it liked it or not, becoming transformed from an organization primarily of the intelligentsia into a movement that, however much it succeeded in

the short term in transcending them, had to develop the ability to cope with the diversity and contradictions of Indian society. It had also to develop an organization and structure which would give it the capacity to function effectively even in the face of government hostility. This it duly acquired after the Gandhians' final victory at the Nagpur Congress session of December 1920. Thereafter Working Committee and AICC became part of the everyday vocabulary of Indian politics, as did the idea of Congress having a mass membership paying either a four-anna subscription or, later on, a prescribed amount of homespun yarn.

During the non-co-operation movement Congress under Gandhi's leadership and inspiration established the basic *modus operandi* through which it was able to develop its ability to confront the raj on equal terms. In this first campaign the emphasis was on tactics that had already been tried in Bengal, namely boycott both of British goods and of government institutions of all kinds, schools, law courts, ceremonies, elections to the new councils. In many ways, however, the non-co-operation movement was a failure. Gandhi had failed to achieve any of the major objectives that he had set out, and towards the end he was beginning to lose support from some of his business supporters, while from his personal point of view there was beginning to be an unacceptable level of violence in Bombay city and then in the village of Chauri Chaura. Above all, the alliance that he had been able to make with the Muslim community had broken down when he failed to fulfil his promise to resolve the Khilafat issue. It was over the Muslim question that the tension referred to above between the ideals of Congress and the manifest divisions within society, whether these were endogenous or in some way the product of British "divide and rule" policies, was felt most acutely. There had always been Muslims in Congress, men like Badruddin Tyabji with similar professional and intellectual interests to the other early Congressmen, but they had never been more than a small minority and with the rise among some Congressmen of Hindu revivalist themes their role diminished further. Gandhi, however, by his use of the Khilafat issue had been able to bring in both the Muslim equivalent of the Hindu intelligentsia and some of the most prominent *ulama*. Basic differences had, however, only been papered over, and after the failure of the Khilafat campaign Hindu-Muslim relations degenerated.

III

Despite the apparent setback caused by the end of non-co-operation, Congress during the 1920s continued to develop along a number of fronts. In the legislative councils the Swarajists, the more politically oriented members of the movement, or in some cases the more opportunist, succeeded in destroying the credibility of the Montford reforms and with them the possibility that the British could put together a viable coalition of moderate and conservative forces. Gandhi and his small band of immediate followers spent the 1920s developing what became known as the "constructive programme", looking for ways in which immediate changes could be made to rural life and, where necessary, using the satyagraha weapon for internal reform,

as in the case of the Vykom temple satyagraha in 1924. Many, however, found the 1920s a difficult time. Nehru used the period to extend his range of international contacts and generally to widen his knowledge of India and the world. Others, Patel for example, dabbled in municipal government.

The mass struggle was renewed in 1930 in the form of the civil disobedience movement, which began with what is probably the best known of Gandhi's experiments in political action and certainly the most fully worked out, the Dandi salt march, and lasted, with one longish break, until 1934, although in reality the movement had lost its momentum by the end of 1932. Unlike the non-co-operation movement, there was from the beginning an attack not just on the moral legitimacy of the raj but on the institutions of government through various forms of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. Even before civil disobedience began, events showed how Congress was moving closer to a position of equality with the government. On the one hand, Lord Irwin was prepared to talk directly to Gandhi, discussions which provoked Churchill to his notorious gibe about Gandhi as a half-naked faqir. On the other hand, the proceedings of the All-Parties Conference which was held in 1928 as a counter to the all-British Simon Commission, whose appointment in 1927 by Lord Birkenhead had served as a catalyst for renewed political action, were clearly dominated by Congress. But I must emphasise that the Congress which dominated the proceedings of the conference was not entirely Gandhi's. Many of the voices that were heard were of those who had joined it long before Gandhi had arrived on the Congress scene and whose interests lay more in their own provinces and communities than anywhere else. The final report was as much the work of the doyen of the Liberals who had left Congress in 1918, Tej Bahadur Sapru, as of Motilal Nehru, the conference's chairman.

The All-Parties Conference report, which recommended what was then seen as the half-way house of dominion status, was, like the Simon Commission itself, overtaken by events. At the Lahore Congress at the end of 1929 the goal of complete independence, for which the younger Nehru and others had been pressing for some time, was made part of the official Congress programme, and 26 January 1930 was celebrated as Independence Day. Gandhi's failure to obtain adequate concessions in his talks with Irwin led him to embark once again on mass mobilization as a means to bring pressure on the government. With the notable exception in most parts of India of the Muslims, his call evoked a response across a remarkably wide social spectrum. This response can be explained in various ways. Although the British strategy of co-opting princes, landlords and others as junior partners in the raj had worked to a point, the cracks were beginning to show and some of the more far-sighted of those who had been recruited were beginning to hedge their bets, non-Brahman landlords and professionals in Madras and Maharashtra for example. The work that had been done by Gandhi himself and by his lieutenants like Patel in the Bardoli satyagraha was bearing fruit. Another generation of students had come of age since the non-co-operation movement and was inclined towards radical action. This period was in

fact the high point of revolutionary terrorism with figures like Bhagat Singh and the Hindustan Republican Army. The consequences of the Great Depression, which disrupted the whole basis of the rural economy, must also be taken into account. With all this to work with, Congress was thus able to extend the basis of its support and to make it clear both to the British and to its supporters that it intended to press on until ultimately it secured untrammelled power. But, as I said at the beginning, we must take heed of the findings of recent research. These really only confirm what one would have expected from a movement as organically linked to Indian society as Congress was. In the first place, Gandhi and his associates were as concerned to prevent the agrarian unrest they were harnessing to the nationalist cause from spilling over into an attack on the social order, as to confront the British. It was no coincidence that the Gandhian campaigns were centred in areas such as Gujarat where discontent could easily be focused on the government, whereas in U.P. or Bihar peasant leadership was either outside the Congress altogether or linked to the radical wing that was emerging at this time. Secondly, some of those who joined the Congress undoubtedly did so for opportunist reasons, although the great influx here was to come a little later.

Perhaps the greatest problem of the civil disobedience movement, however, was the almost total failure to involve the Muslim community, except in the North-West Frontier. The Khilafat issue was dead and buried, while many of those who had joined hands with Congress during it were now positively hostile. Although a small group of intellectuals in U.P. continued to participate actively in Congress affairs, many others had felt that the spirit of the Lucknow pact had been jettisoned at the time of the All-Parties Conference in 1928. They were not in fact far wrong, but from Congress's point of view separate electorates and the whole paraphernalia of special protection had been outmoded by its commitment to adult franchise and complete independence. One can see too how the prospect, however remote, of real power made it difficult to build in institutional curbs on its exercise. Even with hindsight it is difficult to see exactly the combination that would have brought together the right sections of the Muslim and Hindu communities under the Congress umbrella in such a way as to defeat the communalists on both sides. Each section of the former, the *ulama*, the radical peasant leaders of Bengal and elsewhere, the aspirant salariat and bourgeoisie, especially in U.P., the provincial landlord politicians of Punjab, could all have been induced to enter into an alliance, but would the terms of such an alliance have generated sufficient support to confront the raj in such a way as to dislodge it, and would an alliance with one section have fatally alienated another? After the experience of the non-co-operation movement, the attitude of the party managers, men like Patel, appears to have been to give the Muslim issue lower priority and to concentrate on the big battalions of support that could be generated by concentrating on the potential areas of Congress support in Gujarat and elsewhere. Thus the All-Parties Conference gave priority to a strong centre which would rally the Hindi heartland over making what would have seemed

to many both in and out of Congress unwarranted concessions.

With the end of the civil disobedience movement the final phase of Congress's development during the nationalist period began. Whereas the national leadership had been ambivalent towards the Swarajist programme of council entry, there were few such qualms about holding office, let alone contesting elections under the 1935 Act, among the mainstream Gandhian leaders, although Nehru was less sure about the results of such actions. To do so would consolidate the advantage gained during the civil disobedience period and Patel and others felt confident about their ability to control local factionalism and particularist tendencies. It was indeed essential that they do so in order to give a framework of authority to the Congress to replace the essentially temporary authority it enjoyed during the height of the civil disobedience battle. Thus in 1934 the Congress constitution was redrafted in such a way as to give greater authority to the central leadership. Without such a framework of authority and focus of activity there was the risk that the Congress body would be wagged by the rapidly growing radical tail which had announced its presence through the formation in 1934 of the Congress Socialist Party and in 1936 of the All-India Kisan Sabha. As I shall suggest later on, the existence of this pluralism within Congress was essential for the health of post-independence democracy but from the point of view of the leadership it was a force that had to be curbed and controlled. By and large the task was achieved pretty well. From the point of view of the right wing within the party they retained effective control without having to make any significant concessions to the left. The ability of the right to handle Nehru when he was president of the Congress twice running in 1936 and 1937 reminds one in many ways of the Yes Minister approach, the careful "redrafting" of resolutions for example to retain the letter but lose the spirit. In June 1936 the differences had to be made public when the Gandhian majority on Nehru's Working Committee resigned en bloc, but it was in many ways a staged affair, for it was already clear that effective power lay with the right.

The events of the Second World War are too complex to be easily summarized, and in any case they belong more to a consideration of the transfer of power than to a discussion of Congress. The Quit India movement in August 1942, which the British had thought to abort by the pre-emptive arrest of the whole leadership, showed how deeply the nationalist message had reached, but by and large the nation was prepared to wait for the end of the war and for the final push, a push which in any case, although this only gradually became apparent, would be at a half-open door. One must not overlook, as the Attenborough film of Gandhi succeeded in doing so remarkably, the importance of Bose and the Indian National Army, but as things fell out, their direct impact on events was very limited. As far as the Muslims were concerned, the Congress had to face the fact by 1939 that it had missed the bus as far as generating significant Muslim support was concerned. This realisation, however, dawned only rather slowly. Like the British at an earlier time dealing with Congress itself, the Congress leadership thought that somehow it could outflank the

Muslim League by dealing with provincial leaders whose political standing was being remorselessly eroded by the tide of Muslim League support. Nehru, who had seen the divisive potential of Muslim demands, had tried to deal with the problem by going straight to the Muslim masses, but this too was unrealistic.

IV

In 1947 the Congress was forced to accept the loss of the Muslim-majority provinces. For some, this was the vivisection of Bharat-mata, for others, notably of course Nehru, it was the denial of the composite culture that had been built up over the centuries. Hindu and Muslim communalism were two sides of the same coin and free, secular India would have to live with the consequences of both. Apart from partition, however, if that is not like asking Mrs Lincoln how she enjoyed the play, Congress leaders could feel satisfied with what had been achieved since 1885. Starting from scratch, and with no precedents apart from nationalist movements in Europe to guide them, they had built up a mass movement which transcended some although, as recent research has emphasised and the first elections after independence were to demonstrate, by no means all, the divisions within Indian society. The Congress outlook on Indian development and the world was more closely in tune with articulated Indian opinion than at any time before or since. Unlike the situation in Pakistan, there was no difficulty in framing a constitution that embodied the major themes that Congress had emphasised over the years. India was to be a federation, but with so many qualifications and reservations that in matters of national interest the constituent states would be unable to offer more than passive resistance. Secularism was embodied in the constitution, but gestures were made in the directive principles to such Hindu concerns as cow protection. The advancement of what are euphemistically called the weaker sections of society was ensured by the essentially secular device of positive discrimination, while at the same time the practice of untouchability, even in religious contexts, was outlawed. Despite the occasional doubts that had been expressed in the past by members of the Indian élite, there was no doubt either that India would be a parliamentary democracy, with adult franchise for both sexes. It is worth noting here that, as with the Nehru report of 1928, much of the work on the constitution was done by someone who was not a Congressman, in this case had never been a Congressman, namely B. R. Ambedkar. His willingness to be associated with the work of the constituent assembly, even though both before and after he was a vigorous opponent of the Congress as a political party, shows how widely accepted were the basic tenets that Congress had worked for since 1885. It was Nehru's ability to project himself in these terms that gave him his unique command of the Indian political system in the 1950s. We can see a similar process at work in the way in which the idea of a planned economy was swiftly accepted by almost all of India's élite. During the last phase of the nationalist movement, when Indian industry was growing in confidence, the

Congress leadership and those sympathetic to it were able to put together a consensus in favour of a planned economy. There were of course sound economic reasons in the context of the Indian economy for the adoption of a planned approach, with all its implications of protection for Indian industry and, in India at least, a guaranteed role for the private sector, but the willingness of the leaders of Indian industry to put together the Bombay plan in 1944 sprang from the close links men like Birla and Thakurdas had established with Congressmen on both left and right.

The values that I am suggesting had accumulated during the nationalist movement and which served as a charter for the élites of new India, senior civil servants, professionals, industrial managers, as much as, perhaps more than, politicians, had nevertheless to face a series of interrelated challenges to their relevance and their robustness. Were they in fact appropriate to the task of development of the whole country, rural as well as urban, poor as well as middle class? Were they capable of providing an adequate basis, ideologically and otherwise, to resist the pressures on government from self-seeking and parochial interest groups, some of them already inside the charmed circle of power, others clamouring at the gates to be let in and quite capable of using the nationalist movement's weapons against it. Or to put it in rather different terms, if the dominant social force behind Congress in 1947 was in fact a growing bourgeoisie, was this class capable, through Congress, of achieving the thorough going modernization required for economic development. And would these values succeed in attracting to membership or active support of the party those large sections of the population who had only been lightly touched by the nationalist movement. As 1947 receded into the past and with it direct memories of the freedom struggle, this problem became more acute. How was Congress as a party to function as an organization after the immediate question of political freedom had been resolved? The crises that have beset the Indian polity in the past few years indicate that these challenges remain in large part unresolved, even though under their impact major changes have already come about in Congress itself and in many other institutions of the political system.

To deal adequately with these questions is beyond the scope of a single article, so that I will limit myself to some rather brief comments. Challenges to the relevance of Congress have come from a number of quarters. The Gandhians who discovered in 1947 that Gandhi's charisma was one thing, effective influence another, dispersed in different directions. Some were content to continue as social workers, but with the JP movement of the mid-1970s, however, there was heard an authentic voice of protest not just against the abuse of power but against the whole system of Western-style competitive democracy. Claims that the political system of which Congress was the centre was irrelevant to India's needs have come of course from the left, including those who were once members. Our attention has been drawn to the many ways in which the system either represses protest from below directly or deals with it through co-option. There have also been those who claim that the present system is

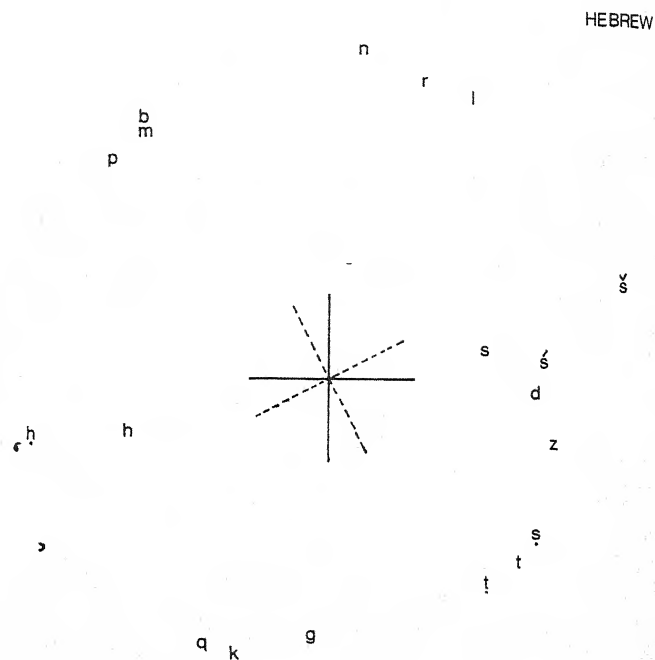
bound up with a bureaucratic culture that is incapable of generating new ideas in tune with India's drive for modernity, and that therefore the whole notion of democracy should be scrapped or at least replaced by some sort of "guided" alternative.

Congress has continued nevertheless to dominate the political scene, largely because of the way in which the relationship between government and society was handled under Nehru. New claimants for a share in the benefits of power, and there were many, were accommodated through skilful use of the federal system. This applied particularly to the rise of groups and individuals who represented the dominant forces at the village level, so that during the 1950s there were many changes of leadership in state governments. Secondly, the planning process which was initiated in the early 1950s was designed to give ample scope to the private sector provided it was prepared to accept the government's terms. On the whole, Indian industry showed itself willing to do so. Taken together, these techniques enabled the construction of what was described in the 1960s by Rajni Kothari and W. H. Morris-Jones as the "Congress system". And yet these adaptations imposed costs that were perhaps not fully realised at the time. Although Nehru was able by and large to maintain the autonomy of the centre, after his death in 1964 the men who had gained power at the state level began to demand control of New Delhi as well. The stage was set for the many bruising battles that Mrs Gandhi had to fight to keep control of affairs. In so doing she used to the full all the resources that were available to her, including the Congress organization and name, but she tended to put them to uses that they were not designed for. By the time she returned to power after the Janata government in 1980 she had split the party twice and taken in effect direct control of the organization at every level, so that there was little opportunity for the party to function independently. At the very least this meant blocking off a useful safety valve. In general, Congress as an organization went through a period of steady decline, and it would I think be true to say that the Congress values of the past were to be found elsewhere than in the Congress party. During the emergency it was widely believed that plans were being made for a switch to a presidential form of government. It is also suggested by many observers that in the post-1980 period Mrs Gandhi began to look more to support from the majority Hindu community, especially in the Hindi-speaking states of north India, than to the minorities who had since Independence been staunch supporters of the party. This, however, was only the current version of a dilemma that had always faced the Congress, and all other parties within plural democracies, namely what should the proper relationship be between majority and minority. There were costs also in the economic field. The "licence-permit raj" generated by the planning process had allowed inefficient and outdated units to survive behind artificial barriers against competition both from abroad and from newcomers at home. The way was also opened for large scale corruption, often involving members of the Congress, who after all depended on business for the larger part of their election funds.

In his first months in office, Rajiv Gandhi made it clear that he was looking for a major overhaul of India's institutions, including the Congress. It is too early to say exactly what this will mean, although the internal party elections that were promised for the middle of 1986 and would have been the first for many years did not take place, indicating a relatively lower priority for party matters compared to more immediate problems. Mr Gandhi has also talked of his vision of a modern, scientifically oriented India in terms that, allowing for the difference of period, would be recognizable by his Congress predecessors. Yet, just as much as they, he faces the continuing task of welding a vision of the future together with the political organization of the party into an effective instrument for the achievement of national goals.

NOTE

* Revised version of a lecture to the Society on 10 April 1986. I am grateful to Peter Robb for some incisive and stimulating comments on the original text. I have deliberately avoided footnotes as it would have been impossible to have acknowledged all the scholars whose ideas and information I have relied on. Extensive bibliographies can be found in the two works referred to in the body of the article by Judith Brown and Sumit Sarkar.



This is a corrected version of the diagram published on page 21, volume 1, 1987 to illustrate Michael Weitzman's article, "Statistical patterns in Hebrew and Arabic roots". It is very much regretted that the diagram as previously published was incomplete.

OBITUARIES

NICHOLAS LOWICK

By the death of Nicholas Lowick on 11th November 1986 at the early age of 45 the Society loses a steadfast supporter, and the country a leading specialist in Muslim numismatics and epigraphy. A Fellow since 1964, he served on the Council as Honorary Secretary from 1977 to 1986, taking regular part in the work of its Committees, and giving special help to the Publications Committee and the *Journal*.

Educated at Clifton College, and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he showed his talent for languages by gaining a First in French and German, Nicholas Manning Lowick joined in 1962 the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals. As curator of Oriental Coins he was to succeed John Walker, the distinguished Keeper of the Department, by whose training he was to benefit until the latter's death in 1964. Lowick soon became proficient in Arabic, and was quickly known here and abroad as a rising authority on Islamic coinage and epigraphy. His series of more than 50 substantial articles on the mediaeval coinages of Central Asia, India, Iran, the Persian Gulf, the Yemen, and the nearer East, began in 1964, and attracted world-wide attention. The moment was a formative one in the development of these studies, and besides the regular work of identification and classification, important new directions of theory were presenting themselves.

Among his most original contributions was the paper ("A Sāmānid/Kākwayhid 'mule'", *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, XIV, 1968, 159-162) in which he described a strange dinar with the mint-date formula Naysābūr 375 (A.D. 985-6) on the obverse, and an Isfahan reverse of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzar between 422/1030 and 433/1041. A coin struck from two such quaintly unrelated dies raises complex problems concerning the mint organization. Fifteen years later the follow-up appeared ("The wandering die of Nīsābūr: a sequel", *ANSMN*, XXVIII, 1983, 187-93), when a further specimen came to light, where the same obverse die was combined with another *obverse*, of the Seljuq Ṭughril Beg, dated al-Baṣra 449/1057. Further novel problems were explored in his monograph (with S. Bendall and P. D. Whitting) *The 'Mardin' Hoard*, London, 1977. Late Byzantine coppers from eastern Anatolia had occasionally been found to bear enigmatic Arabic countermarks, but only this painstaking analysis of numerous coins, with attention to stamps both *juxtaposed* and *superimposed*, provides attribution to rulers of the Artuqid, Zengid, Inalid, and Begtimurid dynasties during the VIth/XIIth century. For the *Revue Numismatique* he wrote in French, on an 'Alid issue of Baṣra dated 145/762-3 (XXI, 1979, 218-24), and on the coins of the little-known Sulaymanid dynasty at Tēnēs and Sūq Ibrāhīm (XXV, 1983, 177-187). On the materials of the Siraf excavation, where he acted as finds assistant during three seasons, he produced a major monograph (*Siraf XV. The coins and monumental inscriptions*, British Institute of Persian Studies, 1985, reviewed below, p. 330), which to speed publication he also helped in financing. One of his latest contributions was that published by the R.A.S., "Islamic weights and coins" in John Hansman's *Julfar: an Arabian port*, 1985. These and many other publications show the grounds on which, in 1979, he was awarded by the British Museum a personal Deputy Keepership in recognition of his academic distinction.

Besides our own, Nicholas Lowick was active in the work of several societies. He was Library Secretary on the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society from 1964-1981, Reviews Editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle* from 1975-1986, and a regular contributor to that Society's supplementary publication *Coin Hoards*. His membership of the British Institute of Persian Studies led to his participation at Siraf. For his major task, a catalogue of the coins of the early Abbasid Caliphate, to follow Walker's Arab-Sassanian and Umayyad catalogues, his work was well advanced. He had hoped to finish within a year, and we learn that his family, with the Department of Coins and Medals, have plans to secure the completion of what will surely be a much needed scholarly resource. (Friends and colleagues, in recognition of his work, have set up in his memory under the auspices of the Royal Numismatic Society a fund for the promotion of Oriental Numismatic Research. Those interested in giving support are invited to write to the present organizers, Mr J. E. Cribb and Mr N. G. Rhodes, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, WC1B 3DG).

At the museum, Nicholas was characteristically generous with his help to all sorts of visitors, collectors, scholars and dealers, and in constant touch with discoveries and developments everywhere in the field of Islamic coinage. To discuss with him a projected line of research in Islamic studies was always fruitful. For some months before the 10th International Numismatic Congress, held again in London during September 1986 after 50 years, friends had been aware that he was unwell. Still he courageously continued his work at the museum, and attended the Congress to greet colleagues and correspondents from all over the world. The suddenness with which news came of his death, only a month later, was particularly sad. At the Society his willingness to help, constant cheerfulness, and kindly sense of humour, no less than his standing in an important area of scholarship, make him keenly missed. The gap he leaves amongst British Islamists is one that will not easily be filled.

A. D. H. BIVAR

J. V. G. MILLS

Four characteristics stood out in the personality of John Vivian Gottlieb Mills (1887-1987): he was by vocation a colonial administrator and judge trying to live by the ideals of the Raj; he was by profession a lawyer; he was a sinologue for the love of it; and he was an Edwardian gentleman from head to toe. Educated at home by a Royal Navy father until it was time to enter Oxford, he differed from the run of his Malayan Civil Service contemporaries by delighting, not in the romance of the jungle and unsophisticated people, but in Southeast Asia's seaways and advanced trading communities. Appointed to the Straits Settlements aged 24, he was selected for the Chinese side of the government and went to Canton for two years; he learnt Cantonese, Fukienese and eventually standard Chinese. Back in Singapore, he read for the Bar (Middle Temple 1919), married, and was posted to Christmas Island for a tour among the Cantonese phosphate workers. He became interested in Chinese seamanship, navigation, and old charts—a hobby that possessed him more and more as time went on. His positions during the second decade and a half of his service were as Solicitor-General for the Straits Settlements, as Attorney-General, and lastly as a judge in Singapore and Johor. He retired in 1940 (aged 53), went to Australia, worked in the Federal Attorney-General's office for a time, and returned to England after the war to take his MA at Oxford in 1945 and lecture at the School for a year in Chinese law. His first wife died, and he settled in Switzerland for the rest of his life. There he found his second wife, who, thanks to her own acquaintance with Chinese art, was able to create for him an elegant penthouse *shu-chai* above Lac Léman and assist in the recording of his reading notes.

Mills was nearly 40 before he joined the Malayan Branch of the R.A.S., but was soon on its council and in 1937 was elected president; he joined in London in 1945. We have no list of his writings, but short notes occur in *JMBRAS*, certainly from 1929 onwards. In Raffles Library he found a printed version of Emanuel Godinho de Eredia's 1613 *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay* and published notes on it in 1930 and 1931. At the same time he came across the XVIth century sea chart of Mao K'un and the *Wu-pei chih* by Mao's grandson Yüan-i (Eredia's contemporary); this treatise on China's strategic defence contains valuable information about navigation across the southern seas built round the sea chart. From late Ming, Mills was drawn back to sources in early Ming, and thence to the voyages of eunuch Chêng Ho (the Sam-poh Kung patron of Overseas Chinese legend) round Southeast Asia and across the Indian Ocean commissioned by the emperor Yung Lo, in the age of Henry the Navigator. He was now equipped to undertake translation and commentary on the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan*, in which, in 1433, Ma Huan told the story of Chêng Ho's seven voyages, rather as Pigafetta was to record Magellan's. Mills spent fifteen or more years on the task, using the modern text established by Fêng Ch'êng-chün (1935 and 1955) and drawing on the collaboration of half a hundred other scholars to light up dark corners. The book was eventually published in 1970 by the Hakluyt Society (of which Mills had been an Honorary Secretary) as *Overall Survey of the Ocean's*

Shores – a title less eye-catching than the fanciful ones by which some better-known scholars refer to it, but one that reflects a practical sense of time, clime, and purpose. It earned Mills his D.Litt. at the age of 83.

Ying-yai brought together the cream of Mills's endeavours, but it did not exhaust his research, for he continued to amass addenda to the identifications of place-names in *Overall Survey*. He wanted to produce a concordance of names occurring in early Chinese travels with those of other oriental languages. But, at his painstaking pace, that meant another decade of work and too much for a man in his nineties when he planned it. He has bequeathed the material collected to the Needham Research Institute at Cambridge, with the expressed hope that a younger man may adopt it as his own. The R.A.S. has lost a distinguished *chün-tzu* from its fellowship.

D.J.D.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TEACH YOURSELF ARABIC. By J. R. Smart. (Teach Yourself Books.) pp. vii, 298 [+ pp. 14 of vocabulary, unnumbered]. Sevenoaks, Kent, Hodder & Stoughton, 1986. £4.40. Cassette also available, £6.04 + VAT.

After a preliminary section on script and pronunciation, the book is divided into 18 units, each containing, (1) a passage of Arabic text, together with a "literal" translation; (2) vocabulary of the text, and in many cases detailed comment; (3) discussion of grammatical principles; (4) exercises; in some units, there is a section giving one or two examples of typical Arabic word-patterns, beside which is set an English word or phrase called a "sound-alike", purporting to provide a parallel to the acoustic effect of the Arabic. Then come four appendixes (verb tables, numerals, internal plural patterns, and works suggested for further study); keys to the exercises; and a concise Arabic-English vocabulary.

The units are not so organised as to deal each one exhaustively with a given grammatical topic; some topics are handled piecemeal over several units, and although there are some cross-references, there are not nearly so many of these as will be needed by a "self-teaching" student. This makes the absence of any index particularly regrettable.

From time to time in reading the book, I got the impression that Smart is more interested in training the student to express himself in Arabic, than to achieve comprehension of an Arabic text (cf. below, my comments on pp. 40, 79). This is surely putting the cart before the horse: comprehension of an Arabic text ought to take precedence over attempts at self-expression in Arabic.

The type of Arabic displayed is basically Standard Modern, though with sporadic attention given to informal, spoken style. It is, however, deeply disturbing to find in the introduction an admission that "certain liberties have been taken with traditional Arabic grammar which may alarm the purists, both Arab and European". It does not much matter whether "purists" are "alarmed"; but "traditional Arabic grammar" is what educated Arabs are taught at school, and they usually try to model their own writing on it. Hence the student is bound to be perplexed if he encounters in his reading forms which contradict Smart's "liberties". S. does not explain what liberties he has taken, and I suppose it is possible that he is only alluding to his decision to omit discussion of *i'rāb* except insofar as it is reflected in the written forms, and to accustom the reader at the earliest possible moment to facing unvocalised text. With this policy I am naturally in full agreement, since it is exactly what I have advocated in my *Written Arabic* (Cambridge 1968). But there are certainly other instances of what might be called "taking liberties" with traditional grammar.

One general characteristic of the work which I find unpalatable is the style, which is conversational, chatty and "cosy" in a manner perhaps acceptable in a teacher facing his class, but which grates horribly when one sees it in cold print. Even more important is that Smart seems consistently to write as if addressing a living class, oblivious of the fact that the "self-teaching" student, at whom this book is explicitly aimed, has no opportunity of putting his perplexities to a teacher: for such a student, it is absolutely imperative that rules should be stated with complete accuracy and in a manner that cannot give rise to misunderstandings. Far too many of the formulations here given fail to satisfy these conditions, being framed in a loose and ambiguous way; nor is it any excuse that in certain cases the ambiguity may be cleared up later in the book, or to offer in the introduction the lame apology that the finer points of the language are not dealt with but can be gained from some other work. It is just as easy, and much more efficient, to frame a rule accurately in the first place, than so to frame it as to allow misconceptions that must later be unlearned. It is particularly unhelpful to state an alleged general rule, and then tell the unfortunate reader "but there are many exceptions".

Far too much space is devoted to the futile attempt to train the student in Arabic pronunciation by alleged similarities with English phonology; this is all the more absurd in a work which is accompanied by tape recordings. Quite apart from the consonants, the vowel sounds of

Standard Southern English are very far from good guides to Arabic vowels, and Smart's "imitated" pronunciations are sometimes grotesquely wrong. The most glaring instance of this is the statement (p. 15), "The a-vowels are usually pronounced much as in English 'man', 'ban', extended accordingly for the long variety which does not occur in English". In fact, Arabic short a (with *imāla*) is an [æ] sound which in English monosyllables occurs only before voiceless plosives as in "map", "bat", "rack", whereas before voiced consonants as in "man", "ban", "bad", the vowel is quite noticeably longer, and closely approximate to Arabic long ā. On the same page, there is a bad confusion in the assertion that the Arabic a-vowel is pronounced open [a], before or after the letters *s, d, t, z, gh, q* and sometimes *kh, r* and *l*: the letters which occasion *tafkhīm* of *fath* both preceding and following are the four *muḥbaq* ones and *r, q* normally has an open *fath* after it, but not necessarily before; *gh* may sometimes be pronounced with an open [a] following, but more often not; and as for *l*, the only word in which it by itself entails *tafkhīm* is *Allah* (though *tafkhīm* may be occasioned by the near neighbourhood of a *muḥbaq* letter, as in *salṭa*).

P. 18, to say only that *hamza* "can take any of the three vowels" is inadequate: surely it is more important for the student to appreciate that it can also be unvowelled.

P. 23, we read, "The male proper name 'Amr is written with an unpronounced final w", which omits the vital information that this applies only to the nominative and genitive; a cross-reference to the place where the accusative usage of *-an* is described is badly needed.

Pp. 28-9 discuss "definites" only in terms of specific definiteness (*ma' rifa*), with no reference to generic definition (*jins*), although failure to recognise the latter is very common with beginners and can lead to serious mistranslations.

P. 37 states, "When we say in Arabic 'something is something' (or use other parts of the English verb 'to be' such as 'am', 'are', etc) we do not use a verb at all". The fatal flaw here is the "etc", which in the context can only be understood as alluding to "was, were". What should have been written is "other parts of the present tense of 'to be', namely 'am', 'are'. Later on, certainly, the point is made that the past tense uses the verb-form *kān*; but the later statement contradicts what has here been said in a manner most frustrating for the reader without a live teacher at hand.

P. 40, dealing with interrogative particles, Smart says "A good general rule is to use *hal* before words with the definite article, and *a* before pronouns and proper names without the article". A student who follows this principle in writing Arabic will not go far wrong; but if he thinks of it as a "good general rule" in construing an Arabic text, he may be badly misled.

P. 57, the Arabic for "except" is presented in transcription as *illa* (with short final vowel) which appears to contradict the written form given on p. 51, but without any comment. How can the student without a teacher cope with this?

P. 77, verbs are baldly defined as "words which refer to actions . . . to do, to find, to speak etc", and it is not until p. 214 that the reader is given the warning, vitally significant for an English speaker, that a large number of Arabic verbs denote not "doing" but "being/becoming".

P. 79, we read, "When the subject of a verb is actually specified . . . the verb comes first, followed by the subject. The verb coming first is a fact of (Arabic) life, about which little can be said. Other word-orders are possible, but . . . if you are using a verb, remember this order, 1 Verb, 2 Subject, 3 the rest". When shall we manage to eliminate from our beginners' manuals this grossly inaccurate doctrine?

P. 82, we read "*qad* . . . placed before the verb, as in example 12 on p. 74, emphasizes the completeness of the action, i.e. that it is really and truly over and done with". The example cited does indeed have the verb *wasal*, and I suppose one might infer that "over and done with" implies the *māqī*, but it would have been better to say so explicitly. But the idea that the particle signifies that something is "over and done with" is untrue and shows a basic ignorance of its function.

P. 95, *mu' aqqad* means purely and simply "complicated"; the addition of the gloss "having become complicated" is both unidiomatic English and incorrect, since the Arabic participle is not time-linked. On the same page, to present "McAskill, demanded" as "sound-alikes" for *mumaththil* is misleading. Proper names are too much subject to allophonic variation to be of any use for this purpose; and "demanded" has a long vowel (see above) in the second syllable,

thus suggesting *mumāthil*, in addition to the fact that in Standard Southern English (as opposed to Northern and American) the vowel quality is open [ɑ:] and not (as required by the Arabic) [æ]. Conversely, on p. 123 *wuzarā* with long open vowel in the third syllable is wrongly equated to "was a rat" with short [æ].

P. 96, example 9, 'a'antum *Miṣriyyūn* is correctly written, but contradicts (without any explanation being given) the description of the use of the *madda* sign on p. 20.

P. 102, we read, "You can expect to find the feminine external plural *-āt* on . . . (b) words of a fairly complex pattern denoting what we call neuters (things, ideas, and sometimes animals)". The two examples, *mudarrisāt* and *ijtimā'āt*, may perhaps enable the reader to make an approximate guess at what is meant by "a fairly complex pattern", but why leave him to guesswork? And I should much like to know what animal names there are, "of a fairly complex pattern", which take an external feminine plural; I have been unable to think of any.

P. 103, dealing with adjectival concord, Smart affirms that adjectives like *ba'id* "which are not normally applied to human beings [sic!]" have no plural of either type [external or internal], requiring only the feminine singular form to agree with the plural of objects". Considering the wide range of possible applications of "far, distant" to humans (friends, allies, nations, correspondents etc), it is a mystery why Smart should imagine that this adjective is not normally applied to human beings; and the statement that *ba'id* has no plural form either external or internal is totally false; see Wehr's listing of the available plurals in his dictionary.

P. 132 states that interrogative *mā* occurs before "nouns, separate pronouns and demonstratives", and that before verbs the form required is *mādhā*. Here there is no cautionary reference to "exceptions", so that the reader is likely to be perplexed when he encounters the not too infrequent examples where this "rule" does not hold good.

P. 133, we are told that in the form *man huwa l-mudir* the interrogative is used "appositionally", which is nonsense. A little further on, the assertion that "the noun after 'ayyu is singular [and] indefinite" is false: a defined plural noun is perfectly normal.

P. 142, dealing with the elative governing a genitive, regrettably omits all reference to the quite important and by no means infrequent semantic distinction between a definite and an indefinite genitive (*aqṣā madīnatīn* "the remotest town" vs. *aqṣā l-madīnati* "the remotest part of the town").

P. 156, the reader is told that *ḥanā* "is thought to imply an element of purpose", which is true in considerably less than half the total number of occurrences, and is contradicted on p. 177 by the statement that "it really means 'until'". How can the unfortunate self-teaching student be expected to cope with such contradictions?

P. 160, it is at best misleading to write that a relative clause must contain some stated or implied pronoun which refers back to the antecedent. The reader might well conclude that "implied" here refers to the subject pronoun "implied" in a 3rd person verb, whereas the statement is only true if "implied" is understood as including a deleted pronoun; and it is crucial for the reader's ability to comprehend the language that he should be made aware of the strict rules governing the permissibility of deletion; yet not a hint of this is given. On the following page, "those who have a grammatical turn of mind" are told that "in English, the form (specially [sic!]) though it is *only* the forms cited that show the differentiation" in "who", "whom", "whose") of the relative pronoun tells you what is going on [sic! meaning the function of the pronoun in the clause], whereas in Arabic it doesn't". Nobody with a grammatical turn of mind can be satisfied with this woolly phraseology. Since it is the *'a'id* and not the *mawṣūl* which corresponds functionally to the English "relative pronoun", the words "in Arabic it doesn't" are false.

P. 163, the appositional structure *al-Muslimūna kulluhum* does not in any way display the "thematic principle" as expounded on p. 136.

P. 217, the assertion that "certain types of then-clause, after *'idhā* only, must be introduced by the particle *fa*" is false in its limitation of the phenomenon to the *jawāb* of *'idhā*; and the "certain circumstances" are not explained until p. 219, and then inadequately, with no reference to e.g. *laysa* clauses. On the same page, "sometimes the present tense (usually jussive mood) is used, but this does not really affect the meaning" may be right if taken strictly *au pied de la lettre*, but is pragmatically misleading inasmuch as unvocalised text in many cases does not reveal that the verb is to be read as *majzūm*, and a *marfū* does differ semantically from that.

P. 231, one fails to see why Smart thinks that *yumkinuhu 'an* is "rather a difficult construction to explain, and perhaps best interpreted as "it is possible for him that he listens"". The structure is transparently simple if one merely notes that *'amkana* governs a direct object, and its subject is the *'an* clause, yielding the interpretation "that he should listen is possible for him".

P. 233 instructs the reader that "The jussive verb can be used on its own, usually in the third person, to express exhortation . . . More commonly, however, it is prefixed by the particle *li-* . . . or *fa-*". From this, a necessary inference is that omission of the particle is possible, albeit less common. This erroneous doctrine has been curiously persistent in English writers. Cantarino (i.80), like Smart, says only that the semantic jussive is "usually" introduced by *li-*, though he has not been able to produce any examples of its omission; even Wright (ii.35D) says that omission of the particle is "very rare in classical Arabic, except in poetry", but again without producing any prose examples. Yet the Arab grammarians are absolutely definite, that the *maǧzūm* in the exhortatory sense *must* have its explicit *ǧāzim*, either *li-* (the *lām al-amr wal-du ā*) or an imperative (see Zamakhshari, *Kashshāf* on Q. xiv.31). Finally, I doubt whether the first person is significantly less "usual" than the third.

P. 236 states that the semantic basis of the tense system is "when the action of the verb takes place". Even in terms of temporal values, this is too simplistic, and it disregards the modal values (can/may/might/should). In my teaching experience, failure to grasp these values is a common source of mistranslations by beginners.

P. 244, "Form VII . . . is usually intransitive, with a passive or reflexive meaning, e.g. *inkasar* to become broken, to break": here one must welcome the appearance of the word "intransitive", but the good effect is ruined by the addition of "with a passive or reflexive meaning", which is sheer nonsense — passivity and reflexivity are properties inhering exclusively in transitive verbs, and if a verb is intransitive, it cannot have those meanings. A good deal of absurdity has been written about "reflexives", arising from confusion between French and English: in French the *verbes réflexis* are (in synchronic terms, though not of course historical diachronic ones) a formal and not a semantic category; they include both genuine reflexives like *se tuer* "to kill oneself" and intransitives like *se taire* "to be silent". Smart's glosses for *inkasar* are particularly misleading, for two reasons, one that no English speaker has ever said "the glass became broken"; the other is that, in order to bring out the intransitivity of the verb, masked by the ambiguity of the infinitive form, it is necessary to distinguish between "the glass has broken" (intransitive) and "the glass was broken by hooligans" (passive).

The textual material is in some units accompanied by thumbnail sketches of Arab culture and history as background to it. These sketches contain a few features which seem highly objectionable, likely to induce undesirable preconceptions in a beginner.

P. 129, the rendering of Hijra as "Flight" is inaccurate and generally regarded by Muslims as offensive.

P. 155, to say that the Caliph is "the usual name for the head of the various Islamic states which evolved after the death of the Prophet" is badly and misleadingly phrased. Until the advent of the Abbasid dynasty, the Islamic state remained unfragmented and co-extensive with the Islamic *umma*; the words "various Islamic states" can only refer to the various *duwal*, and the Caliph is not in principle head of a *dawla*, but of the *umma*.

P. 171, it is precisely the reverse of the truth to say that "When the Arabs conquered and settled in other countries, they naturally took with them their tribal habits, now endorsed by their own religion". The Prophet and early Islam were markedly antagonistic to bedouin tribalism; and insofar as the Arabs retained their tribal habits in their new homes, it was in spite of, and not endorsed by, Islam.

P. 172 repeats the crudely unsympathetic view, unfortunately too common among West Europeans that "Women are not highly rated either in Islamic law or the tribal code". Beginners should be encouraged to look for the more positive aspects of women's position in Arab society. The *shari'a* assigns to women a higher position than they ever occupied in Europe before the latter part of the XIXth century; as for "tribal custom", even when it was flourishing, it accorded to women a definite status which can in no way be called low, albeit there was no trace of the modern Occidental trend towards attempting to obliterate the role-differentiation between the sexes; the same is true of family society in rural areas, while the enormous increase in urbanisation has relegated strictly "tribal custom" to a minute

fraction of total Arab society.

On the cassette recordings, I have noted the following points.

1. The speakers have evidently had difficulty in coping with the length phoneme dealt with on p. 14 of the printed text, when they were asked to enunciate syllables isolated from an actual word. Thus *li* in isolation has been uttered with a markedly longer vowel than is heard in the immediately following *bihi*, so that it sounds more like *li*; and the long vowels have in general been enunciated with an extreme exaggeration of the length, which would sound absurd in actual speech, and is not heard when the speakers come to utter genuine words.

2. The speakers seem to have been instructed to pronounce *hamz* with great clarity, and have done so successfully in most cases; but in the case of a word-final *hamz* following *ā*, when required to pronounce the word in isolation from a context, they have exaggerated it to a point where it almost sounds like *q*. In fact, however, ever since the Middle Ages, *hamz* in this position has been "lightened" in normal speech (apart from very formal *tajwīd*), so that the difference between *mamdūd* and *maqṣūr* is detectable only by the position of the stress accent.

3. The rules given on p. 24 for placing the stress would entail stressing the first syllable of *maktaba*, *mirwaḥa*, *jayyida* (Unit 3), *aḍrabū* (Unit 7), etc.; but the speakers on the tape have correctly (at least for the main varieties of MSA) stressed the second syllables (see my *Arabic Language Today*, 1970, p. 21). It is the printed text which is here at fault.

4. Here it is the speakers who are at fault: from time to time they have, even in phrases said to be pronounced "at normal speed", made an improper pause; e.g. in Unit 3, sentence 6, the speaker has said *fi 'al-maktab*.

5. Consistently with Smart's principle of not recording, in the earlier part of the book, final short vowels, Unit 7 of the printed text presents "he wrote" as *katab*, but in pronouncing the list of words in Unit 6 the speaker has said *rattaba*. In the same Unit, *rukn* and *riḥ*, offered as isolated words, are uttered as if in *darj*, with a terminal *ə*, which the student may easily confuse with the "feminine" -a.

6. The speakers seem consistently to say *wazāra* for *wizāra*, and in Unit 7, sentence 12, we hear *ra'is al-wazāra* where the printed text has *ra'is al-wuzarā'*.

7. In Unit 8, sentence 12, we hear *'amilun*, though the student has not yet been told about the *i'rāb* forms.

This is *not* a work that can be recommended to the readers for whom it is intended.

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FUNKTIONSANALYSE VON KĀNA YAF'ĀLU: EIN BEITRAG ZUR VERBALSINTAX DES ALTHOCHARABISCHEN, MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER TEMPUS- UND ASPEKTPROBLEMATIK. VON NORBERT NEBES. (Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Band 1.) pp. xiv, 222 + errata slip. Hildesheim etc., Georg Olms Verlag, 1982. DM 34.80.

Compared with Hebrew, whose verbal system has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars, the tense and aspect system of classical Arabic has not been particularly well covered. Apart from the generally brief accounts in the standard grammars and compendia, the literature on the subject of the Arabic verbal system is rather small and many are the questions which await controlled investigation. The present work by N. Nebes is a slightly revised dissertation accepted by the University of Munich in 1981/2, and it appears now as the first in a new series entitled "Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft". The object of the work is to analyse the semantic and syntactic behaviour of one component of the Arabic verbal system, viz. the compound form *kāna yaf'alu*. The author applies himself to the task with commendable industry and thoroughness, and inasmuch as no one feature of the verbal system can be treated independently of the whole complex of which it forms a part, the reader will find here some interesting and useful observations on the functions of other verbal forms as well.

The seven chapters fall naturally into three groups. Chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-62) discuss the problem to be investigated, methodological questions and the formal properties of *kāna yaf'alu* as a syntagm (immediate constituents, congruence, negation etc.). Ch. 4 "Empirischer Teil I" (pp. 63-103) classifies the temporal and aspectual uses of *kāna yaf'alu* according to the tripartite notion of "Sachverhalt", viz. "Generell", "Pluralisch" and "Individuell", as elaborated particularly in ch. 3. The longest division of the book is "Empirischer Teil II" comprising chs. 5-7 (pp. 104-201). Here we are given an abundantly illustrated catalogue of the syntactic types in which *kāna yaf'alu* occurs or may occur (with *idā*, *kulla-mā*, in conditional sentences, in the "Inzidenzschema" etc.), followed by an account of the functional value of *kāna yaf'alu* and the fundamental questions of its relationship to perfect *fa'ala* on the one hand and to imperfect *yaf'alu* on the other. The book ends with a summary of the main conclusions, bibliography, and indexes of quoted authors and of cited Arabic passages (pp. 202-222).

In marked distinction to most works on classical Arabic grammar, which generally include a hodge-podge of stock sentences taken from the grammarians mingled with examples from prose and poetry of all kinds and from different periods, Nebes' textual corpus has been very carefully chosen. He has taken five prose works, or portions of works (Ibn Hishām/Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidi, Ibn Sa'd, al-Azraqī and al-Ṭabarī), which are strictly homogeneous in subject matter and all roughly contemporary. These works may be regarded as representing classical Arabic prose at its most authentic and at its best, and their use as the corpus for Nebes' investigation is a great virtue of his book. An important result of this choice of material is that we often have at our disposal more than one formulation of the same sentence, thus affording valuable insight into different grammatical possibilities. Thus the combination *wa-llāhi la-qad kuntu 'uḥḥiruka yā bna Salāmata 'anna l-'amra sa-yaṣīru 'ilā mā aqūlu* quoted on p. 191 from Ibn Hishām, appears in al-Ṭabarī as *'a-mā wa-llāhi la-qad kuntu 'aḥḥartuka yā bna Salāmata 'anna l-'amra sa-yaṣīru 'ilā mā kuntu 'aqūlu*, with *kuntu 'aḥḥartuka* = *kuntu 'uḥḥiruka* and *kuntu 'aqūlu* = *'aqūlu*.

Nebes has carefully combed his corpus for all occurrences of the syntagm *kāna yaf'alu* and of c. 3000 instances the present work includes c. 1000. This is indeed very rich illustration; some may say too rich. As stated, this plethora of examples is catalogued according to the notion "Sachverhalt" and according to formal syntactical criteria. While the formal syntactic classification of the material in chs. 5-7 is genuinely useful, particularly as a collection of examples, one has a certain amount of difficulty with those parts of the book dealing with the three "Sachverhalten", viz. "Generell", "Pluralisch" and "Individuell", especially with the statement that "die noetischen Kategorien auch dann bestehen bleiben, wenn sie nur teilweise oder auch gar keinen morphologischen Niederschlag finden" (p. 6 n. 16). This statement does not tally particularly well with the claim made on the previous page that the said noetic categories are "von besonderer Bedeutung". Even if one grants that these categories may possess a measure of objective existence, the fact that they remain largely unreflected by Arabic structure forces the reader to wonder about the utility of such an elaborate classification. These doubts are never really allayed and sometimes one feels that the analysis and the object to be analysed have quite parted company. Nebes' approach is certainly far removed from the principle that "we should recognize in the syntax of any language only such categories as have found in that language formal expression" (Jespersen).

Nebes' book is not easy to read: parts of it are somewhat abstract, amidst the relentless flow of examples one sometimes feels unable to see the wood for the trees, and the results of the analysis are not always clear. Nevertheless, it contains some valuable and well-documented observations on an elusive, and hence neglected, aspect of Semitic grammar. The author promises (p. 1 n. 2) further work on other aspects of the Arabic verbal system. The fact that all his conclusions are based on a homogeneous corpus of early prose marks a distinct step forward in the study of classical Arabic grammar.

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THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF KHĀBŪRA ON THE BĀTINA OF OMAN. By A. A. BROCKETT. (Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph No. 7) pp. vii, 240, 9 pl., 2 maps. Manchester Journal of Semitic Studies, University of Manchester, 1985.

The title of this monograph, *The spoken Arabic of Khābūra on the Bāṭina of Oman*, is somewhat misleading; it might well give the impression that it is a phonological and grammatical analysis of the dialect concerned, whereas it is in fact a glossary of terms, amounting in all to 1755 entries. The first part of the book (pp. 1–33) is an introduction which includes notes on the phonology, morphology and syntax of Khābūran Arabic, as well as a selection of proverbs with translations and explanations where necessary. The glossary proper forms the second, and by far the longer part of the book (pp. 41–225).

Khābūra, Dr Brockett tells us, is “a coastal settlement” in Northern Oman “some two-thirds of the way from Muscat to Sohar” (p. 2). It is a rural community where most of the inhabitants own an acre or two of date-palm and/or lime plantation, keep a half-dozen or so goats and sheep and perhaps a cow, and grow lucerne and grass crops” (pp. 4–5). Bee-keeping seems to be an important cottage industry, and Khābūrāns have a wide range of vocabulary connected with apiculture. As in most Arabian rural dialects also, Khābūran Arabic abounds in terms dealing with date-palm cultivation, as the glossary so well shows. In his book, *Eastern Arabian dialect studies*, T. M. Johnstone divides the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula into four groups: North Arabian, Hijāzi, South-western Arabian and Omani. The spoken Arabic of Khābūra, quite clearly, belongs to the last group. The present study concentrates on “an area of about one hundred square miles around Khābūra” (p. 2). It is based on information gathered mostly from thirty hours of tape-recording. Of the thirty informants two were women. The author, who was running an agricultural development-project at the time he collected his data in 1980, says that the motive for the recordings was not “simply linguistic”. His concern was “to increase the project’s knowledge of local agriculture with a view to helping to improve local methods if possible” (p. 2).

The entries in the glossary are arranged according to the Arabic root systems. The glossary is preceded by explanatory notes on the transliteration of consonants and vowels which provide helpful guidelines. The notes on the phonology, morphology and syntax, however, could have been usefully expanded. The author states at the outset that “on the whole the grammar and syntax of Khābūran Arabic differ little from the analyses of Jayakar and Reinhardt” (p. 2). This does not seem a satisfactory reason for not dealing with the subject in depth, seeing that the two works in question were written in the last century (1889 and 1894 respectively), and that there is now a pressing need for a more up-to-date approach to Omani dialect studies, as the author himself points out (p. 1). Brockett, moreover, dwells on some aspects of Khābūran Arabic to the exclusion of some other equally important ones. Eight pages of text, for example, are devoted to the treatment of the particle *ʿad*, which, although interesting in itself, is not all that relevant for our understanding of the glossary. Of greater use, however, would have been a section dealing with the syllabic structure of verbal and nominal forms and stress assignment. Thus, we are left to guess whether stress in trisyllabic forms like *mēdbinneḥ* “he punished him” (ent. 14), or *manxara* “a nose” (ent. 1524) falls on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. In some Arabian dialects stress assignment can separate dialects into two groups, as, for example, *mīlīlūm* (Mesopotamian) and *mīlīlūm* (Najdi) “like them” (cf. B. Ingham, *North east Arabian dialect studies*, p. 60).

Certain features of the dialect can be deduced from the lexical entries. Forms with initial and final consonant clusters seem to be quite common. Some entries show that forms with a final cluster of the CvCC pattern can occur with an anaptyctic vowel between the two final consonants. Thus, the forms *bisr* and *bisur* “dates” (ent. 102) occur as free variants in Khābūran Arabic. Metathesis, referred to by Jayakar as the “transposition of letters” (“The Omanee dialect of Arabic”, *JRAS*, 1889, p. 653), is not uncommon in this dialect. One of the characteristic features of Khābūran Arabic seems to be word-medial *imāla*, where the long vowel *ā* becomes *ē* in non-emphatic and non-guttural environments, e.g. *rubyēn* “shrimps” (ent. 580); *blēd* “villages” (ent. 132) *minšēn* “in order to” (ent. 800), etc. Word-medial *imāla* is not attested for the Eastern Arabian dialects analysed by Johnstone. Another characteristic feature of this dialect is medial *o* as a reflex of the Classical Arabic diphthong *aw*, which in

many parts of Arabia is realised as a long vowel, *ō*. In Khābūran Arabic it is slightly diphthongised, and pronounced like "the vowel in "folk" in RPE" (p. 42). Jayakar likens it to the "o as in robe", (*op. cit.*, p. 657).

A point worth drawing attention to is the author's constant use of capital letters in the transcription of proper names, as, for example, *yertab iṣ-Ṣallāni* "the Sallāni-palm's dates are ripe" (ent. 605); *il-Muḥammadiyya* "Mohammedanism" (ent. 352); *ṣurt 'ale Xamīs* "I schemed with Xamīs" (ent. 880). These can be confusing in view of the fact that capital letters are frequently used in transcription to denote emphasis. Brockett has not supplied a proper bibliography. The bibliographical references instead are cited in separate sections of the book, and this makes the reader's task rather irksome. My main criticism of the work, however, remains the sketchy treatment of the phonological and morphological aspects of the dialect. But, having said this, I hasten to add that this is a book packed with valuable material which shows, not only the author's intimacy with the dialect and the region, but also his affection and esteem for the Khābūran people.

FARIDA ABU-HAIDAR

ATLAS DU MONDE ARABO-ISLAMIQUE À L'ÉPOQUE CLASSIQUE, IX^e-X^e SIÈCLES. PAR GEORGETTE CORNU. Répertoires des toponymes. pp. xiv, 213. Cartes xvi-xx. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985. Guilders 140, US\$59.00.

The first two fascicles of this work, comprising Maps I-XV and the accompanying provisional "répertoires des toponymes" were reviewed in *JRAS* 1986, pp. 270-1. It has now been completed with the publication of Maps XVI to XX, the definitive edition of the "répertoires", a slightly revised introduction, and a general index of place-names. The new maps cover Rihāb (i.e. Armenia, Azerbaijan and Arrān.), Daylam, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, Khazar, Sijistān and Sind. The last map, though entitled "Province du Sind", is a small scale map of the whole Indian sub-continent and Ceylon. However, since only names that occur in the *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* are marked, not many toponyms outside Sind appear on it. So far as I have noticed the new versions of the "répertoires" for Maps I to XV differ very little from the preliminary versions already issued.

The compiler of an atlas such as this has to decide what to do about major changes in the physical environment during the last millennium, whether these were man-made, like canals, or natural, like changes in the course of rivers, or the advance or retreat of coastlines. In general these maps show the position of the classical sites on the modern map. Map X (Egypt) marks the Suez Canal and also the Khalij amir al-mu'minīn, the old Pharaonic canal which was restored in early Abbasid times. The only map to show the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab (IX, Bādiyat al-'Arab) gives the modern coastline. Map XVI (Rihāb and Daylam) marks the old bed of the Amū Daryā which entered the Caspian, but Map XVII (Transoxiana) shows only its present course to the Aral Sea. Maps XIX (Sijistān and Sind) and XX (the Indian sub-continent) delineate the modern coastline but differ in the location assigned to Daybul. On Map XIX it is marked inland in a position consistent with the identification of the site with Bhambor. On Map XX it is shown on the coast, where it must have been at the relevant period, but it is within an area marked by horizontal lines, which are not explained but which appear to indicate the Rann of Cutch. The mouths of the Indus are marked further to the east, also in the Rann. However, a port like Daybul cannot have been situated between the Rann and the ocean. It would, of course, be impossible to delineate precisely the channels of the Indus delta at any precise time in these centuries. The late H. T. Lambrick, whose knowledge of Sind was unsurpassed, wrote: "These channels are nevertheless extremely unstable, and a map of the Delta is liable to be found inaccurate within a year or two from its making" (*Sind: a general introduction*, 2nd ed., Hyderabad, 1975, p. 22).

Irānshahr in Makrān may not be the only possible identification for Bahraj/Fahraj (p. 183, Map XIX). There was evidently a place with the same name on the west side of the Indus near Sehwan (see Professor N. A. Baloch's valuable edition of the so-called "Chachnāmeḥ", *Fathnamah-i-Sind*, Islamabad, 1982, pp. 129–30). Manjābāra (p. 186, Map XIX) may be the name of two different places (H. T. Lambrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–1).

The completion of this atlas is warmly to be welcomed. The maps are admirably clear and easy to use, the printing is accurate, and the whole work will be of great assistance not only to readers of the Arabic geographers, but also to those trying to follow the campaigns described in the chronicles. The author deserves our gratitude as well as our congratulations.

C. F. BECKINGHAM

DAS SENDSCHREIBEN DES 'ABDALḤAMĪD B. YAḤ'YĀ (GEST. 132/750) AN DEN KRONPRINZEN 'ABDALLĀH B. MARWĀN II. VON HANNELORE SCHÖNIG (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur — Mainz: Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission Bd. XXXVII) pp. vii, 154, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985, DM. 28.

The letter of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā to 'Abd Allāh, son and heir apparent of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II is one of the earliest surviving works of Arabic prose and the first example in Arabic of the "Mirrors for Princes" genre. The work itself, around 60 pages long in the first Arabic edition, is not found in any of the standard chronicles. It survives, along with a small number of shorter works by the same author in a collection compiled by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893) well known as the author of a history of Baghdad, now mostly lost. It is an interesting reflection of the openness of 'Abbasid culture that such a work, emanating from the court of one of the most hated Umayyads, could be published. The work consists of two sections: the first gives general advice on good conduct and behaviour on the part of the ruler and is strongly religious in tone, while the second concerns the practical details of military campaigning, especially against the Kharijites, whose mobility and ruthlessness made them particularly dangerous enemies. From the strictly historical point of view, the contents tell us little: the moral advice is improving and unexceptional, the military section is largely composed of comments on such matters as the need to send out scouts and make proper encampments which would hardly seem out of place in Caesar's Gallic Wars.

What is important, however, is the very early date of the work, and its stylistic maturity and it is on these aspects that Dr. Schönig rightly concentrates. After a discussion of the author, a *mawla* of Persian origin who had a distinguished career as a secretary in the service of the Umayyads, and of the manuscripts, the author provides a full German translation of the text, but, it should be noted, not the Arabic original. This is followed by a discussion of the literary precursors of the work in which the author attempts to identify some of the motifs like the accent on a hereditary nobility, apparent at some points, which is linked to Sassanian ideas. This section is interesting but necessarily speculative. The final section deals with rhetorical and other stylistic features, seeking to clarify some of the characteristics of this earliest Arabic prose. According to Ibn Khallikān, quoted by Dr. Schönig, "Letter-writing began with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and ended with Ibn al-'Amīd" (the Buyid vizier). The author has performed a valuable service in analysing his most important surviving work and this book will be of interest to all those who are concerned with the early history of Arabic literature.

HUGH KENNEDY

TOME QUARANTIÈME DE LA CHRONIQUE D'ÉGYPTE DE MUSABBIHĪ (LE PRINCE AL-MUHTĀR 'IZZ AL-MULK MUHAMMAD IBN 'UBAYD ALLĀH IBN AHMAD) 336-420/977-1029, AL-JUZ' AL-ARBA' 'UN MIN AKHBĀR MIṢR. 2. PARTIE LITTÉRAIRE, 2, AL-QISM AL-ADABI. Edited and presented by HUSAYN NAṢṢĀR. (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques, Tome XIII/2, 1984.) pp. viii, 64 + 148pp. Arabic text. Le Caire, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1984.

In his modest introduction to this publication, Professor Naṣṣār points out that his volume comprises the literary section, which was discovered by those who were engaged in the investigation of the fortieth part of this noteworthy work of the Fāṭimid age in Egypt. Urged on by two colleagues who were concerned with the historical sections, he began his task, hampered and delayed by other commitments. In the interim, Dr W. G. Millward had completed his own edition of *Akhbār Miṣr*, part forty (*al-juz' al-arba' 'un*, though misprinted as "part foreteen (sic)"), published by the General Egyptian Organization in Cairo in 1980. This latter edition, flawed in the English printing, though eminently clear in the Arabic text, included both historical and literary sections of al-Musabbihī's work. Hence the poetry in this edition and in Dr Millward's are one and the same. The poets are the same, the interweaving biographical passages are the same, and their poems are the same except for relatively minor variant readings in individual verses.

Professor Naṣṣār then continues by pointing out that he had seriously considered withdrawing his edition. Full of praise for Dr Millward's work, he rightly saw that a case existed for not "adumbrating" a text which was already in print in a carefully edited format. He was persuaded to proceed with his edition, and his decision was justified. The reasons he gives are: to fulfil his undertaking to the Institut, to rectify a few details which were incorrect, to furnish a different view of the poetry and prose through his editing and introduce a literary appreciation of the content and, in general, the literary taste and literary circle of al-Musabbihī in Egypt and Arab Asia at that time. The poems of the sixteen poets who are represented, a number of them little known and with scant representation elsewhere, cover the entire gamut of poetic genius amongst the Arabs; love poetry, wine and social intercourse, the garden and its floriculture and its ornithology, eulogy and elegy, praise and vainglorious verse, the chiding of friends and complaint at life's injustices, satire and poetic technique, imagery and metrical art. This literary essay (pages 12-64) alone justifies the printing of this work, which, in the clarity of the text and standard of its printing, marks an improvement on the edition of *Akhbār Miṣr* already in print, though Dr Millward's edition of the poetry is well vocalised.

Akhbār Miṣr (the unique manuscript is in the Escorial) is but one masterpiece, though a major one even in its truncated form, of the Fāṭimid civil servant, Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Musabbihī. It was written in 414-5/1023-5. Al-Musabbihī entered the service of the Fāṭimid Caliph, al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh in 1007/8. He was appointed military governor of al-Qays and al-Bahnasā in Middle Egypt. This latter appointment is an indication of the significance of the latter town at that time, and it is confirmed by the impressive, indeed priceless, archaeological discoveries now being made there by the Kuwait and Egyptian sponsored research team led by Dr Geza Fehérvári. Later, al-Musabbihī became chief of the payments bureau (*diwān al-tarīḥ*) in the central administration. He was intimately acquainted with men of letters in Fustāt, in Egypt in general, or by correspondence outside it, during the period between the reigns of the Caliph al-'Azīz, and of the successor to al-Ḥākim, al-Zāhir (died 427/1035). There is a brief biography of al-Musabbihī in Ibn Khallikān's, *Kiṭāb wafayāt al-a'yān*, (see De Slane's translation, 1868, volume 111, pp. 87-90). He was himself a noted poet and he composed an elegy on the death of his concubine (see *Akhbār Miṣr* edited by W. G. Millward, 1980, p. 6).

It is particularly sad that so little of al-Musabbihī's writings has survived; one might be tempted to say that only a tiny fragment of them is left and this loss to Arabic letters and to our knowledge of Fāṭimid history is nothing short of tragic. Dr Millward (pp. 7-10, based upon the *Kiṭāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā' al-Maghrib*, by Ibn Sa'īd, edited by K. Tallqvist) lists thirty-one substantial works relating to songs, *talwīḥ* and *taṣrīḥ* in verse, the book of "drowning and choking", wine drinking and its etiquette, foods and gravies, pious works and good customs, coitus and copulation, a book on misers and gluttons (*Kiṭāb al-bukhālā' wa'l-akala*), a book

on steam-baths, on the hungry and the naked, on Sabeian legal decisions and on astrology, juridical works (some 3000 pages), a book on the vizier's vocation, on spirits and demons, a book of exorcisms and another on the interpretation of dreams. Two important histories figure, the history of Ḥarrān, and *Akhbār Miṣr* the sole surviving (?) fragment of his corpus, and other writings on literary and medical matters. In short, we have lost a major scholarly figure who lived during a culturally rich period, one that was open to manifold cultural influences, in Arab history. Any work written by al-Musabbiḥī is worth discovering and both editions of a selection of poets whom he knew, and whose works he admired, are important contributions to the history of Arabic literature.

H. T. NORRIS

GOD'S CALIPH: RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN THE FIRST CENTURIES OF ISLAM. By PATRICIA CRONE AND MARTIN HINDS, (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications No. 37.) pp. v. 157. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press, 1986. £22.50.

Islamic historians in the west have tended to be Sunnī, not, in the sense that they were Muslims of that persuasion but rather that they have accepted the Sunnī view of the development of the early Islamic state as the correct one, and the present reviewer is no exception to this rule. This Sunnī view was adumbrated by the religious scholars in Iraq in the early 'Abbāsīd period and its main tenet was that the Umayyads had established a secular monarchy with limited powers, based on the consent of the Muslim community. This was especially true when it came to legal affairs; the early Caliphs could not, and did not, have powers to make legal decisions or to interpret the *sunna* of the Prophet and this was the prerogative of the community, as represented by the '*ulamā*'. The coming of the 'Abbāsīds did not, essentially, change this picture and the '*ulamā*' consolidated their control of Islamic law-giving to the complete exclusion of the Caliphs. It is this view that Crone and Hinds have set out to challenge.

They start by examining the terminology. The term Caliph was held by the '*ulamā*' to be *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*, the successor or deputy of the Prophet of God, a title which makes no claims to religious authority, but the authors show that the early Islamic usage was *khalīfat Allāh*, the deputy of God. They prove this conclusively by numerous and well documented reference to Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd literature, especially to Umayyad poetry which has been combed for relevant examples. The significance of this goes far beyond the question of titles (though titles are often more significant than historians suggest) since if the Caliph was indeed *khalīfat Allāh*, then he, and he alone, was in a position to determine how God's law should be developed. This is, in the generally accepted view, a Shī'ī position, but Crone and Hinds prove that the Umayyad Caliphs did have this rôle and that this rôle was generally accepted. The Umayyad Caliphs acted as *qāḍīs*, gave legal opinions and decided the interpretation of *sunna*. The early 'Abbāsīds claimed such powers as well and it was only during the early part of the third Islamic century that the '*ulamā*' stripped the office of this authority. The failure of al-Ma'mūn's *miḥna* represents the ultimate failure of the Caliphs to retain control over religious matters. The authors show that the Shī'ī view of the Caliphate is much closer to the original than the image subsequently developed by the '*ulamā*'.

In chapter 5 the authors discuss the changing nature of *sunna*, showing how in the early days the term referred to the custom of the community in general; we even find references to the '*sunna* of 'Abd al-Malik' as a source of authority. So fluid a definition meant that the *sunna* could be, and indeed was, determined by the Caliph. After the triumph of the '*ulamā*' in the early 'Abbāsīd period, however, and especially the work of Shāfi'ī, this flexibility disappeared, and only traditions which could be traced through a reliable *isnād* back to the Prophet were

valid. And, of course, it was the *'ulamā'* alone who could decide which traditions matched these new criteria. In this way were the Caliphs undone by the religious scholars, and secular monarchy in the Sunni world deprived of its religious legitimacy.

This is a short but very important book. The argument is clear and superbly documented and the style is marred by none of the gratuitous obscurities found in Dr Crone's earlier works. It should affect our whole understanding of early Muslim history and it is to be hoped that Islamic historians will not be too imprisoned in a *sunna* of their own devising to take proper account of it.

HUGH KENNEDY

THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ (TA'RIKH AL-RUSUL WA'L-MULŪK). VOL. XXVII. THE 'ABBĀSĪD REVOLUTION. Translated and annotated by JOHN ALDEN WILLIAMS. VOL. XXXV. THE CRISIS OF THE 'ABBĀSĪD CALIPHATE. Translated and annotated by GEORGE SALIBA. VOL. XXXVIII. THE RETURN OF THE CALIPHATE TO BAGHDAD. Translated and annotated by FRANZ ROSENTHAL. (SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies. Bibliotheca Persica.) Vol. XXVII; pp. xiv, 233; Vol. XXXV; pp. xii, 187; Vol. XXXVIII; pp. xxiii, 239. Albany, New York, State University of New York Press, 1985. US \$ 29.50, 24.50, 29.50.

The three volumes reviewed here are the first to be published of a great, 38 volume translation of the History of the Prophets and Kings by Ṭabarī, the classic history of the early Islamic State. Volume xxvii, translated by John Alden Williams deals with the Abbasid Revolution from the accession of Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad Caliph in 745 to the death of Abu'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, the first Abbasid in 754 (the title page says the volume finishes in 750 but this is an error). Volume xxxv, translated by George Saliba, deals with the years 863-9 when, during the Caliphates of al-Musta'in and al-Mu'tazz, the Abbasids were virtual prisoners in Baghdad. It also describes the civil war between the two and the siege of Baghdad. The last one, volume xxxviii by Franz Rosenthal, covers the end of the work and includes an interesting discussion by the translator of the date of its completion. Ehsan Yar-Shater is chief editor of the whole ambitious project.

It must be said that both the translation and the presentation are of high standard. Much of the language in Ṭabarī's work is obscure and difficult and there are bound to be disagreements about the interpretation of some passages, the high flown vocabulary and expression being hard to render into plausible English. Despite the efforts of the translators, much of it does not make light reading and one becomes aware of just how much of the text is concerned with battles and military matters. All the volumes here are remarkably fluent, translated into real English as opposed to the sort of "translationese" which is sometimes found. The volumes are well produced and all the Arabic names are meticulously transliterated with full diacritical points. Each volume also has an index.

The notes in the first two volumes considered here are comparatively brief, mostly explaining uncertainties in the text and obscure references rather than giving background information: only in the Rosenthal volume is there a systematic attempt to identify characters. Toponyms are briefly located with further references to the works of le Strange or the *Mu'jam al-Buldān* of Yāqūt. Clearly the question of notes is a difficult one, especially in a multi-volume work like this, where places and characters may well have been referred to previously by different translators; is every translator going to have to explain the meaning of the word *mawālī*, for example, a subject on which books could and have been written? Even allowing for these problems, however, some volumes might have benefitted from more annotation, and Rosenthal's notes could be taken as a model. One challenge which has not generally been taken up in the notes is the identification of Ṭabarī's sources, the provision of more details about the names which appear in the *isnāds*, and the investigation of whether any of the works used by Ṭabarī are recognizable in the *Fihrist* or elsewhere. But perhaps this is a whole new research project and it would be wrong to expect it here.

This is not a new edition of the text, and there has been no attempt to go back to the original manuscripts. The Leiden edition edited by De Goeje is used as the basis of the English version, though the edition by M. A. Ibrahim (Cairo 1960-9) which uses some additional MSS, is used to clear up some obscurities. Having myself recently examined some of the most important MSS in Istanbul, I am sure that this is the right decision. To re-edit the text in the absence of significant, new manuscript discoveries is unlikely to result in important changes. It would be much more useful to investigate the manuscript tradition; we can be certain that the Leiden edition is reasonably faithful to the surviving MSS; what is less clear is the relationship between the MSS and Ṭabari's original work.

This is certainly a very valuable project, executed with care. If the rest of the volumes reach the standard of the first three, there can be no doubt that this will be a major achievement. For the non-Arabist, the translation will open the door on the complex and fascinating world of traditional Arab historiography; for the Arabist reading the text in the original, the translation will be an invaluable guide; for who among us can claim to read the text and unravel all the obscurities and nuances of the original with speed and accuracy?

HUGH KENNEDY

THE TIBYĀN. MEMOIRS OF 'ABD ALLĀH B. BULUGGĪN, LAST ZĪRĪD AMĪR OF GRANADA. Translation, introduction, annotation and commentary by AMIN T. TIBI. (Medieval Iberian Peninsula, Texts and Studies. Vol. V.) pp. xii, 291, 2 maps. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1986. Guilders 90.

Of the quite outstanding interest of the text here translated there can be no doubt. In a period poor in contemporary historical source material it forms an exception: a detailed *apologia pro vita sua* written by the Berber ruler of one of the *ṭā'ifa* states which were swallowed up by the Almoravids towards the end of the second half of the XIth century. Our author was thus a man well placed to observe, to understand and to interpret complex manoeuvres which appear so baffling to us nowadays. A source of primary importance this may be, but it is one which must be treated with the utmost wariness: a work of self-justification written in enforced exile by a man who must have been conscious that agents of those who had taken away his throne were always likely to be reading over his shoulder. It would be naïve to expect straightforwardness from such a work.

Over the years since 1931 when it first emerged into the light of the scholarship of modern times (as a result of building works undertaken in the Qarawiyyin mosque in Fez), this work has been given a number of titles, and it may be helpful to explain how it came to acquire them. The manuscript was not discovered in one tidy volume, but higgledy-piggledy in sections, so that its editor, E. Lévi-Provençal, when he came to publish in *Al-Andalus* in 1935 a first instalment of the material then available, gave his article the descriptive title of "Un texte arabe inédit sur l'histoire de l'Espagne musulmane dans la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle: Les "Mémoires" de 'Abd Allāh, dernier roi ziride de Grenade". This title was maintained for the second instalment (1936), and in 1941 we have "Deux nouveaux fragments des "Mémoires" du roi . . .". Scholars making use of this material at this period usually refer to it as *Mémoires/Memorias* etc. When in 1955 Lévi-Provençal brought out for the Arabic-reading public his Cairo edition (which incorporated further discoveries made in 1947, and took the opportunity to rearrange the whole work in chronological order), he simply translated the second part of the title of the *Al-Andalus* articles: *Mudhakkirāt al-Amīr 'Abd Allāh, ākhir mulūk Banī Zīrī bi-Gharnāta*, although he was now able to add *al-musammāt bi-kitāb "al-Tibyān"* (inverted commas thus in the Arabic) – called the Book of "The Exposition". The title *Tibyān* does not occur in the Fez MS., which remains incomplete, and notably minus its incipit, but is known from the *K. al-marqaba al-ulyā fi-man yastahiqqu al-qaḍā' wa'l-fityā* by

the XIVth-century Granadan author al-Nubāhī which Lévi-Provençal had published in 1948. Al-Nubāhī makes two separate references to a work by the Amīr 'Abd Allāh entitled *Al-Tibyān 'an al-hadītha al-kā'ina bi-dawlat Banī Zīrī fī Gharnāṭa* ("An Exposition of the Downfall of the Zīrid Dynasty in Granada") (ed. cit. pp. 93 and 98). E. García Gómez planned a translation into Spanish of the complete 1955 text in collaboration with Lévi-Provençal, but it was not until 1980, 24 years after the French Arabist's death, that there appeared *El siglo XI en 1ª Persona. Las "Memorias" de 'Abd Allah, último rey ziri de Granada, destronado por los Almorávides (1090)*. The joint nature of the original project is recorded on the title page by the appearance of the names of both Arabists, although García Gómez makes it clear that the new and "somewhat brash" ("algo llamativo") title is to be ascribed to him. Thus it was that *Mémoires/Mudhakkirāt* and *The Eleventh Century in the First Person Singular* have come to eclipse the original title of *K. al-Tibyān*. Dr. Tibi's decision to revert to the original is to be welcomed. However, the exact way in which he has chosen to do so may create further problems. *Tibyān* in Tibi's own usage refers to the Cairo (1955) edition. Henceforward *The Tibyān* must refer to his own translation. It will be surprising if some confusion does not arise.

Which of the two recent translations is to be preferred? García Gómez is the master translator from Arabic to Spanish of his generation, a poet in his own right, a writer fully aware of the resources of his target language. What is more, his volume has the status of being the long-awaited apparatus of commentary and historical notes announced in the Cairo edition: "To it any reader desirous of detailed information on the work here published is referred" (p. 5 of Lévi-Provençal's Arabic introduction.). On both scores Tibi's version stands up well to such a daunting comparison, indeed it is as a close commentary on the *Tibyān* that *The Tibyān* is particularly valuable. (I hope that last sentence will have made Dr. Tibi realize the snags inherent in his choice of title.) For reasons alluded to in the first paragraph of this review, the work is full of allusions, direct and indirect, of Qur'anic and literary quotations. *El siglo XI en 1ª Persona* went a long way towards providing the help which most of us will need, but Tibi's notes are even fuller, and he recognizes and explains many more allusions. The sort of commentary which he provides goes far beyond what could reasonably be expected of the most zealous and competent of translators: this is the fruit of half a lifetime of concentrated study of this difficult text (*inter alia* Tibi completed an Oxford D.Phil. on his way).

That Tibi is translating from his mother tongue rather than into it creates the presumption that when set alongside the richness of the linguistic texture of García Gómez's version, his might appear bland, but in the rendering into English of an idiosyncratic style he is often conspicuously successful. Where García Gómez definitely has the advantage is that although both translations break the text into the same subdivisions (Tibi follows Lévi-Provençal), Tibi unwisely does without all chapter headings etc. One understands his desire not to translate what is not present in the original, but his English text, devoid of the visual relief which is offered by headings, seems very austere when set alongside the Spanish.

A close examination of the translations often reveals them to be in conflict. In dealing with such a deeply encoded text this is not surprising. Time and again 'Abd Allāh, writing of some crisis or scandal, beats about the bush, fails to come to the point. A translator is obliged to try his best to understand what is the underlying issue: at a remove of nine centuries there may well be room for more than one interpretation. From now on those striving to make sense of these enigmatic memoirs will need to take both translations into account. For future editions one would urge Dr. Tibi to reconsider his decision on chapter headings. It would also be advisable to add marginal references to the foliation of the Arabic MS. rather than (or in addition to) references to the pagination of the 1955 edition. The unique MS. will always be with us, whereas pagination will vary, especially when Arabic readers come to demand, as they surely will, an edition with the same wealth of elucidatory annotation as is here provided in English.

R. Menéndez Pidal incorporated information from the *Tibyān* in his *La España del Cid* from 1946 onwards, and remarked on the total absence of the Castilian hero from the Memoirs (Vol. I p. 261 n.2). This silence is indeed puzzling. In the early 1080's, when he was charged with a mission on the Granadan frontier, the Cid, Rodrigo de Bivar, may not have been quite

as famous as he was to become ten years later, but he was, all the same, a political figure of prime importance. It is difficult to imagine that 'Abd Allāh was unaware of his existence. The lacunae in the middle of the MS. may of course provide an explanation, but one wonders whether the name of the Cid had become so hateful to the Almoravids by the time when the *Tibyān* was composed that 'Abd Allāh judged it prudent to write it out of his history.

Another related puzzle concerns Alvar Fáñez (in the Castilian epic tradition Oliver to the Cid's Roland). In the *Tibyān*, Albarhānīsh it was who had been entrusted by Alfonso VI with the implementation of his Granadan policy, and it is with him that 'Abd Allāh has to deal. One of the epithets most frequently applied to Alvar Fáñez was Minaya, which Menéndez Pidal explains as *mi* ("my") + Basque *anaya* ("brother"). Minaya is not in the *Tibyān* applied to Alvar Fáñez, but an al-Nāya turns up in the service of 'Abd Allāh. Both name and personage are mysterious: "harto enigmático" says García Gómez, who speculates that the name may be Romance. Could this al-Nāya not be another Anaya, and a northerner? It is perhaps noteworthy that in the plot which led to al-Nāya's death in Guadix, the assassin chosen (presumably because he had easy access to him) was one Wāṣil, "one of al-Nāya's main creatures", and an *'ilj* or renegade.

L. P. HARVEY

THE ADVENTURES OF IBN BATTUTA: A MUSLIM TRAVELER OF THE 14TH CENTURY. By ROSS E. DUNN. pp. xvi, 357, 12 maps. London, Croom Helm, 1986. £22.50.

To "bring Ibn Battuta's adventure to general readers and to interpret it within the rich, trans-hemispheric cultural setting of medieval Islam," in Professor Dunn's own words, is no easy task. But he has succeeded admirably. Within each chapter, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's own activities in a particular region are prefaced by a scholarly presentation of essential background material – on the character of the Mamlūk Sultanate and the Egyptian economy, for example, or on trading patterns in the Indian Ocean. The analysis is often enriched by references to near-contemporary travellers such as the Irish Symon Semeonis and the German Ludolf von Suchem. There is the occasional error. "Michael III" (p. 170) for "Michael VIII", "Qīwan" (pp. 194 ff.) for "Qīwam", and "Fakr" (pp. 254–5) for "Fakhr" may all be the printers' fault. But it comes as a surprise to learn that the Ayyubid dynasty was "decrepit" prior to the Mamlūk revolution (p. 48); Chinggis Khan's invasion of India occurred in 1221–2 and not in 1224 (p. 186); and Bengal, far from being annexed to the Delhi Sultanate in the late XIIIth century (p. 253), was in fact lost at that point (c. 1290) and temporarily recovered only in the early 1320s. Nevertheless, such lapses are few. In the aggregate, these introductory sections constitute nothing less than an extremely well informed guide to the Islamic *oecumene* in the XIVth century.

Dunn does not shrink from broaching the labyrinthine question of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's veracity and the accuracy of his chronology and his routes; though these matters tend to be investigated in the notes so as to avoid encumbering the text with digressions. One wonders, even so, whether the Moroccan traveller does not escape with more charitable treatment than he merits. To some extent the journey to Constantinople is suspect, but while noting the doubts of previous commentators Dunn takes it on board (pp. 170–2). More dubious still is the description of China, of which Dunn acknowledges the general vagueness and inaccuracy (pp. 252–3); yet he seems prepared to dismiss as apocryphal only the visit to Peking (p. 260). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's attempt to head an embassy to the Yüan emperor is in fact the most appalling catalogue of disasters. The choice of overland itinerary – to the Gujarati port of Gandhār by way of Dawlatābād, involving a bizarre detour – looks like carelessness. Other episodes represent, to say the least, misfortune: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's separation from the rest of his party during an attack by an apparently small band of Hindu insurgents, followed by capture; the death of his fellow-ambassadors, and the loss of all the gifts they were carrying together with the

Moroccan's own possessions, during a storm in Calicut harbour; and further spoliation by pirates off the Malabar coast. The last of these catastrophes has been blamed for the disappearance of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's notes, though all he tells us is that he lost on this occasion copies of tomb inscriptions he had made at Bukhārā. Dunn rejects the idea that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ever noted down his many experiences (p. 313). But this surely stretches one's credulity almost as far as do some of the Moroccan traveller's own revelations. The memorizing of wholesale autobiographical data, as Maḥdi Husain pointed out in the introduction to his translation of the *Rihla* (1953, p. lxxiv), demands a capacity very different from that required to commit to heart the entire Qur'ān. It is inconceivable that Ibn Juzayy put together the narrative – a few years after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's final return to the Maghrib – relying mainly on the traveller's memory and with the help of the historical and geographical literature available in Fez. Such aids may well have been invaluable when it came to checking the duration of journeys in North Africa and the Near East; and Ibn Jubayr, to name only the most prominent of the sources tapped, could be relied upon to furnish superior descriptions of cities and buildings in those regions, whether or not Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had actually seen them. But even extensive plagiarization of this kind would still have left Ibn Baṭṭūṭa with the prodigious task of remembering his experiences in Anatolia, the Qipchaq steppe, Transoxiana, the Delhi Sultanate and the Maldives, not to mention the tales of travellers and merchants on which his accounts of Bengal, Sumatra, Java and the like (including a personal encounter with the obligatory *rukh!*) are undoubtedly based.

One circumstance that seems to have passed unnoticed by most scholars (an exception is Herman Janssens, *Ibn Batouta: "Le voyageur de l'Islam"*, 1948, p. 16) is that the *Rihla* is in two parts. The section on the Delhi Sultanate is preceded by a doxology and other material that suggests a quite distinct beginning was being made (see pp. 592–3 of Gibb's translation). Is it possible that Ibn Juzayy's original purpose (whatever the truth regarding the notes) was to write only about Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's career in India, and that the book was subsequently expanded to embrace the whole of his experiences? The question cannot be answered. The process whereby the *Rihla* was constructed will doubtless remain an enigma, though further delving into Arabic biographical dictionaries and the writings of other travellers will continue to yield worthwhile results. Professor Dunn is meanwhile to be congratulated on producing a highly readable book which will most certainly widen the circle of those obsessed by this most fascinating of travellers.

PETER JACKSON

PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. THE *THEOLOGY* AND OTHER TEXTS. Edited by JILL KRAYE, W. F. RYAN and C. B. SCHMITT. (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts XI.) pp. 295, front. London, The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1986, £36.00.

This volume admirably complements Volume IX (1983), *Pseudo-Aristotle, The Secret of Secrets, Sources and Influences*. Both are indispensable repositories of scholarship for the student of medieval philosophy, eastern and western alike.

The second, and, to my mind, the more important, section of this volume is exclusively concerned with the *Theology*; a substantial portion of the first has to do with the *Liber de Causis*. The former had a tremendous impact in the East but little in the West, whereas the latter appears to have met with almost exactly the contrary reception – although Richard C. Taylor here makes a good case for its having been more influential than has previously been thought.

All the contributions are of interest and value. C. B. Schmitt, in his "Pseudo-Aristotle in the Latin Middle Ages", provides a concise and readable survey of this field, and the other papers in the first section, together with Jill Kraye's "The *Theology* in Europe" (short title), offer

scholarly information and speculation on a number of aspects of the pseudo-Aristotelian corpus.

The major contribution, in my view, however, must be considered to be F. W. Zimmermann's "The origins of the *Theology of Aristotle*", necessarily complemented by Paul B. Fenton's "The Arabic and Hebrew *Theology*" (both short titles). Zimmermann's massive (expanded) paper (131 pp.), which must, incidentally, have occasioned serious problems for the type-setters, sets out, lucidly and with some humour, the most plausible account that I have seen attempted of the way in which the *Theology* may have assumed its present form. There is, naturally enough, a certain amount of disagreement between him and Fenton, principally concerning the nature and relationship of the longer and shorter versions, but I have little doubt that Zimmermann's theory of the genesis of the *Theology* is destined to become the dominant one, at any rate in its broad outlines, for a long time to come.

In general, allowing for a number of misprints, the volume is extremely well produced. It reflects great credit on the Institute.

The papers included are as follows: Part I: C. B. Schmitt: "Pseudo-Aristotle in the Latin Middle Ages"; Dimitri Gutas: "The Spurious and the Authentic in the Arabic Lives of Aristotle"; Richard C. Taylor: "The *Kalām fī maḥq al-khair* (*Liber de Causis*) in the Islamic Philosophical Milieu"; Charles H. Lohr: "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de Causis* and Latin Theories of Science in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries"; Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny: "Pseudo-Aristotle *De Elementis*"; C. S. F. Burnett: "Arabic, Greek and Latin Works on Astrological Magic Attributed to Aristotle"; W. F. Ryan: "Aristotle and Pseudo-Aristotle in Kievan and Muscovite Russia"; Part II: F. W. Zimmermann: "The Origins of the So-called *Theology of Aristotle*"; Paul B. Fenton: "The Arabic and Hebrew Versions of the *Theology of Aristotle*"; Jill Kraye: "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Theology* in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe".

J. N. MATTOCK

ÉTUDES DE THÉOLOGIE ET DE PHILOSOPHIE ARABO-ISLAMIQUES À L'ÉPOQUE CLASSIQUE. By GEORGES VAJDA. Edited by D. GIMARET, M. HAYOUN and J. JOLIVET. (Collected Studies Series 228.) pp. 318, front. London, Variorum Reprints, 1986. £30.00.

The volume contains the reprints of fourteen articles relevant to medieval Islamic theology and philosophy by the late Georges Vajda, eminent scholar in the field of Jewish and Islamic studies. Some of them, especially among those on philosophy, are equally relevant to Jewish studies. Among the larger articles with a wide focus may be noted "Les zindiqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside", first published in 1937 but still of fundamental importance, "Le témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites" (1966), treating the subject on the basis of a much broader range of sources than the title would indicate, and "Un champion de l'avicennisme. Le problème de l'identité de Dieu et du Premier Moteur d'après un opuscule judéo-arabe inédit du XIII^e siècle" (1948), an annotated translation of an unusual treatise backing Avicenna's concept of God as the Necessary Being, vital in later Islamic theology, against the criticism of Averroes. Even in the articles dealing with narrowly confined, remote subjects, the reader may often benefit from Vajda's presentation putting them in a wider perspective. All representative of his meticulous and sober scholarship, the articles well deserved to be made readily available in a separate volume.

If the author could have prepared the re-publication of these articles, he would no doubt have wished to add a few corrigenda and addenda to take account of further research since their first publication. Although the reluctance of the editors to try to do so is understandable, the provision of some notes at the end about relevant later research would probably have been appreciated by many readers.

WILFERD MADELUNG

ARABIC THOUGHT AND ISLAMIC SOCIETIES. By AZIZ AL AZMEH. (Exeter Arabic and Islamic Series.) pp. ix, 295, map. London etc., Croom Helm, 1986, £29.95.

This study is intended as a survey and critique of medieval Arabic thought in all its scientific manifestations. The author's methodological approach is not of the historical type normally associated with works of this nature, but represents an attempt to treat the development of Arabic thought in an a-historical manner, going against the grain of the orientalist tradition of philology and historicism. In the author's own words: "The universe of scientific ideas is regarded as a field of regularity, of constant motifs, categories and relations which describe a unified epochal unit – Arabic thought in the Middle Ages – and of which particular ideas are instances generated from the particular transformation of this anterior field of possibilities" (p. vii).

Such an approach is both stimulating and difficult, stimulating in that it promises new insights into the field of inquiry by divesting itself of a rigorous and logical adherence to chronology and a pattern of development, difficult in that it is hard to maintain a grasp on one's narrative and exposition of one's views when divested of philological and historical schemata. Consequently Professor Al Azmeh most definitely belongs to both ends of the philosophical spectrum as identified by Ted Honderich in his introduction to *Philosophy Through Its Past* (Penguin Books 1984): "The present volume pretty well destroys that supposed division into two parts of writings having to do with the past of the subject. In place of two parties of philosophers, what we unastonishingly find is a spectrum." (p. 13). This book represents both the "recovery of the past" and a "kind of philosophical pilferage" (Honderich, *op. cit.*, p. 12), because, by abandoning even the slightest and most cursory use of a historical framework, the author creates a philosophical ambience in which his views on Arabic thought can develop. The attempt to abandon the orientalist tradition is deserving of praise and a most worthwhile undertaking, but ultimately the reader is lost in a welter of concepts with no historical peg to hang them on: the orientalist tradition is as much a reader's convenience as it is an author's. The extent of the author's crusade against the philological and historical approach is somewhat detrimental to the book's success, but Professor Al Azmeh has much to say that is stimulating, perspicacious and profound.

The book is divided into six chapters and introduced by a preface. Chapter 1, "Metaphysical Foundations of Arabic Thought, 1: Hierarchy, Substance and Combination", examines the quintessential *Weltanschauung* that medieval Arabic thought is indebted to and examines the importance of the concept of "Hierarchy" in the composition of the Islamic sciences. There is much in this chapter that deserves mention, and his discussion often provides parallels and solutions to problems raised in other fields: "Between nature and artifice is therefore an hierarchical opposition . . . for the artificial is opposed to the natural and this correlative opposition is transcribed into the hierarchical terms of generation. That is why . . . artificial things always emulate nature; they are of a lower rank" (p. 12). This statement explains the reasons for the polemical discourses on the virtues of artificial and natural poetry, as discussed by Mansour Ajami in *The Neckveins Of Winter*, (Leiden 1984), although this book never really explains why such a controversy should have arisen.

Al Azmeh's exposition of his concept of "Hierarchy" is of great help to anyone who has ever wondered why Arabic thought on occasion assumes the opaque form that it does. His involvement with the subject-matter of the book is not merely that of the objective scholar; he seems empathetically to understand such concepts before enunciating that understanding, whereas Western scholars have, I think, to work backwards from enunciation to empathetic understanding.

Chapter Two, "Metaphysical Foundations, 2: Relations of Creation, Sympathy and Analogy", resumes the discussions initiated in Chapter 1, concentrating on the medieval conception of men in relation to themselves, the spiritual world and God.

Chapter Three, "A Special Relation: Signification", is by far the best in the book. In it the author tackles the question of the Arabic theory of knowledge, exposing the limitations of "the accepted view on the epistemological properties of medieval Arabic thought" (p. 106). He claims that the three epistemic systems – linguistic, gnostic and rationalist – "are in fact three types of epistemological material rather than three distinct theories of knowledge, each

of which is generally applied to a particular but not exclusive type of subject-matter and which almost invariably coexist in the same text" (p. 106). The author's solution is to propose and propound a theory of "Signification" which is "the evidence as well as the mechanism of knowledge . . . concept and word are as fully transitive and interchangeable as knowledge; they both repeat in the psyche the sensuous event by means of which the immediate object is apprehended". This theory of "Signification" is crucial for our understanding of the running polemic that existed between logicians and grammarians, in that it, the author maintains, was the central notion that prompted such a debate. It also provides us with a coherent concept in the light of which the discussions, theses and philosophical systems of epistemology as put forward by the medieval Arabs are to be understood. Al Azmeh is never unwilling to complicate the issue: "Signification, whose substance and medium is language is therefore curiously not a linguistic phenomenon, but a manipulation of language by extra-linguistic agencies, primarily the speaker. The bulk of signification . . . consists of affectation consonant with the desire of the speaker and his communicative intent" (p. 122) and his brand of philosophical inquiry comes close, on occasion, to mysticism in the personal character of the author's involvement.

In this chapter, as in Chapter 1, the author helps to clarify one of the dominant characteristics of medieval Arabic literary theory, namely its "molecular structure"; "Rarely was exegesis based on a conception of the text as a whole comprising interrelated units . . . The unit of knowledge is the singular and integral signification. Over and above the unit of knowledge is not the whole text, but the sequence of bits of knowledge" (p. 137). Arabic literary theory was frequently preoccupied with the single line as opposed to the poem as a whole.

Chapters Four and Five, "The Constitution of Islamic and Foreign Sciences" and "The Institutions and Continuity of Scientific formations" form a conceptual doublet as did Chapters One and Two. Here the author's concern is the exposition of how a science came into being and why it assumed the form that it did. His comments on the apodicticity of the Islamic sciences are very challenging.

The final chapter, "Concluding Notes: Scientific Knowledge and the Social Order", places the foregoing discussions in their social milieu: "Science provides the terms on which historically determinate social and political groups – schools of thought – muster the power of naming the authorities on behalf of whom an utterance is being made. The utterances of science have determinate relations to the utterances that form part of the general culture of the place and time in question" (p. 250). The author's correlation of knowledge and power that lies at the heart of this chapter is given eloquent expression and a very strong case is made in support of this postulate.

Perhaps the author's greatest opponent is his own written style. He has a tendency to use esoteric and arcane phraseology when what is called for is lucidity of expression and lenity of style. It is the content and not the form, the matter and not the eloquence, that are of paramount importance in a work of this nature. Al Azmeh should have more self-restraint and consideration for the reader than he displays on occasion. "In all cases, the process involves a de-corporealisation of the soul such as that obtaining in sleep, or in the case of divine fools whose souls can obtain the requisite access during theoleptic waking abstractedness" (p. 62).

"But this would have been intolerable to Ash'ari and his followers, whose 'system' can be likened to a board game where the rules do not permit natural movement between contiguous squares whose continuity also expresses their correlativity, so that the 'system' consists of patches of assertions, bounded by immediate conclusions that are inadmissible according to criteria external to the assertions" (p. 83).

Thankfully the author has a sense of humour that he allows occasionally to shine forth, as in the reference to the reputed therapy of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzi, when he was faced with a man who had swallowed some leeches. He "proceeded to stuff mushrooms down his oesophagus . . . for the leech, presumably a mushroom eater or at least a dweller in mushroom terrain, 'naturally' veered towards the mushrooms and left its previous, deeper location." (p. 31). This anecdote neatly places his foregoing discussion in its context – the metaphysical concepts underlying many scientific, astronomical or medical tracts may indeed be very profound and sophisticated, but one should not leave unmentioned the gullibility of

medieval man in the application of these concepts. It is lamentable that the author does not adopt this approach more often, for his discussions do tend towards the abstract.

Aziz Al Azmeh has produced an important opus which in many respects alters our understanding of medieval Arabic thought. He has certainly thrown down the gauntlet. The reader will not find this an easy book, but he can rest assured that the treasures it contains, however deep one might have to dig, are worth the time and effort. The book is indispensable to anyone interested in Arabic thought in the Middle Ages, and would not be entirely unintelligible to someone with no knowledge of the Arabic language or of medieval Arabic culture. The author seems, sadly, to have been undecided as to the audience for which he was writing. Perhaps most of the book's difficulties can be attributed to this indecision.

J. E. MONTGOMERY

HUMANISM IN THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM: THE CULTURAL REVIVAL DURING THE BUYID AGE. By JOEL L. KRAEMER. (Studies in Islamic Culture and History Series. Vol. VII.) pp. ix, 329. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1986. Guilders 128.

In this work, Dr Kraemer has adopted Adam Mez' famous description of cultural life under the Buyids in the Xth century as the "Renaissance of Islam" and has given it a new vitality and interest. He takes Renaissance to mean the discovery of the philosophical and scientific legacy of classical antiquity by Arabic writers. In an interesting and reflective introduction, the author considers the meaning of the term and how it can usefully be applied to Islamic civilisation. He singles out a number of characteristics of the cultural life of the period, in addition to the concern with classical learning, which seem to him to have parallels in the Renaissance of XVth century Italy. Among these are humanism, in the sense of a concern for books and texts and in the attention paid to philosophy as a guide for the individual, cosmopolitanism, both in terms of the membership of the humanistic circles and the origins of their ideas, and secularism; it was not that the intellectuals of the age were anti-religious but rather that they were not so overwhelmed by the majesty of God that they could not concentrate on the development of human potential for its own sake.

Kraemer paints an attractive, and very well documented, picture of the physical environment of the intellectuals, their meetings in the mosques and houses and even the markets and city gates of the great metropolis of Baghdad. The eccentric bibliophile was a well-known figure type among them but they were also conspicuous for their real interest in intellectual questions.

Unlike much of the culture of the medieval Islamic world, this was not a court culture where the writers were dependent on the capricious patronage of an individual monarch but a broadly based movement. Many of the authors were of comparatively modest social status, making a living from copying books or trading. Others were members of the numerous class of *kuttāb* or government secretaries who inherited and maintained much of the bureaucratic ethos of the Sassanian period. Certainly *wazīrs* like the elder Ibn al-'Amīd and the *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād, and indeed rulers like the great 'Aḍud al-Dawla patronised some of the intellectuals and even participated in their discussions, but they were not really one of them. Indeed as Kraemer shows, 'Aḍud al-Dawla was regarded with some suspicion: as a ruler interested in learning, he was respected and yet he was at the same time despised as being only half educated, and feared as a despot who used force and cruelty when necessary. It was this widely based intellectual activity which meant that the Renaissance of Islam was much more than courtiers' trifles.

Another feature to which Kraemer gives considerable weight is the role played by marginal peoples, Jews and Christians, like the great Aristotelian scholar Yahyā b. 'Adī whose work on the texts did so much to prepare the way for later Islamic, and European, studies of the

philosopher. He is probably right to suggest that the freedom and social status accorded to non-Muslims reflected the fact that the Buyid rulers were themselves outsiders, divided by both racial origins and religious convictions from the stern followers of Ibn Hanbal and fundamentalist Islam. Buyid Baghdad was a city where those who did not belong to the dominant culture could make a vital contribution to intellectual life.

He also discusses the links between cultural activity and economic success. Baghdad in this period was neither especially rich, nor even a very safe environment, and prosperity was always precarious. And yet this element of insecurity seems to have stimulated the writers of the time, often forcing them to travel, to meet new people and seek new patrons and opportunities. Periods of peace and prosperity do not necessarily produce a Renaissance of culture. He does not, however, consider why this activity should have come to an end at the beginning of the XIth century. Was it because, while a limited amount of insecurity could be stimulating, the dismal condition to which the city had sunk at this time (even the ruler had to send away his servants and his horses because he could no longer afford to feed them) made any sort of intellectual life impossible? Whatever the reason, the Renaissance of Islam had died half a century before the arrival of the Seljuks.

Dr Kraemer has produced an excellent book. He has brought to life a fascinating period with great scholarship, lightly worn, and he has introduced us to his heroes and brought them to life. (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī is a special favourite of his.) He has also shown that the Xth century should not simply be viewed in terms of political decline but also of great achievement in other areas. For if Renaissance Baghdad was a city of intrigue, violence, and uncertainty, of riches and poverty, so too was Renaissance Rome.

HUGH KENNEDY

SIRAF XV: THE COINS AND MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS. By NICHOLAS M. LOWICK. pp. vi, 117, 30 pl., 1 map. London, The British Institute of Persian Studies, 1985.

The excavations at Sirāf on the coast of Fars by the British Institute of Persian Studies over six seasons between 1966 and 1973 uncovered 949 coins and fragments. In spite of severe corrosion caused by salt in the soil, 486 were fully or partially identified. Of these, 69 were Chinese, ranging from the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 62 to the Southern Sung in A.D. 1235; 37 were pre-Islamic, including a drachma of the second series of Persis, a Roman bronze of Theodosius I (A.D. 379–395), a gold solidus of Constans II (A.D. 641–668), and a drachma of Khusru II (A.D. 590–628), mint LD (for Rayy). Besides bronzes of Yazdgird I and II there was a rare issue with reverse Pahlavi inscription *šyl'cy* (for Shirāz) or possibly *šyl'py* (for Sirāf). The 371-odd Islamic pieces include an Umayyad dinar of 78/697–8, and dirhams of al-Baṣra, Dimashq, Kirmān, Marw, Harāt, and of course Wāsiṭ. As usual, the bronzes when legible were even more instructive, reflecting local administration: e.g. no. 93, of 'Abd Rabbih b. Shurayk, governing al-Baḥrayn under the Abbasid al-Manṣūr. Still more numerous are the lead pieces, especially typical of the Gulf coast, and called *fulūs*. A copious issue dated 188/803–4 names an *amīr* Manṣūr and an official Bū Ḥasan.

The clutch of seven Buyid coins is interesting. No. 299 of 'Aḍud al-daula is of Sirāf itself, dated 341 H., citing only his *laqab* Abū Shujā'. The hexagon issue of Ṣamsam al-daula (No. 303) echoes that of 'Aḍud al-daula (J. Østrup, *Copenhagen*, no. 1264, Shiraz 345), of which a specimen is now in the Ashmolean. The bronzes minted at Kangūn (= Kangān) north of Sirāf attest the fortunes of a XIXth century Amirate. Part two of the book, dealing with the monumental inscriptions, reports a fragmentary text from the Great Mosque naming the Amīr Kāmīr b. Hazārāsp b. Kāmīr. Of the 62 epitaphs 13 are dated (from 363 H.), and several are marvellous specimens of foliate, and interlaced, Kufic.

A. D. H. BIVAR

COINS AND DOCUMENTS FROM THE MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EAST. By S. M. STERN. Edited by F. W. ZIMMERMANN (Collected Studies Series, 238) pp. ix, 330, front., 33 pl. London, Variorum Reprints, 1986. £32.00.

The editor introduces this, the third and final volume in the series of Stern's articles on the medieval Middle East with a brief explanation of how the whole *corpus* was arranged for re-publication. Then follow ten articles, reprinted from seven different sources, that first appeared between 1949 and Stern's death (at the age of only 49) in 1969. The creation of a homogeneous volume was not to be expected, for Stern's scholarship was formidable in its range, and disregards the boundaries within which ordinary mortals labour.

The first four articles in the volume are on unrelated numismatic themes: the coins of Thamal, governor of Tarsus; of Oman under Abū Kālijār; of Amul; and of the Zaidis of the Yemen. They remain works of great usefulness, displaying Stern's characteristic style of punctilious but never pedantic attention to detail, and his encyclopaedic knowledge of sources of every kind. The quality of the photographic plates is impaired by the thinness of the paper on which they are printed, which allows the type from the other side to show through. It may be of use to readers of his numismatic articles to know that his own collection of coins was recently (1986) transferred from Oxford to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The articles numbered vi to x are concerned with the publication, with translation and thorough analysis, of various petitions addressed to the ruler, from the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mameluke periods, and also some decrees (i.e. the replies to petitions). Those from the Fatimid period are fragments from the Cairo Geniza, two of them in Hebrew characters. Article no. v presents another Geniza fragment, a report on the arrival of Christian merchants with a cargo of timber.

H. W. BROWN

THE SYRIANS IN EGYPT 1725-1975. By THOMAS PHILIPP. (Berliner Islamstudien Bd.). pp. xv, 188, including 11 graphs. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart, 1985. DM 52.

If Thomas Philipp had added the subtitle "a socioeconomic" or "a sociopolitical study" to the title of his book, few people would have described this volume as less than an excellent work. But the story of the Syrians in Egypt, when every aspect of it has been accurately detailed, remains the story of the modern Arab literary renaissance, or its beginnings, both in Egypt and in the rest of the Arab world. This work does little justice to the cultural activities of the Syrians in Egypt, and its title, in view of that, conceals a serious disappointment. But this is not to say that it does not tell its side of the story well, and very clearly.

The author identifies at the outset "two major waves of Syrian immigration to Egypt", the first occurring "roughly between 1730 and 1780", and the second beginning "in the mid-nineteenth century" and coming "to an abrupt halt with the outbreak of World War I" (Introduction, p. xi). He points out that "the immigration of the eighteenth century was coeval with the development of the Greek Catholic community in Syria" (*loc. cit.*), and that the first wave "counting at its peak some 4000 immigrants, consisted almost exclusively of Greek Catholics" (pp. 1-2). He thus finds it "necessary to discuss the factors which led to the genesis of the Greek Catholic community", and dedicates the first of the six chapters of this work to a highly discerning examination of these factors. He wins the ear and confidence of his reader by weeding out simplistic explanations. The Greek Catholics were not the fruit of missionary work. Their emergence as an entity separate from the Greek Orthodox church in Syria was not a matter of expediency in order to make them beneficiaries from expanding French influence and French trade. French diplomatic support even for the missionaries "remained sporadic and was often ineffective" (p. 12), and, besides, "the French conducted intensive trade else-

where, as, for instance, in Egypt, without causing a Uniate movement to develop among the local Christians". The Greek Catholics were an expression of the forces seeking freedom from the tutelage of Istanbul where the Orthodox Patriarch resided. They served those local rulers who pitted themselves against that tutelage. "Local autonomy was the key issue in the genesis of the Greek Catholic community" (p. 19). That is how, one can conclude, it came to count amongst its numbers some of the earliest pioneers of Arab nationalism, who were mostly Syrian and Lebanese intellectuals.

Misconceptions are also dispelled in this work. "Contrary to common belief, very little immigration from Syria to Egypt occurred during the rule of Muḥammad 'Alī" (Chap. 2, p. 58). At best it could be said that the Syrians in the Pasha's reign "were caught in a state of stagnation and limbo" (p. 71). Muḥammad 'Alī's "religious tolerance" was simply religious indifference (p. 72).

For the second wave of immigration, 1850–1914, which allowed the number of Syrians in Egypt to rise to about 35000 (pp. xi and 98), Philipp outlines mainly economic and educational motives. He describes a generally deteriorating economic situation in Syria and Lebanon, at a time when "during the sixties and seventies (of the 19th century) Egypt was experiencing an economic boom based on cotton exports" (p. 82). At the same time the success of the educational efforts of the missionaries, or what Philipp calls the unchristian rivalry between them, gave Syria, and more particularly Lebanon, an educated class which "stood in no relation to the economic possibilities of the area to absorb it" (p. 84). Philipp, indeed, dedicates a whole chapter, (chapter 4), to the Syrian intelligentsia in Egypt, and points out how their varied qualifications were welcome in the Egyptian administration and in the context of the ambitious plans of Khedive Ismā'īl. He points out too that "they virtually created the press in Egypt" (p. 97), or that they were probably proportionally more represented in the field of journalism than in any other (p. 98). The author asserts also that the literary and journalistic efforts of the Syrians "contributed greatly to the Arab cultural revival and the development of Arab nationalism" (p. 118). But these statements are no more than generalizations, or, at times, mere statistics. They simply do not tell the reader that a monthly periodical like *al-Muqtataf*, for example, (founded in 1876), was at one and the same time the journal of literature, the arts, history, science, medicine, hygiene, astronomy, psychology, sociology, maths., etc. It was a journal which aimed at bringing to the doorstep of the Arab world all the modern lore of Europe which the Arabs looked up to and wanted to emulate. In other words what Philipp does not tell us at any point is that what is referred to as Syrian journalists in Egypt were perhaps the equivalent of the French Encyclopaedists of the XVIIIth century for the Arab world. Most of these journalists tried their hands at writing history, literary history, literary biographies, novels or dramatic works (both novel genres in Arabic in the XIXth century), and a few of them were well-established poets or linguists.

Among the other causes of emigration, Philipp mentions the political repression of what he terms the "Abdulhamidian regime" which made more Muslims join what was otherwise an almost exclusively Christian Arab migration (pp. 82–85). He refers to at least one journalist, Farah Antun, who left for Egypt in 1897 because he "was forbidden to publish" (p. 85). The civil strife in Syria and Lebanon between 1840 and 1960, he points out, "had very little direct impact upon emigration to Egypt" (pp. 79–82).

Gibb, writing in 1928, said that "the social and intellectual effervescence of the Lebanon between the sixties and nineties, (of the last century), which is one of the most remarkable phenomena in modern Arabic history, still awaits a historian", (*BSOS*, IV, p. 751). Thomas Philipp by writing the story of Lebanese emigration to Egypt in this period, and more particularly by writing his work *Gurgī Zaidān: his life and thought*, (Beirut Texts und Studien, Bd. 3, Beirut 1979), has made a good contribution towards such a history.

MODERN ARABIC LITERATURE AND THE WEST. By M. M. BADAWI. (Oxford Oriental Institute Monographs, No. 6.) pp. ii, 236. London, Ithaca Press, 1985. £18.00.

This work is a collection of eleven articles written by Dr M. M. Badawi between 1964 and 1981, and most of them published before in various literary periodicals. By far the larger part of these essays deal specifically with Arabic literature in Egypt. Thus chapters II, III and IV deal respectively with the city, Islam and the concept of fate in modern Arabic literature in Egypt or what the author calls "modern Egyptian literature". Chapters V and IX deal with two works by Egyptian authors, the short story "Qindil Umm Hāshim" by Yahyā Ḥaqqī and *Awlād Ḥaratinā* by Najīb Mahfūz, while chapters VIII and X are assessments of two Egyptian authors, the first being entitled "Al-Māzinī the Novelist", and the latter "Ṭahā Ḥusayn the Critic: a Reappraisal".

The title Badawi has given to this work suggests one of two objectives. It can either be an attempt to show how Western life or Western thought and culture are reflected in modern Arabic literature, or an attempt to assess Western influences on this literature. But Badawi's work, like an article of the same title by another Arab critic, (Jabra I. Jabra, *Journal of Arabic Literature*, II, 1971, pp. 76-91), is clearly concerned with the Western impact on modern Arabic literature. It is, after all, with the adoption of such literary forms as the novel, the short story and drama from the West that modern Arabic literature, strictly speaking, is considered to begin.

The two essays in this work which best fit in within the purport of its title are chapters I and VI, both of substantial length and entitled respectively "Commitment in Contemporary Arabic literature" and "Convention and Revolt in Modern Arabic Poetry". In the former, Badawi quite rightly points out that "commitment" in literature (Ar. *iltizām*), which enjoyed such a vogue in the Arab world in the fifties, and whose standard bearer was the Lebanese monthly *al-Ādāb* (started in 1953), was originally a translation of Jean-Paul Sartre's *engagement*. (Sartre's *Qu'est-ce que la littérature?* was published in 1948), (cf. pp. 2 and 13). There is little doubt, however, that the more committed poets and authors in the Arab world, like the young al-Sayyāb and al-Jawāhiri in Iraq, or Kamāl 'Abd al-Ḥalīm in Egypt, (described by Badawi as a Marxist, pp. 11 and 120), and novelists like al-Sharqāwī and 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Qāsim, both champions of socialist realism, would more aptly be studied under the rubric, modern Arabic literature and the East. But Badawi goes on to point out that a reaction against socialist realism set in even at the end of the fifties (p. 19). Revolutions in the Arab world had only replaced one set of opportunists by other "cynical opportunists" (pp. 20-21), and in the sixties "many changes, mostly tragic" had taken place in the Arab world (p. 2). Here the author finds it difficult to decide whether it was the consequent perplexity and frustration of the Arab literati, or their attempt to catch up with the more sophisticated techniques of Western literature which made many Arab writers give up the easy optimism of socialist realism, and adopt the techniques of the theatre of the absurd, write surrealist novels or acquaint themselves with the *nouveau roman*. Writers showed "more concern with existentialist issues" (pp. 21-25).

In "Convention and Revolt in Modern Arabic Poetry" Badawi comes to the conclusion that "the revolt against convention" was, at every stage, "inspired by the example of Western poetry". He, however, adds the qualification that "until quite recently Arabic poetry turned to Western fashions or styles after these seemed to have run their course in the West", (p. 124). But Badawi seems to have no qualification to make when he states that in "the last hundred years or so . . . under the cultural impact from the West, Arabic poetry has travelled from the mournful traces of encampments in the Arabian desert to the tragic Waste Land of Western Europe and America, and even further still to the nightmarish and paradoxical world of the surrealists and postsurrealists . . ." and through the whole gamut of the Western experience, (pp. 98-99). Although far less presumptuous than Jabra who says that "in less than twenty years" the Arab poets "absorbed Western influences and were ready to transcend them", (article referred to above, p. 86), both authors seem to picture the work of the Arab literati as a course of study in "Western fashions or styles" which they have to complete. Neither of the two authors stops to tell us how the influence of Western literature can be so complete, without an understanding of Western thought, the scientific and philosophical developments

which shaped that thought, and the cultural continuum which constitutes the background to all these developments. The so-called "fashions" or movements in art and literature in the West were, after all, closely linked to scientific developments. Romanticism was, in many ways, "a reaction against scientific ideas", while Naturalism, to take another example, was closely linked to the theory of Evolution.

It is unfortunate that Badawi begins the chapter on Ṭāhā Ḥusayn as a critic by stating that he does not intend to discuss in it "the foreign influences on his literary criticism". Had he done that he would have made this chapter more relevant to this work. The one single most important work of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in literary criticism is his book *Fial-Adab al-Jāhili*. Not only does Ṭāhā Ḥusayn deliberately state that he would be using Cartesian methods of criticism in it, but his talk of "persistent doubts" concerning the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry is reminiscent of Descartes's famous dictum, *dubito ergo cogito*, I doubt, therefore, I think.

Likewise, in the article on the origins of the Arabic novel (chapter VII), the discussion of Western influences takes second place to Badawi's attempt to identify those early works of fiction which he considers to be "the really fruitful beginnings of the novel in Arabic". (p. 135). Since he considers *Zaynab* by Haykal, (whose date has now been established as 1913, not 1914), as one of these works, he could have gone on to outline the various aspects of Western influence on this work. Haykal deliberately states in his preface to this novel that he wrote it under the influence of his readings in French literature, and he explicitly confirms in his early writings his subscription to the deterministic literary theories of Hippolyte Taine. The fair critic cannot also overlook an element of clear partisanship in Badawi's views. He considers *Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām* by al-Muwailihī, written in the medieval rhymed prose of the *maqāma* style, as a work in which "the really fruitful beginnings of the novel are to be sought", although this work did not give rise to a single sequel in its style. Yet Badawi pronounces the historical novel in Arabic as "a dead end" (p. 135), when Arabic has had an uninterrupted flow of novels in this genre since 1870, and until fairly recent times. Badawi, after all, points out that the leading novelist in the Arab world today, Najib Mahfūz, started his career by writing historical novels (pp. 135 and 167). One cannot pronounce the picaresque novel a dead end because no picaresque novels are written in our day. I can also see many Arab and Western readers taking issue with Badawi's statement that "It can indeed be argued that, in a literature which has no novels, to begin by writing historical novels is perhaps a reversal of the natural, certainly of the historical, order of things. The historical novel is a later development in Western literature", (p. 135). Readers might well ask why the Western pattern of literary development should necessarily be taken as the norm, or as an exemplary pattern.

Badawi's essay on Islam in modern Egyptian literature, (chapter 3), turns out to be disappointing, and particularly to the Western reader who might well hope to find in it how Islam, for example, is reflected in the social transformations over three generations so well depicted in Mahfūz's *Trilogy*, how the same author treats religious hypocrisy in an earlier work, *al-Qāhira 'l-jadīda*, or whether men of religion are portrayed in a favourable or unfavourable light by socialist realists like al-Sharqāwī and Qāsim. Although Badawi dedicates a short essay to Mahfūz's novel *Awlād Ḥārātīnā* (chapter IX, pp. 167-171), he does not tell the reader why the religious authorities objected to this work, and why publication of it in Egypt was prohibited after its serialisation in *al-Ahrām* in 1959. Badawi often refers to 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Qāsim's novel *The Seven Days of Man*, perhaps the most complete depiction of popular belief or saint-worship in an Arab country, but all that he says about this work is that it is "a sensitive account of the author's growing up in (and out of) an Egyptian village", (p. 23, the brackets in this quotation are the author's). All the works examined in this chapter on "Islam in Modern Egyptian Literature", whether in poetry or in prose, are concerned with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and, as Badawi points out, the glorification of the Prophet (cf. pp. 45, 46, 49, 55, 56). Al-Sharqāwī's work *Muḥammad Rasūl al-Ḥurriyya* (Muḥammad the Apostle of Freedom) stands out as an exception to this in as much as the Prophet is pictured in it as an ardent socialist, or "as some kind of active Marxist revolutionary" as Badawi puts it. The contents of al-Sharqāwī's work, together with works like 'Aqqād's *'Abqariyyat Muḥammad* (The Genius of Muḥammad), al-Ḥakīm's play *Muḥammad* or Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *Alā Ḥāmish al-Sira* (On the Margin of the Life of the Prophet), are summed up so com-

petently and clearly as to make the reading of this chapter very interesting and informative. But I still do not think that this is what the title of the chapter promises the reader.

Chapter V, as already indicated, deals with the short story "Qindil Umm Hāshim" (The Lamp of the Saint Umm Hāshim) by Yahyā Ḥaqqī. Although a long short story from a collection with the same title (1944), it is difficult to see how it merits the subtitle "The Egyptian Intellectual between East and West" which Badawi has conferred on it. It is the story of an Egyptian Muslim student who goes to Britain to study medicine, and who, under the influences of Western culture and an English girl he befriends, loses his faith, and is reconverted to belief after some traumatic experiences upon his return to Egypt. In short, he discovers upon his return that all the medical knowledge he had acquired is of little use unless it is coupled with religious belief. At no point does Ḥaqqī say much about the true nature of the protagonist's faith. His reconversion is symbolised by the use of oil from the Saint's lamp to help heal the eyes of his cousin to whom he is betrothed, an unfortunate symbol, as Badawi points out, "since it stands not so much for religion as for harmful superstition", (p. 96). "He relied", says Badawi at the end of his article, "first upon God, secondly on the learning and the skill of his hands," and he adds: "Here we are meant to see a true marriage of the values of the East and the West".

I would not have commented at length on this particular essay if it did not somehow suggest the conclusion that Western society is a godless society or that it has at times posited science and faith as antipodes, or as mutually exclusive.

Various vague comments appear in this work which could have profited from some elucidation, as when the author refers to the play *Ḥaflat Samar* by Sa'd Allāh Wannūs and simply says that "it employs a more up to date dramatic technique", (p. 24). Similarly, when speaking about al-Sharqāwī, the author says that "his novel *al-Ard*, despite certain defects, constitutes a valuable contribution to the Arabic novel", (p. 61), but he makes no comment on the nature of these defects. In the chapter on convention and revolt in Arabic poetry Badawi says that "with the exception of one or two (Egyptians), Arab poets turned to the poetry of T. S. Eliot in the late forties and early fifties, when it was already beginning to look old-fashioned" (p. 124), but he does not name the poets concerned.

I should finally add that this is indeed a very informative book, and that some of the points raised in this review could not have been anticipated by the author when he wrote the various articles, and before he decided to publish them under the present title.

JAREER ABU-HAIDAR

EMPIRE ON THE NILE. THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN 1898-1934. By M. W. DALY. pp. xv, 542, 21 pl., map. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press, 1986. £40.00.

During the thirty years which have elapsed since the Sudan became independent, there has been a considerable volume of writings about the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium which preceded the present Republic. What has hitherto been lacking is a detailed and informed survey of the whole period. This Dr Daly has set to work to supply, and in the present volume (intended to be the first of two) he has provided an authoritative history of the Condominium from its inception to the end of Sir John Maffey's governor-generalship. He has drawn most effectively on a wide range of materials, almost entirely in English. These include many archival sources, primarily the documentation in the Public Record Office, the National Record Office in Khartoum, and the Sudan Archive in the University of Durham Library. He has also made full and discriminating use of published official sources as well as of a large body of secondary works including specialized monographs and unpublished theses.

This is essentially an administrative history. Its theme is the development of the Condominium government, the elaboration of its administrative machinery, and the extension

of its functions in the economic and social fields. The key figures throughout are the British administrators; their Egyptian colleagues play here (as they did in actuality) a minor and subordinate role; the Sudanese appear mainly as responding to, or reacting against, the actions of the Sudan Government and its officials. Dr Daly's presentation is, however, by no means as bloodless and humourless as these remarks might suggest. While he is critical of official dogmatism and individual stupidity, he shows himself to be a not unsympathetic observer of this curiously self-contained British "empire on the Nile".

The first six chapters of this book cover the formative phase of the Condominium from the overthrow of the Mahdist state to the end of the First World War. The affairs of the Sudan in these years were given continuity, and were increasingly dominated, by Sir Reginald Wingate, who had been Kitchener's director of military intelligence, and became his successor as governor-general. The chapter devoted to Wingate's period of office is one of the most interesting in the book, and brings out his calculating shrewdness as well as the foibles of his quasi-viceregal rule. Other chapters deal with the preoccupations of the Sudan Government in this period – the maintenance of security in the northern Sudan, where the authorities were (or represented themselves as being) in constant dread of a recrudescence of militant Mahdism, the establishment of some degree of control in the south, the problems of economic development, and the provision of a rudimentary educational system and health service.

Chapter 7, entitled "The Sudan Government's troubled adolescence", deals with the turning-point in the political history of the Condominium, when the imposed Anglo-Egyptian consensus of 1899 broke down, challenged overtly by the Egyptian nationalists' claim to the Sudan, and covertly by the British authorities in Khartoum, who resented Egyptian partnership, limited as it was. The assassination in Cairo of Sir Lee Stack, Wingate's successor as governor-general, not only symbolized this breakdown but removed a man whose character and experience uniquely fitted him to cope with the problems of the time. After this event and the other troubles of 1924 things were never the same again.

The ten remaining years of the period covered in this book seemed to show the triumph of the British authorities in Khartoum. The Egyptian military units and officials were evicted from the Sudan, which became in practice (although never in theory) a somewhat anomalous British imperial possession. But, as Dr Daly makes clear, this ostensible victory was won at the cost of a failure of nerve on the part of the British administrators. Not only the ousted Egyptians but also their potential allies, the educated and westernized Sudanese, comprehensively designated "the effendiya", were viewed with jealous suspicion. This had as one consequence the formulation of the policy of Indirect Rule or Native Administration, actively promoted in the light of his Indian experience by Sir John Maffey as governor-general (1926–33) and implemented by Sir Harold MacMichael as civil secretary. The Sudan was to be made, in the governor-general's words, "safe for autocracy". In practice this policy gave rise to some anomalies, as when a local police chief (moreover one of the effendiya) was appointed *de facto* head of the Eliri Arabs with the title of "Regent for the Nazir". As well as checking "the pushful intelligensia" (to adopt Maffey's orthography), Indirect Rule would, it was hoped, create a force to counterbalance the growing influence of Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmān, the Mahdi's posthumous son, whose considerable wealth and equally considerable political acumen preoccupied the Sudan Government throughout this decade and beyond.

The last two chapters deal with topics which are still significant in the contemporary Sudan. The first is concerned with developments in the southern provinces, where the British administrators viewed northern Muslim officials and traders with much the same mistrust that their Egyptian counterparts were viewed with in the north. Here too a dogmatic policy emerged, and was given its final formulation in MacMichael's memorandum of 1930. Education was, so to speak, tribalized, Islamic and Arabic influences being as far as possible eliminated from the south. Adopted ostensibly in the best interests of the southerners, Southern Policy contributed to the polarization of the peoples of the Sudan which remains a tragic and unsolved problem. In the final chapter on economic and social developments from 1920 to 1933 there is an account and an evaluation of the Gezira Scheme, the most ambitious agricultural development project of the Condominium period, which exposed the economy of the Sudan to the vicissitudes of the world market in cotton.

This is an admirable book in respect alike of its breadth and depth of research, its

comprehensive scope, its clarity and vigour of expression, and its judicious assessment of policies and personalities. Dr Daly is in no doubt of the supreme importance of the latter. In his final words, "Personality, not policy, determined the course of the Condominium: . . . their collective stories and relations mock the notion of policy, defy generalisation, cry out to the biographer, and illustrate what was meant by empire".

P. M. HOLT

ETHIOPIA'S ACCESS TO THE SEA. By FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI. pp. viii, 83, front. Leiden/Köln, E. J. Brill, 1985. Guilders 28.

This monograph deals with a central issue in the history of Ethiopia, i.e. the country's access to the sea. There has always been a measure of ambiguity in the Ethiopian consciousness between a desire to batten down the hatches and to retreat into the mountain fastnesses, on one hand, and a need for contact with the outside world, on the other, which depended to a high degree on access to the sea. That access entailed control over the ports of Massawa and Assab – hence the crucial importance to land-locked Ethiopia of the northern *Mareb Mellash* (= *märäb mallaš* = Eritrea), a concept which does not appear in this book – unless I am mistaken. The intermittent ruler of the sea province, the *Bahr Nägaš*, does occur repeatedly but fails to make the index.

Dombrowski divides his monograph into five chapters: (1) The Aksumite Empire; (2) The Cushitic era (a somewhat odd nomenclature); (3) From the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty to the reign of Fasiladas; (4) From Fasiladas to Menilek; and (5) From Menilek to modern times (one might have thought that even from Dr Dombrowski's youthful perspective Menilek (died 1913) could well be subsumed under "modern times"). Only the three latter chapters are of any real extent and substance.

Although other scholars have written on the subject of Ethiopia's access to the sea, the present study, albeit by no means fully exhaustive, concentrates entirely on this topic and assembles much of the available information. For this undertaking the author deserves the gratitude of *éthiopiens*.

Richard Pankhurst's important second volume on the *History of Ethiopian Towns* (Stuttgart 1985 – especially pp. 300 ff.) appeared too late to be considered in this monograph. But there are some sensitive lacunae in the bibliography: S. H. Longrigg's *Short History of Eritrea* (Oxford 1945) is absent – and so are G. K. N. Trevaskis' *Eritrea* (O.U.P. 1960), Mammo Wädneh's *yä-Eritra tarik*, and especially Zewde Gabre-Sellassie's *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia* (Oxford 1975). The late Emperor Haile Sellassie's Autobiography (either in its Amharic original or in the present reviewer's annotated translation – O.U.P. 1976) contains a great deal of highly relevant material on the recurrent problem of Ethiopia's access to the sea (see my index under "Assab"). The whole of chapter 23 of the Autobiography is devoted to this subject, and on p. 84 it is expressly stated that one of the three principal aims of the Regent's journey to European capitals in 1924 was "to find a sea-port . . . and access to the sea".

It appears to be an aspect of contemporary scholarly writing that very often no critical distinction is made between sources of sharply varying value, either primary or secondary. Yet the whole purpose of scholarship is the exercise of critical judgement, and the assumption, so frequently made tacitly, that all sources quoted are of comparable authority or importance is patently inimical to sound learning. There are a good many instances of this failing to be found also in the work under review.

Transcriptions of Ethiopian names (irrespective of the mode of transcription employed) are at times faulty: e.g. Tag^Walat (p. 11 instead of Tag^Walat), Akkalā (Guzay) must not have a macron over the last *a* (p. 14); similarly on p. 51 where the correct toponym is Gur'a, etc., etc.

The English style has many awkwardnesses, and there are a few spelling mistakes.

Notwithstanding these blemishes, Dombrowski's work can be recommended to students of Ethiopia. Perhaps the author himself may one day wish to supplement the information provided in this monograph and correct some of the errors of omission and commission.

EDWARD ULLENDOFF

LETTERS FROM ETHIOPIAN RULERS (EARLY AND MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY) PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY, THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LAMBETH PALACE, THE NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY AND RECORDS. Translated by DAVID L. APPLEYARD from Gi'iz and Amharic and by A. K. IRVINE from Arabic and annotated by RICHARD K. P. PANKHURST with an Appendix by BAIRU TAFLA. (Oriental Documents IX). pp. xvii, 197, illus. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1985. £17.00.

This volume contains letters of Sahlä Dīngīl, Ras Wäldä Sīllase, Dājjazmač Säbagadis, Ras Wibe, Ras Ali Alula, Kings Sahlä Sīllase and Haylā Mäläkot, Nā'ib Idrīs, and Emperor Tewodros. The period covered by the letters is one of great importance in Ethiopian history, and the publication of this compilation (intended to precede and supplement Oriental Documents II: *The Amharic Letters of Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia to Queen Victoria and her Special Envoy*) will be welcomed by students of Ethiopian and diplomatic history, and of XIXth century Ethiopian epistolary style.

The work opens with helpful introductory material (pp. vii–xvii), and then the letters themselves follow (pp. 1–156), grouped under the headings “the opening of correspondence with Britain”, “renewed contacts”, “sequel to relations with Säwa”, “the loss of Ethiopian church property in the Holy Land” and “continued interest in the purchase of arms”. The letters are clearly reproduced photographically, the translations are (with slight exceptions) on facing pages, and the annotations follow each translation, so the format is very convenient and easy to use. After p. 156 the table of contents is a little misleading – there is actually Appendix I (pp. 157–160) containing a letter of Sahlä Sīllase, and Appendix II (pp. 161–183) containing 6 letters of Theodore to Yätämäññu, all very similar in content. These are followed by a bibliography and index.

The translation and annotations are on the whole excellent, and the following notes indicate a few points where I think a different translation should be, or might be, preferred:

p. 7 § 3 line 1: “this my faith” probably belongs with what follows – “They say to me (of) my faith, ‘Leave (it)’, but I will not leave my faith; and all say to me, ‘Be like us and say, “3 births”’.” Note 11 on p. 9 is incorrect in attributing to Wäldä Sīllase the belief “that Christ had two natures”; the letter refers to two births, not to two natures. The note is also less than helpful in referring to Weld Blundell, whose cited work can only be used with great discrimination.

p. 13: this translation is probably the least satisfactory in the book. The comments of p. 14 notes 7 and 8 concerning the *qīne* style should have been followed through the whole translation more rigorously, and also the first poem should have been set out in lines as the second has been. For example, in lines 7 and 8 of the translation, in the sentence rendered, “The drink of your intelligence is wine, the love of a friend”, the meaning is “(Just as) the drink (of) your (cup) is wine, (so) the (essence of) your mind is the love of companions”; and the translation in lines 17–18 conflates two separate lines of the *qīne* – I suggest “For, apart from long life, there is no (good thing) which is attainable; (just as) fire purifies iron, (so) penitence (purifies) the flesh”.

p. 19 note 1: it would have been helpful here and elsewhere if the Gi'iz passages of letters partly in Amharic had been marked precisely. In lines 2–3 of the translation “as much as heaven, as much as earth” might well be attached to what follows (cf. p. 32 and p. 129).

p. 23 line 7 and note 4: *kwillu* does not qualify a noun, nor does it carry an accusative marker, so the translation in line 7 is probably incorrect, and the version in note 4 is at best uncertain. Perhaps the text should be read as *ammänä*, and the translation as "As for believing, everyone believes (that if you came . . .)". In note 5, *siläbällanimm* should be read.

p. 27 line 7: in lines 8–9 of the Gǝ'ǝz text, *zä'itähäläyā* has been read by the translator, but as this is part of a reference to I Corinthians 2:9, *zä'itähalläyā* should be understood. I suggest (from line 5 of the translation) "... like you before this; also after this there will not be found one who gives possessions equal to the palace and to the sanctuary from (such) abundance of goodness, which 'the ear of an Abyssinian has not heard, and which eye has not seen, and which has not been thought in the human heart'."

p. 32 line 8: the text *mislä anqäsä birhan* means "(a Psalter) with (the hymn) *Anqäsä birhan*", and not "with illuminated headings". Note 3 on p. 33, though correct, is therefore irrelevant.

p. 49 line 17: "torrential rain" — the text has *gǝrf zīnam*; the translator has, doubtless correctly, understood this as modern Amharic *gwärf zīnam*. In line 18, while "incensed" is not incorrect, "censed" would represent commoner English usage.

p. 65 lines 1–2; I suggest "... to . . . the *Itege*, honoured and most high like Solomon the knowledgeable". Line 2, "that you be my excellent lady", seems too Amharicizing and too ungrammatical a translation of . . . *kämä tñbär igzä'itayä her* . . . I suggest "But I desire always that you remain, my lady, generous nourishment of every created being". In line 4, while it is possible that *kä'abbato* is to be understood as containing an elided relative particle, the partial parallel in line 1 on pp. 42 and 43 suggests that it should not be so understood, and that the translation is "Ethiopia was a friend with your father".

pp. 70–1: I suggest that in line 10 of the text *indaywäddibbin* might be understood as an error for *indaywädqibbin*, giving a translation in line 11 "... plunder us and fall upon us, (upon) our country".

p. 99 line 2: after "Mäǝd" the word "Sultan" has been omitted.

p. 103 line 5: while Połos was indeed a patriarch, the text reads *abunä*, which has been transliterated e.g. on p. 49 (cf. p. 93 where *bätrāk* is translated "Patriarch").

p. 106: I have a slight suspicion that this letter may be incomplete at its end.

p. 110 line 15, and p. 116 lines 13–14 both contain *täyyiqacčihu asmällisullänä*, but p. 111 line 9 understands *tyq* as "demand" while p. 117 line 7 has "visit". A choice between the alternatives seems so difficult that the ambiguity might well have been pointed out in a note.

p. 121 lines 5–6: I suggest "I shall send this word to the Queen (in) an epistle".

p. 129 lines 11–13 and p. 133 lines 11–12: the sentences "As Samuel Gobat . . . kinsmen" are rather difficult. As they stand, they appear to be addressed to Gobat, "Samuel Gobat, (recognize) your safe-deposit, be protector to them, let me not be plucked from my inheritance, (receive) my relatives (as) a safe-deposit".

p. 149 line 9: "the number" seems to mistake the idiomatic use of *qutr* here; I suggest "If I do not see him, I shall be as one of the people who died".

p. 164 note 4: "rendered in the text as Sännay" appears to refer to pp. 174–5, and not to pp. 162–3.

p. 183 lines 4–5: *salayši alqärimm* is "I will not fail to see you", rather than "I shall not stop seeing you".

It is hoped that the materials in this volume, the Theodore letters, and other written Amharic of the period, will be used for the compilation of a description of XIXth century Amharic, or even as part of a full historical Amharic grammar.

This volume is a very welcome and important addition to the sources available for the study of XIXth century Ethiopia, and the planned third volume in the series ("to be devoted to the post-Tewodros period, of Emperors Täklä Giyorgis II, Yohannis IV, and Minilik II", p. vii) will be eagerly awaited.

DIE SCHREIBEN SÜLEYMÄNS DES PRÄCHTIGEN AN VASALLEN, MILITARBEAMTE, BEAMTE UND RICHTER. Von ANTON C. SCHAENDLINGER, unter Mitarbeit von CLAUDIA RÖMER. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 183. Band. Osmanisch-türkische Dokumente aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien, Teil 2), "Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen", pp. xxviii, 84; "Faksimile", 46 documents + 1. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986.

The number of Ottoman Turkish letters and documents preserved in western European collections is naturally minute in comparison to the immense resources of a major Turkish archive such as the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. Such European collections may nevertheless contain a sufficiently coherent body of material through which to investigate one aspect of a particular historical problem (as in Fekete's studies of Ottoman provincial administration in Hungary), or important individual documents which may throw light upon early Ottoman diplomacy in Europe.

The present edition is the second part of a projected series to publish the XVIth and XVIIth century Ottoman documents preserved in Viennese archives. The work contains 46 letters and orders written by Süleyman to Ottoman officials and Christian vassals in the Hungarian frontier region from 1540 to 1566. To some extent it complements the correspondence (35 letters for the period 1541-65, and a fragment dated 1534) already published by the same editor in the first part of the series, *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V, Ferdinand I und Maximilian II* (Wien 1983). The format of the second part is almost identical with that of the first. In a separate volume, *Faksimile*, all 46 documents (plus one as an appendix to Part I) are reproduced in full in high quality photographic facsimile, which is a delight to read. The accompanying volume, *Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen*, in addition to a description and full transcription of each document and German translations, contains an introductory essay on the diplomatic formulae used, a summary list of the documents, a short bibliography, and separate indexes of personal and of place names, of various special terms and of titles. Only two of the documents have been published previously, although reference to several others is found in von Hammer's *Geschichte*.

The collection of Süleyman's letters to his Habsburg contemporaries in Part I appears reasonably complete and coherent, and will clearly be of value in any study of early Ottoman-Habsburg relations. By contrast, this second collection is distinctly patchy in terms of content, reflecting the fact that the documents came into Habsburg hands more by chance than by intent. They are variously addressed, some to *Kadis* or *beylerbeyis*, some to local Hungarian leaders, and touch upon a number of separate incidents dealing mainly with efforts to keep the peace after 1547, and the Ottoman concern not to be held responsible for any infringement. Restitution of Christians or their property illegally seized, safe conduct for Habsburg envoys, tribute payments, and protection of the rights of John Sigismund Zapolya as *voyvode* of Transylvania are among the routine matters. The ambiguous position of Christians in the frontier region is seen in the letters concerning "Bruder Georg" (Martinuzzi), addressed by Süleyman in 1550 as a trusted servant (doct. 9), but referred to in 1552 after his death as the instigator of revolt (doct. 10). Of these 46 documents, twelve are duplicates with regard to content (though addressees differ), three deal with minor military appointments in Pécs, and six with the award of *timars* to minor Ottoman officials. However, even on the principle that all historical records may one day be useful to some researcher somewhere, publication of such a miscellaneous collection must have limited value in terms purely of *histoire événementielle*, and the editor, rightly, has not made it his task to comment upon either content or context of the documents. His concern is with diplomatic form.

This is of course not the first scholarly analysis of XVIth-century Ottoman diplomatic; indeed, perhaps the principal use of such European caches of Turkish material has been to advance the study of Ottoman palaeography and in particular of diplomatic, through the publication of meticulously edited imperial correspondence and government decrees. Dr Schaendlinger's work maintains the thorough, methodical approach and the high standards established by his predecessors in this tradition; his debts to Fekete and especially to Matuz are clear and readily acknowledged. The clarity and consistency of presentation of this collection will render it a

valuable teaching and research tool for the analysis of documents and the study of the *divani* script.

The more documents which appear in print, the easier it will be to trace the development of Ottoman chancery style and practice. It would appear from this edition, for example, that use of the "blancofermane" identified for the 1580s by Matuz was already current in the 1550s, and also that three, rather than two, alternative forms of *hüküm-i şikayet* may be distinguished. It is to be hoped that further well-edited volumes in this (and other) series will extend our knowledge of the conventions of Ottoman documents beyond the XVIth century, and may in turn contribute to the study of the development of the Ottoman chancery system itself, its personnel, structure, and ethos.

CHRISTINE WOODHEAD

OSMANLI PADIŞAH FERMANLARI – IMPERIAL OTTOMAN FERMANS. CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION AT İBRAHİM PASHA SARAY, İSTANBUL, 19TH SEPTEMBER 1986 – 18TH JANUARY 1987. Edited by AYGÜL NADIR. pp. 174, 145 illus. London, A. Nadir, 1986.

The catalogue is historic because the exhibition is the first devoted to the Ottoman *ferman*. It was compiled and annotated by Şule Aksoy Kutlukan, assisted by Serap Ayloç with advice from Professor V. L. Ménage. The English text is by Tim Stanley and has a life of its own. The work involved restoration work by Jane McAusland while the colour photography by P. J. Gates is outstanding. It is worth saying that all the printing and production was done in Britain.

The content of the decrees is interesting but it is the *tuğras* or royal signatures – more nearly seals in the western sense – that are displayed as works of art. The earliest is a *vakfiye* of Orhan Gazi dated 1324 when the design had not evolved and the last is a document of 1919 bearing the simplified, rather than degenerate, *tuğra* of Mehmed VI. The elaborated *tuğra* form appeared early in the reign of Bayazid II and included the sultan's titles interlaced and embellished with flowers on the blue or gold ground of the *beyze* – a sweep of calligraphy like a foresail before the wind. By 1498 tendrils had become modest spiral motifs which belong unmistakably to the so-called Golden Horn ceramic type.

A *tuğra* of Selim I, dated 1518, shows the design in an elaborated form. On an undated *berât* issued to a grand vezir by Süleyman I this decoration achieved a complexity that ceramics could not. For this decree the catalogue suggests dates between 1523 and 1536 when Ibrahim Pasha was grand vezir. This theory should not be accepted without reservation just because flowery language gives the minister the attributes of lion or panther. As late as 1546 *tuğras* repeated the Golden Horn style although an example dated 1538 forms a peacock tail complete with eyes.

By 1556 the design was matted with flowers but it revived in 1558 to flourish through the reigns of Selim II, Murad III and Mehmed III to peter out in the early XVIIth century. A ghost arose during the reign of Murad IV but by then the centre of interest was the three grand *elifs* which intentionally evoked the *tuğs* or horsetails of authority that grew taller and grander and were embellished with flowers. For some time their background had become somewhat like a conical hat, a triangle also inviting embellishment. In the XVIIIth century baskets of flowers, restless and never sure of their place in the whole design, and other flights of fancy were introduced.

Yet as late as the reign of Mustafa III the Golden Horn spiral still lurked to reappear on a decree of Selim III in 1801. Not all *fermans* and other documents were decorated by the staff of the Nişancı or Lord Privy Seal. Some may have been decorated privately for the proud recipient of the decree.

It is clear that the Golden Horn style did not die out after two or three decades – not at least in relation to calligraphy – and this may sow doubt about any chronology established for Iznik wares.

The boat form taken by the Divan script used for these documents stretches to the margin and

even develops a mooring rope. This together with the density of the writing, except for tails stuck out at regular intervals like oars, ensured that fraudulent additions were impossible.

These documents are resplendent with colour and gilt but both the designs and the texts are enduring contributions to scholarship.

GODFREY GOODWIN

ENCYCLOPAEDIA IRANICA. VOL. 1: ĀB – ANĀHĪD. Edited by EHSAN YARSHATER. pp. xiv, 1011, illus., maps. London etc., Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985. £200.00

The publication in one volume of the first nine fascicles of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (*EIr.*), parts of which first appeared in 1982, will be greatly welcomed by all students of Iran's history and culture. The work is designed to fill the need for a wide-ranging research tool, providing authoritative and up-to-date articles on numerous topics in the realms of thought, religion, art, science, geography, anthropology, history and literature. This it does, although it is natural that there will be arguments over what has been, or could have been, omitted and some unevenness in the value and thoroughness of the individual entries.

Despite the Editor's claim that there is no precedent for such a compilation on all aspects of Iranian life, a question arises concerning the overlap with the existing and continuing revision of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed. Leiden 1954 ff. and still only on "Mak") (*EI2*). The *Supplement* to the *EI2* has reached "al-'Irākī" and is not running so far ahead of the *EIr.*: for a subject such as *Āyat-allāh* the gap will be only six or seven years. To what extent is this new encyclopaedia envisaged as a supplement or extension of the earlier one? Leaving aside those fields where the *EIr.* addresses regions or periods largely excluded from the scope of the *EI2*, two things are clear. First, that the great majority of "Iranica" included in *EI2* (a handy listing of which is provided by C.-H. de Fouchécour in various issues of *Studia Iranica*) are, or will be, covered also in the *EIr.*, albeit sometimes under different headings. Secondly, while many "Islamica" not specific to Iran are also included, there remain various items that are neglected in *EIr.* Inasmuch as these terms had, or have, currency in the common Islamic history of Iran, they would perhaps deserve inclusion. A concept such as *ʿadl* (justice), for example, is prominent in many works of Persian literature; *Allāh* might also deserve a mention, along with Ahura Mazdā and Ahriman, amongst the pantheon of the Iranians.

In these numerous areas of overlap, then, the *EIr.* can be seen as bringing the *EI2* up to date, and should reflect the progress of scholarship in the last thirty years. But also, perhaps, it might seem that some aspects of the "reciprocal influences between Iran and its neighbours" (p. 1) are implicitly thought to be covered elsewhere, with the result that the *EIr.* cannot be considered entirely to supplant the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* in its coverage of Islam in Iran.

Such questions are worth airing, because the scope of the volume is difficult to define. Its wide geographical sweep embraces Iran in a broad sense, from Anatolia to Central Asia, which come into prominence at different periods. Chronologically, the volume extends from pre-history to the present, thus devoting much space to pre-Islamic Iran and Zoroastrianism (much of this provided by Mary Boyce). One can also read about Persian soup (*āb-gūšt*) and the species of amphibians that occur in Iran. (In the review copy, reading about amphibians has to be interrupted, because pages 985–988 are misplaced after page 968). Some of the unevenness that strikes a reader turning every page, as opposed to looking up specific entries that are there, is attributable to the existing state of knowledge rather than to eccentric editorial policies, and perhaps also to the chance of where things occur within the alphabet. Iranian history under the Caliphate, and particularly the actors on this turbulent stage, receive exhaustive attention chiefly from Professor Bosworth, who portrays an endless stream of petty officials, viziers, litterateurs, ghulams and amirs. Is the same provision made for their counterparts under later dynasties? Other major contributors are scholars such as Wilferd Madelung

on Shi'ā Imams, religious scholars and traditionists; Hamid Algar on the XIXth and XXth century religious establishments; and Priscilla Soucek on artists and calligraphers. Another focus of the *Encyclopaedia*, one that is emphasised in the Introduction, is on the history of the sciences. David Pingree provides the bulk of this, in the form of some thirty biographies of mathematicians and astronomers. It may be felt that if a line were to be drawn anywhere, it might be used here, to consign some of these characters back to the near oblivion from which they have struggled, so little is known about them even by him; an article on Astronomy might have been a kind and economical place in which to refer to them.

A few random observations might be permitted in passing (the transliteration system of the *Elr.* is used only in the citation of articles). Numerous chronograms using the *abjad* system are given in H. Nahkjuvānī, *Mawādd al-tawārīkh* (Tehran 1343/1964). Not all authors attempt to fit the letters yielding numerals into meaningful words (see for example the rather feeble efforts by Ḥamd-allāh Mustaufī (*Tārīkh-i Guzideh*, ed. Navā'ī, p. 608). More space could perhaps be devoted to the term *abnā'* as applied to one of the factions, of Khurasanian background, active in early 'Abbāsīd politics, particularly in Iran (cf. H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1981). The Jalāyirīd sultan Aḥmad b. Uvais (d. 1410) seems to have evaded capture once more in the *Elr.* as in the *El2*, though this colourful and resilient character certainly deserves an entry on his own. Islamic personal names are generally listed under their *nisba* or *shuhra* (best known name/surname), but here as in many other cases the *shuhra* would seem to be his given name. Perhaps he will get another chance under "Sultān". The *Aḳṭāq-e Aṣrāf* of 'Ubad-i Zākānī has recently been translated by Hasan Javadi (Piedmont, Cal., 1985), but not all, "because of the language". The inclusion of book titles as entries in the *Elr.* is a welcome innovation, but one that has inevitably to be highly selective (the *Afdal al-tawārīkh* of Ghulāmḥusain Afdal al-mulk might have qualified). Further discussion of the office of 'āmel is given in a forthcoming article by Patricia Crone (s.v. "al-ma'ūna" in *El2*). The passage in Ṭabarī (vol. 2/iii, 1470-71) cited in the existing article in *El2*, refers to Rayy in or after 105/723, and these developments in provincial administration are clearly as relevant to Iran as to the Arab world. Some space could perhaps have been given to the office of *amīr al-ḥajj* and the organisation of the Persian pilgrimage caravans to the Hejaz. Apart from the Amazons and a handful of goddesses, the only woman whom I have noticed so far is "Abeš Kātūn", the Salghurid ruler of Fārs.

Such comments aside, what we have in front of us is most useful. While the *Elr.* accords the peripheries the attention they deserve (the Graeco-Roman world and Muslim India), the strength and main interest of the work remains its focus on the Iranian plateau (and Afghanistan, which has a core entry of 80 pages). There are substantial articles on water (*āb*), irrigation (*ābyārī*), agriculture, silk (*abrizām*) and opium (*afyūn*) production, as well as historical sketches of Persian towns and cities. The wealth of detail and the range of references given reflects not only the advances in knowledge in recent years, but also the leisurely and expansive style of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (the *El2* in a similar though seemingly more cramped format, reaches Anāhid on p. 481). If the work continues in this attractive vein it will be a long time before we read about "zelzeleh" in Iran; but although Volume II, which should appear later in the year, gets only to "Avesta" and is thus still restricted to the first letter of the alphabet, this does include such lengthy topics as Art and Architecture, and progress is relatively rapid (fascicle 5 (to "Art in Iran: 1") is currently available and one fascicle every two months is projected). At this rate, I calculate that the twelve projected volumes should be available in about eighteen years. In the meanwhile some important material will be accumulating. It is a matter for speculation whether some of the more original work presented here would not otherwise have appeared, without the stimulus and opportunity provided by this project. The article on *adab* by Djalāl Khaleghi-Motlagh perhaps as much as anything in this volume sums up the attractiveness of Iranian culture at its most refined, and reminds us why we should devote ourselves to its study. With a bit of luck, this publishing enterprise will help to stimulate the return of *adab* wherever its values are now in decline.

Not all the misprints are picked up in the Addenda and Corrigenda, but in a work of this scale this is not surprising. One useful addition to the utility of future volumes would be a list of the articles they contain, which could be supplied with the covers when the volume was

complete. The elegance of the production is matched by its cost, which should not, however, be allowed to deter libraries from investing in this work.

CHARLES MELVILLE

ANGE DE SAINT-JOSEPH DANS LE SIÈCLE JOSEPH LABROSSE: SOUVENIRS DE LA PERSE SAFAVIDE ET AUTRES LIEUX DE L'ORIENT (1664-1678). EN VERSION PERSANE ET EUROPÉENNE. Translated and annotated by MICHEL BASTIAENSEN. (Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, XCIII.) pp. x, 222. Bruxelles, Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1985.

The title really calls for a word of warning: the hopes it raises of something comparable to such memoirs of Middle Eastern travel as those of Chardin and Tavernier are destined to be disappointed. In fact, though there is an overlap with the contents of the travel books, the material presented here takes a different form. The Discalced Carmelite monk Père Ange de Saint-Joseph spent fourteen years in the Middle East, mostly in Isfahan and Basra. After returning to Europe he was finally able to realize his project for a Persian dictionary which came from the press in Amsterdam in 1684. The *Gazophylacium Linguae Persarum* employed Italian, the lingua franca of the Levant, as the reference language and had parallel texts in Latin, French and of course Persian. It is apparently the first Persian dictionary in which a European language serves as the language of reference. When printing had reached the letter G the author began to vary the style of the dictionary by introducing here and there explanatory notes of an encyclopaedic nature in all four languages, arguing in his preface that the command of an idiom requires some phraseology and that the new procedure would also serve "ad exhilarandum lectoris animum".

M. Bastiaensen published a long article on P. Ange and his work in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* for 1974. The biographical information and consideration of P. Ange's sources etc. reappear in the introduction to the present work, though for discussion of the linguistic features of the text reference to the article is still necessary. Here, on the other hand, we are given the 302, mostly quite short, "encyclopaedic" entries of the dictionary arranged by topics such as religion, daily life and the animal kingdom. French translations of the Italian entries stand on the left-hand pages, any variants in the French and Latin versions being meticulously recorded. Opposite are French translations of the Persian entries. As the editor notes, there are some discrepancies between Persian and European versions, notably on matters of religion. P. Ange used a number of Persian and European books but also profited greatly from his own observations and the knowledge of Middle Eastern informants. In the context he cannot be greatly criticized for the scrappy nature of his information or, in a period for which sources are relatively abundant, for the fact that much of it is available elsewhere. Occasional items attract the attention, as a brief and personal sample, for instance, those on the Shah's rhinoceros, the theory of the Qurashī origin of the English and on the libertine *chirāgh-kushān* and their leader. Overall the reviewer must confess to have been inspired with no great sense of exhilaration but the editor's claims for the work are modest. A full critical edition of the first and only edition of the *Gazophylacium* is apparently envisaged.

A. H. MORTON

MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE – A GUIDE. By ALEXANDRE BENNINGSEN and S. ENDERS WIMBUSH. pp. xvi, 294, 3 maps. London, C. Hurst & Co., 1986. £18.50.

The Soviet Union is at present, with its population of some 50 million Muslims, the fifth largest Muslim state in the world. What is more, official statistics show that the proportion of Muslims in the population as a whole has increased over the last quarter of a century or so by some 6%, a rate of growth which suggests that by the year 2000 at least one in every four or five Soviet citizens will come from an Islamic background. These crude statistics alone indicate the timeliness and topicality of this publication in so far as both the specialist and the interested layman are concerned. The bulk of this book is taken up with facts and figures, almost wholly derived from Soviet demographic studies, about the multiplicity of ethnic groups, sects, official arrangements and highly unofficial organizations involved.

If that were all, this guide would still be well worth having for the hard data it affords in the study of Soviet demography. The situation which it outlines, however, has very far-reaching implications for the social, economic and even political future of the Soviet empire as a whole. It has been clear ever since Stalin's death allowed the world at large to glimpse some of the realities of the Soviet scene that the issue of the non-Russian nationalities incorporated in the empire would inevitably prove far more important for its future than any amount of purely political or doctrinal dissent. This is true of such kindred Slavic ethnicities as the Ukrainians and the Belorussians. How very much more forcefully, therefore, do such considerations apply to elements of the population which derive from wholly alien stock and rely on a fully developed culture that owes nothing to Christianity.

Indeed, as the authors suggest, many of the difficulties now facing the Soviet authorities in this respect are originally of Moscow's own making. The Bolsheviks inherited from the Czars a vast and varied multiplicity of peoples for whom religion, just as language, was only one among many distinguishing features. The new masters in the Kremlin decided – largely for perfectly valid and respectable administrative reasons – to create national units out of these miscellaneous ethnic elements. What they failed to foresee was that the single unifying force among these mainly artificial territorial units in the extreme south and south-east of the empire would inevitably be Islam. And what few foresaw even outside the Soviet Union was that Islam would become once again a powerful and militant creed.

One may, in this instance, have some slight sympathy for the rulers in the Kremlin. As colonial powers go, their record in the development of these territories has been well above average. Yet they are now faced with a series of inter-connected and apparently insoluble problems. European Russia, where the bulk of the empire's technical resources are still concentrated, suffers from a growing shortage of labour. The Central Asian republics, on the other hand, have a surplus of manpower but a paucity of industrial plant and a relatively low level of technological proficiency among the population, which apparently continues to prefer a rural and largely agricultural life. Even geography militates against the economic necessities: Central Asia is so short of water that modern industry could not throw deep roots there as things stand, yet even the Soviet authorities, who are not known for their dedication to ecological considerations, have drawn back from an attempt to reverse the northward flow of Siberian rivers in order to irrigate the southern drylands.

And this, serious as it is, is by no means all of the Soviet problem *vis-à-vis* Islam, as this guide briefly and soberly points out – once again mainly on the basis of material officially published in the Soviet Union itself. The armed forces are increasingly dependent on recruitment from traditionally Muslim communities, while policy so far has been to maintain a predominantly Slavic officer corps. In political terms, the clash between directives from the centre and local loyalties was illustrated not so long ago when riots in Kazakhstan followed an attempt to replace a corrupt local boss by a presumably more efficient and less venal ethnic Russian leader. Such dilemmas abound. But underlying the entire situation, as *Muslims of the Soviet Union* makes it amply clear, is the lesson which the Kremlin, the last stronghold of imperialism, is now being forced to learn: no power nowadays can stand out forever against an ethnically, culturally, spiritually hostile population.

INDISCHE HANDSCHRIFTEN. TEIL 7. Hrsg. von K. L. JANERT, verzeichnet von N. NARASIMHAN POTI. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Bd. II, 7.) pp. [vi], 845-999. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985. DM 148.

Part 7 of the Indian series in this great German cataloguing project contains 750 entries, and describes further manuscripts in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz), Hamburg and Göttingen (Staats- und Universitätsbibliotheken), München (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) and Tübingen (Universitätsbibliothek). The entries appear at first sight severely pruned of detail, and those acquainted with the first six parts will be in for a surprise when they open this volume. Professor Janert tells us in his foreword that for this and for parts 8 and 9 new "cataloguing principles" are coming into play. We were in fact warned of this in the introduction to part 10 (1982), the cumulative index to the first six parts. Titles, authors, scribes (with transcription of "post-colophon" scribal particulars), and the usual physical details of the manuscripts are given as before, with proper indexing; but quotations showing the beginnings and ends of texts, including colophons, are now no longer included; the average size of entry is thus shortened by at least a half. Since the former editorial principles had favoured inclusion of full incipits etc., it will be natural to assume that financial pressures have forced their exclusion now. The plates too have gone; those beautified previous volumes that showed the reader a variety of scripts, materials and forms of Indian manuscripts, though to us belt-tightening Sanskritists in the declining countries they did perhaps seem a bit of a luxury. But no economic reasons are given. Janert just tells us that the time-consuming editorial work of critically preparing these text extracts has now been discontinued; he envisages that users will be grateful not to have to plough through all this material, and we are expected to welcome the possibility of quicker "access" to what really matters. If I have correctly understood Janert's impressive prose, then I believe it must have been a little painful to have to imply in this way that hundreds of pages could have been omitted from earlier parts without serious detriment to the catalogue. Of course the work could have been speedier if the extracts had been straight transcriptions from the manuscripts without editorial emendations etc. The normal user of this kind of catalogue, if indeed he needs to have such extracts, will be adequately helped by a statement of what is actually in the manuscripts. But what is in fact lost with the complete exclusion of these extracts? In my view, not very much. Editors and other scholars in quest of manuscripts of particular works will have to make up their own minds about their accuracy and their relation one to another. In order to do this, they will themselves have to see the manuscripts, or films or photocopies of them. There can be few editors of Indian texts who have not had to question the statements of even the most distinguished cataloguers in such matters. As for finer codicological judgements concerning the physical nature of a manuscript, even a film is unlikely to satisfy our curiosity. How, then, will a descriptive catalogue best serve the interests of Indologists? First, it will tell them where manuscripts are to be found. Secondly it will indicate whether these manuscripts are complete or incomplete, and in the latter case it will attempt to describe the contents with reference to a standard text; if the work is unpublished, more information will be necessary, and if there is unique material in addition to an already familiar text in the manuscript, this should be indicated. Thirdly the catalogue will give an objective description of the essential physical detail of each manuscript – and while we lack standard criteria for anything approaching a satisfactory typology of Indian book production, or even of historical palaeography beyond the grossest of categories, this essential detail will be no more than a broad statement of material, script, dimensions, any remarkable or unusual ornamentation and other markings, and a record of condition. Janert's new form of catalogue will occasionally be found deficient in coping with the second of these major requirements; some incomplete or fragmentary texts are not identified with sufficient clarity for a potential user to know if they will be of interest, or relevant at all, to his work. In these cases minimal quotation, say colophons and flag-words to link the text with a known model, would have helped. More often, however, there is adequate reference to texts, to the New Catalogus Catalogorum, and to other known manuscripts through Janert's own excellent *Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts*, for easy identification of the texts in question. As for content of this volume, the spread is predictably wide for such a number of manuscripts. The earliest dated text is a Kashmirian birchbark Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇavarman (1452 A.D.), and among the latest is a

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In the *jyotiṣa* section there are several puzzling entries. The *Arghakāṇḍa* (no. 157) would seem to be the work of Hemaprabha Śūri; the ascription to Municandra is curious. Viśvanātha Kavi (no. 160), the author of the *Aṣṭakavargasāra*, was the son of Bhānubhaṭṭa; the son of Divākara and father of Bhānu was the astronomical commentator named simply Viśvanātha who flourished in the first half of the XVIIth century. The *Ayaprasna* (no. 163) of

Vighnarāja is the same text as the *Bhūtabhaviṣyatpraśna* (no. 166) wrongly ascribed to Vindhyarāja. Nos. 189 and 191 are both *tājika* works. The author of the *Samarasāra* (nos. 227 and 228) is Rāmacandra Somayājīn. The beginning of the next manuscript (no. 229) is not from Kalyāṇavarman's *Sārāvalī*.

This is, I repeat, only a preliminary listing. Much remains to be done before a definitive description of these manuscripts is possible. Wujastyk's efforts towards making the collection both accessible and known are greatly appreciated. We look forward to the continuation of his work.

DAVID PINGREE

SANSKRIT AND WORLD CULTURE: PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SANSKRIT STUDIES, WEIMAR, MAY 23-30 1979. Edited by WOLFGANG MORGENROTH. (Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für alte Geschichte und Archäologie. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, 18) pp. 766, front., 7 pl. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1986. M 198.

This is a collection of 119 papers (out of 153 delivered at the conference) grouped in nine sections: I Sanskrit and Humanistic Sciences (1). II Ancient History of South Asia (7). III The Role of Sanskrit in South Asia (15). IV The Role of Sanskrit in (a) Central Asia (6), (b) South East Asia (5), (c) Europe (8). V Linguistics (General and Comparative Linguistics (4). Descriptive and Historical Grammar of Sanskrit (5), Sanskrit Lexicon (5), Middle Indo-Aryan (6), Indian Grammar and Lexicography (4)). VI Philosophy and Religion (Veda (12), Buddhism and Jainism (4), Hinduism (9)). VII Natural Sciences and Medicine (5). VIII Poetry (Epics and Purāṇas (5), Classical Poetry (4), Narrative Literature (1), Indian Poetics (3)). IX Archaeology and Art History (10).

Nearly half the contributors are from behind the Iron Curtain and the contributions are in varying standards of English, French, German and Russian (some of the English is awful). As in any such collection the quality is very uneven (selection might have been invidious or simply not feasible): some writers manage to concentrate a good deal into the average allocation of six pages, others waste time. The introductory paper by the late Jean Filliozat. "Le sanskrit et la culture générale du monde", sketches the expansion in time and space of Sanskrit culture, and ruminates on the proper approach to its study. It alone matches the expectations aroused by the title of the volume – but what is one to call such an omnium gatherum? Prof. Dandekar, President of the IASS, was moved to see in the number and variety of topics treated "the harbinger of a kind of resurrection of Sanskrit and Indological Studies in the West". Even if we may not share his euphoria, there can be no disagreement about the breadth of the spectrum. To take a few examples – Saveros Pou, "*Rāmakertī* – The Khmer (or Cambodian) *Rāmāyaṇa*"; S. Bira/O. Sukhbaatar, "On the Tibetan and Mongolian Translations of Sanskrit Grammatical Works"; Karl Hoffmann, "Textkritisches zur *Paippalāda-Saṃhitā*"; Arion Roșu, "Études āyurvédiques"; Herbert Plaeschke, "Mathurā und die Herausbildung des Gupta-Stils"; K. R. Norman, "The Dialectal Variety of Middle Indo-Aryan"; G. M. Bongard-Levin/A. A. Vigasin, "Society and State in Ancient India"; Hanne Mode, "Zur Entwicklung mittelasiatischer Wandmalerei unter indischem Einfluss". Though it runs the risk of being overlooked in such miscellaneous company, there is interesting information to be gleaned from some of these brief presentations.

PETER KHOROCHE

DAS ÄLTERE MITTELINDISCH IM ÜBERBLICK. VON OSKAR VON HINÜBER. (Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 467. Bd.; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasien, Heft 20.) pp. 209. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986. OS 350, DM 50.

An up-to-date survey of early Middle Indo-Aryan phonology and morphology is indeed a boon and a blessing. No doubt the anomalous modern notion of labelling the language of the Theravāda canon and Jain canons as "Pali" and "Prakrit" respectively, rather than as specific forms of a multifarious MIA, has obscured the need for synthetic treatment. Hinüber offers such a synthesis, incorporating Inscriptional, Gandhari, and canonical Pali MIA, along with (more embryonically treated, given the present state of knowledge) canonical Jain and secular, literary MIA. References to Buddhist Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, and (via Turner's CDIAL) NIA are selective, as also are references to "Pali" and "Prakrit" grammarians.

The result is a most valuable and reasonably systematic listing of the main discoveries that have been made in the field of early MIA since the beginning of the century. This extends by way of Nachträge to material published in 1985-86. The book follows a growing tendency to dispense entirely with footnotes, doubtless in the interests of economy: there is a wealth of laconic and tantalizing allusion to works that may not always be accessible to the reader (and one misses a consolidated bibliography of all the works to which reference is made). Reliance on cross-referencing in lieu of a more comprehensive index also has its drawbacks. Thus there is no link between three separate comments on the MIA optative: "östliches" *siyā*/ "westliches" *assa* (p. 39); "Kalsi" *siyā*/"Dhauhi" *huveyā* (p. 180); Dhauhi *huveya* [strictly *huveyā*] cum Pali hapax [strictly *hupeyya*] cum Pāśāci *huveyya*, all = "Ostsprache" (p. 69). In the end it is disappointing to find that the resulting set of equations and inequalities yields no rational solution: but the forms deserved to figure in an index which includes e.g. *aggahesum*.

Hinüber is himself responsible for a cogent explanation of Pāśāci in terms of an orthographic practice best attested in Central Asia; yet he retains a belief in the "easterness" of the bulk of ancient Indian orthography which his present survey helps to reveal as irrational. He seems content to allow the implication (p. 27) that $r > l$ and $ah > e$ are eastern phonological phenomena: but it is in Kharosthi that (through inversion of normal Aramaic *l*) the signs for *ra* and *la* tend to coincide; and it is in Gandhari that one finds distinct traces of a rational distribution of velar and palatal allophones of *a* (cf. Shah. *so/once ye; mrugo/twice priye*; Man. read *mrigo* rather than alleged *mrig[e]/priye*). To Hinüber's "western" *magol* "eastern" *mige* Brough's explanation, involving arbitrary representation of a phonologically neutral vowel (p. 137), might usefully be extended. For a similar protest at the assumption of a Brahmi and "eastern" archetype for the Aśokan edicts, see my review of Schneider's edition (BSOAS, XLIII, 2, 1980, 389).

A few points may be listed, for the sake of the revised and enlarged edition to which one dares to look forward. Bloch's assertion that Brajbuli is a mixture of Hindi and Bengali (p. 40) should not be perpetuated: the intrusion of Bengali into Maithili that constituted Brajbuli antedates its further occasional contamination with the Brajbhāṣā Hindi that usurped the name (see Sukumar Sen's edition of the material). At p. 67f., Master's [a]k^hhai "is" is rightly ignored: despite CDIAL 1031, the reading is impossible (one might as well conjecture [va^hi^hai] from what follows), and the context is JMh., not Pāś. In what sense is *bhaveyya* [va^hi^hai] from what follows), and the context is JMh., not Pāś. In what sense is *bhaveyya* "Verschärfung" of *bhaveya* (p. 108)? – it may be intended to maintain non-affricate pronunciation. Comparison of *pt* (Gir. *āpta* - < *ātma*-) with aspirated nasals as representing a single consonant (p. 123) seems to be implying a labialized pronunciation of *t*: more probably it is a contaminated spelling (reflecting Khar. *ata*-*atva*-?), one which masks the *appa*- attested by all languages of India proper.

MYTHOLOGICAL AND RITUAL SYMBOLISM. A STUDY WITH REFERENCE TO THE VEDIC AND TANTRIC AGNI. By DIPAK BHATTACHARYA, with a foreword by GOVINDAGOPAL MUKHOPADHYAYA. pp. x, 243, Calcutta, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1984, Rs. 80.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. Rather than being, as one would expect, a methodological or philosophical study of symbolism in mythology and ritual, references to Agni serving as illustrations of the findings, and general conclusions resulting from the author's theoretical deliberations, it is an investigation of the significance of the Vedic myth of the birth of Agni as a deity and his symbolic meaning and function in rituals, written from a certain methodological standpoint briefly explained in a relatively short introduction forming the first chapter of the book. A few general observations are further made in an even shorter concluding chapter.

The briefly outlined general and methodological stance of the author is, however, worth noting. He regards myth as the equivalent of what in modern times is called a theory, but since in Indian religious thought myth is never divorced from ritual, he looks at ritual as myth enacted. With respect to the meaning of the Vedic myth the author sees it as expressing what later became the preoccupation of philosophy, only the language is still one of imagery and symbols.

Earlier Vedic researches were rooted in linguistic analysis and so were unable to unravel the philosophical dimension in the older hymns, because it is not obvious in them while being conspicuous in a few late hymns in the tenth book (which do not deal in myths, but in cosmogony expressed in straightforward conceptual terms). Only the recognition, first achieved by Bergaigne, that some Vedic myths, referred to in early hymns, were cosmogonic made visible their philosophical perspective and revealed that there was a *Weltanschauung* presented in them. The author calls this the Rgvedic "pre-ontology".

This dawning understanding of the Vedic myth as the archaic form of philosophising even enables one, the author asserts, to trace the Rgvedic foundations of the post-Vedic systems of philosophy. And one can now go with more assurance beyond the theory of anthropomorphism (and zoomorphism) in Vedic mythology which still undeservedly exerts some influence even today. The clue to progress is what Lüders already recognised as the main task of Vedic research, namely to inquire into what the Vedic gods meant to the Vedic poets themselves. Even when the theory of the Vedic gods as personifications of natural phenomena reigned supreme one often searched quite in vain for their original physical basis, as in the case of Indra. And where this basis appears to be too vague it used to be explained by the process of obfuscation because of the accretion of new functions by the god figure.

But the correct procedure is to look for the symbolic meaning of the god figures themselves and even where a god is clearly a personification of a natural force or phenomenon the important question to be asked is: what is that natural phenomenon symbolic of? And then the imagery of anthropo- or zoomorphic figures associated with that natural phenomenon reveals its true function in that it expresses some further aspects of the basic idea which the poet had in mind and for which the natural phenomenon is a symbol.

Lüders' work did not fully develop this line, because it is incomplete, and later scholars such as Renou and Gonda did not pay enough attention to the task of interpreting Vedic symbolism. The author demonstrates the way one should go about it with the example of Varuṇa. In Oldenberg's view he was originally a moon god (his twin, Mitra, being a sun god). But to the Vedic poets Varuṇa was the guardian of truth (*ṛta*). The image for this function in the human context was that of king, and Varuṇa is indeed associated with kingship, as Lüders had shown. So the principle the poet conveys is that of the guardianship of truth and he does so by way of the nature symbol of the moon and the imagery of kingship. In the process of obfuscation it is the nature symbol which suffers (and even the image taken from social life may fade), but not the original idea of overseeing truth (which eventually finds, in later times, direct philosophical, i.e. conceptual, expression).

This should be the way to trace the beginnings of Indian philosophy in the early layers of the Rg Veda shrouded in the dream language of imagery and symbolism which was later given up by philosophers but was in a way retained down to modern times, in specialised spheres of activity like art and pastimes and certain types of dreams now studied by some schools of psychology. This method can also be applied to the Atharva Veda, although the abundance of magic

elements in it was thought by some (e.g. Winternitz) to place it completely outside the sphere of philosophy. But if the crude and base components of magic procedures are set aside, "the border-line between magic and philosophy fades out in the rituo-philosophical set-up of the Vedic world-outlook".

The author also ponders on the problem of distinguishing myths from legends, on figurative descriptions of rituals and metaphors and on the applicability of the historical method in Vedic research. As regards the last point he is in favour of its use. He believes that fundamental changes did occur in the Vedas, albeit "within superficially similar structures".

The second chapter, "The Birth of Agni", takes almost half of the book. The author concentrates on the Rgvedic hymn 4,1 which, although it mentions the well-known three births of Agni, gives prominence to his birth out of the infinite expanse, the home of the eternal law and truth (*ṛta*). This raises the story of the birth of Agni to the rank of cosmogonic myths and all the other images of the hymn have to be viewed from this angle. The author supports his thesis with lengthy and arduous argumentation, references to many other hymns, criticism of earlier interpretations and finally by pointing out what he sees as later versions of the myth in the tenth book, including the famous hymn 10,129, and in the Atharva Veda.

The third chapter is concerned with showing how the ideas surrounding the birth of Agni are reflected in *agnyādheya*, the Vedic fire ritual. The author uncovers in it not only the shift of the motive for performing the ritual from material gain to gaining heaven, but also the developing idea of inner sacrifice, pointing to release (in the author's words: to "becoming non-phenomenal"). This trend was, however, monopolised in post-Vedic time by the "knowledge" tradition of the Vedas (*jñānakāṇḍa*) and the ritual tradition (*karmakāṇḍa*) was not further developed in this respect, but it reappeared in Tantrism in its specific way which is outlined in the rather brief fourth chapter: the birth of Agni is not seen there as a cosmic event, he is conceived by the Goddess and Śiva and the ritual serves as a rite of initiation into the path of salvation. As the author affirms in the concluding chapter, there has been a movement from archaic cosmogonic "myth-ideology" as expressed in the Vedic ritual to its soteriological re-interpretation in the Tantric ritual.

The main problem of this book is its style, or rather lack of it. The author has not observed even the most basic rules of systematic presentation of a topic and pours out ideas, remarks, quotations, descriptions and references one after the other without ever offering a paragraph of clearly stated conclusions or a narrative exposition. Even his general remarks suffer from his chaotic procedure. Thus his general and methodological stance could be outlined at the outset of this review only after a painstaking reconstruction and reformulation of his haphazard writing. Many of the book's deficiencies are probably due to the fact that it is in part based on the author's doctoral thesis from 1975, but he can hardly be excused for not having put it into better shape for publication nine years later. He is also completely innocent of works and studies relevant to his theme which have been published since 1976.

The only redeeming feature of the book is the fact that he has scattered in it some valid general ideas about the problems of Vedic interpretation and pointed out the connection between cosmogonic myth and philosophy. These are not new ideas by any means, but the author is right when he complains that outdated methods of early Vedic research still have undue influence. If he had given more care to the presentation of his materials, his book might have contributed more to the weakening of that influence than it can do in its present form.

KAREL WERNER

THE RITUAL FUNCTIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF GRASSES IN THE RELIGION OF THE VEDA. By J. GONDA. (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Verhandelingen Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 132.) pp. 260. Amsterdam etc., North Holland Pub. Co., 1985. Dfl. 160.

Professor Gonda has once again collected all the available information on a particular topic

to be gleaned from the Vedic literature. In this case, the layout adopted is to order the material according to the terms used. After an introductory chapter, the next eight chapters look at the grasses by name (*tṛṇa*, *kuśa*, *darbha*, *kuśa* and *darbha*, *dūrvā*, *muñja*, *kāśa* and other grasses), while the remaining five chapters deal with items formed or made from grass (*barhis*, *prastara*, *veda*, *kūrca* and *bṛsī*). Thus, the chapters vary greatly in length, from 45 pages for *darbha* and 57 for *barhis* – although this is subdivided by text (RV, AV, VS) and topic (ritual practice, ritual theory, terminology, *uttarabarhis*) – to under two pages each on *kāśa* and *bṛsī*. In his usual manner, Gonda assembles, paraphrases and comments on the various text-passages involved, while abstaining from any larger theorising or speculation for the most part. Perhaps the nearest to the latter is the chapter on *kuśa* and *darbha* (that is, on the vexed question of their identity or distinctness), where he judiciously assembles the evidence for and against their identity; it is consequently more stimulating to read than others, even though he finally leaves the matter open. However, his concluding point here, that the gramineae are hard to classify even for modern botanists and that Vedic ritualists would hardly adopt the same principles, is one that deserves to be borne in mind. On the other hand, one would welcome some development by him of the point made at the end of his treatment of *darbha* in the Rgveda (p. 150): "Finally, the fact that the word *darbha* is all but wanting in the Rgveda cannot, I think, be disconnected from the decided preference of its poets for *barhis*."

While the layout adopted undoubtedly facilitates study of individual terms, it can also obscure the fact that they are sometimes interchanged between similar contexts in different texts or used side by side in others. Apart from the *kuśa/darbha* issue, this is scarcely studied. Even there, it has led to undue repetition of passages; for example ŚB 5.2.1.8, stating that the sacrificer's wife at the *vājapeya* should don a skirt of *kuśa* grass, is paraphrased at pp. 35, 42–43 and 77 and is referred to at the start of the *kuśa/darbha* discussion at p. 97, but the only cross-reference is at the last (which then only refers to p. 35). Incidentally, none of these occurrences is listed in the "Index of Sanskrit Text-places", which is highly selective but on principles that are not stated and are not apparent. A general index and an index of Sanskrit words are also included.

Gonda quite often makes comments which correct in detail earlier translations of passages discussed, and in general he is concerned with the exact nuances involved in any particular passage. It is therefore unfortunate that he should let by without comment on successive pages (pp. 166 and 167) translation of *anaitdrśnam* as "not transparent", "that is not thin", and "so as not to be overlooked". This scrupulousness to let the texts speak for themselves is, after all, the great strength of all Gonda's work. As with other books of his, this one is ideal if you want to have available all the Vedic material on a particular topic and are ready to form your own conclusions from it.

J. L. BROCKINGTON

RELIGIOUS HEALING IN THE VEDA: WITH TRANSLATIONS AND ANNOTATIONS OF MEDICAL HYMNS FROM THE R̥GVEDA AND THE ĀTHARVAVEDA AND RENDERINGS FROM THE CORRESPONDING RITUAL TEXTS. By KENNETH G. ZYSK. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 75, Part 7, 1985.) pp. xvii, 311, 9 illus. Philadelphia, Penn., The American Philosophical Society, 1985. US\$30.00.

The author, now in Toronto, submitted an earlier version of this work as a Ph.D. thesis in the Dept. of Asian Civilisations, the Australian National University, under the supervision of the late Professor A. L. Basham. The book is an expert monograph providing an analysis of the fundamental doctrines and practices of the earliest, i.e. pre-Ayurvedic, Indian medical tradition as ascertained from Vedic texts, predominantly from the Atharva Veda and to a minor degree from the R̥g Veda, with supporting materials from R̥gvidhāna and especially

Kausika Sūtra. A brief historical introduction mentions traits of the Harappan civilisation with possible bearing on Vedic medicine: the advanced facilities for purification, evidence of amulets, indications of magic and shamanism, of plant worship and harvest rituals and even of trepanation. Vedic medicine is characterised as a magico-religious system with some empirical knowledge gained from observation and experience which included awareness of the role of nutritious food and external as well as internal hydrotherapy. The transition to Ayurvedic medicine at the basis of which, according to the author, lies a theoretical and a rational understanding of disease is not discussed, because it is still a controversial issue.

Vedic medical knowledge is dealt with in three sections, on (1) internal diseases, (2) external diseases and (3) medicines. The author hopes to publish a section on toxicology at some future date. Each section contains explanations of individual items – diseases, their cures and the medicines used – which are followed by translations of relevant texts with extensive annotations. Cross-references are very numerous and so are references to other texts, even Buddhist ones, later commentaries and modern scholarly works. At the end there is an appendix with Sanskrit names of plants mentioned in the book with their probable botanical identifications followed by an excellent bibliographical essay on studies in Indian medical history, a well arranged specialised bibliography and three indexes: of Sanskrit passages, of Sanskrit words and a general one. The work, a product of immaculate scholarship, is undoubtedly an extremely valuable contribution to the history of medicine as well as to Vedic studies. It deserves only praise.

KAREL WERNER

PINNACLES OF INDIA'S PAST. SELECTIONS FROM THE RĠVEDA. Translated and annotated by WALTER H. MAURER. (University of Pennsylvania Studies on South Asia, volume 2), pp. xi, 350. Amsterdam and Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1986, Dfl. 50, US\$18.00 (paper), Dfl. 110, US\$40.00 (cloth).

An anthology may be quite subjective and the criteria for selecting items for it may reveal the compiler's bias or main interests. Some collections are arranged in a structured way and present a systematic picture of the views and beliefs of a people and their time, like the last Vedic anthology by Panikkar. In the present volume no clear principle seems to have been applied except that major deities receive several hymns and the others only one. Then we find hymns with cosmogonic contents and a few individual hymns dealing with single topics with no apparent reason for their inclusion while some other topics are omitted, though the translator remarks that he selected some of them because they rarely appear in anthologies, but deserve attention.

The translations were first intended for the general reader, but as in the process of his work the author added what he calls a "rather full exegesis" to them he now expresses the hope that they will as a result serve also those among students of Sanskrit who did not have time for the Vedic texts. The brief introduction to the Rġ Veda, however, remains very elementary, with a minimum of information even for the general reader.

The exegesis takes the form of short introductions to groups of hymns or single hymns with one theme and of notes to most verses of each hymn. Both the introductions and the notes are, again, rather elementary with only occasional references to wider comparative or etymological contexts. Cross-references to other hymns of the Rġ Veda are also few and far between and to the Atharva Veda there are virtually none. The author's explanations are only seldom supported by references to primary research works. Sometimes his suggestions are ill-conceived or imprecise. When he says that "Agni was by far the most important of the gods, exceeding even Indra" on account of his omnipresence in the cult as sacrificial fire (p. 10), it is hard to see what he means; Indra and a few other gods clearly play a much more prominent

part in Vedic mythology than Agni in his role as messenger between men and gods and as the priest of gods. Another instance of a rather misleading comment he makes concerns RV 1.143.2; it includes one of his few cross-references which is, unfortunately, valueless: "An interesting example of Mātariśvan's identification with Agni is to be seen in the famous passage from RV 1.164.46: 'What is one seers call in many ways: they call him Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan'". This is not an example of the identification between Agni and Mātariśvan. The passage quoted has been rightly seen by most interpreters in a wider context as a clear indication of the monistic trend in the Rg Veda.

The translations are mostly quite straightforward. The author does not mention the possibility of more than one meaning of some hymns so that the mystical dimension in the Rg Veda is thus lost to the reader. Significantly, the bibliography does not list Gonda's work *The Vision of the Vedic Poets* dealing with this aspect while his *Vedic Literature* did get an entry. As a sign of the growing interest in the Vedic texts the selection is welcome, but it is no improvement on Panikkar's work whose congenial interpretations, beautiful language, careful thematic arrangement and abounding cross-references make it much more useful to students. In the last two respects O'Flaherty's anthology is also to be preferred, despite being somewhat pedestrian.

KAREL WERNER

PRAJĀPATI'S RISE TO HIGHER RANK. By J. GONDA. (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, Vol. XXIX.) pp. x, 208. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1986. Guilders 145.

This latest monograph of the doyen of Vedic studies follows his article on "The Popular Prajāpati" in *History of Religions* 22 (1982), p. 129ff. In it he challenged the hitherto accepted view that Prajāpati was a comparatively "young" deity, essentially a product of ritualistic and theological speculation, and tried to show that he must already have been a popular god in an early period of Vedic religion and that, besides being the "lord of progeny" and presiding over procreation and all living creatures, he was also believed to meet various wishes of the common man.

The author now proposes to deal with the widening of Prajāpati's horizon and scope of influence, his growing relations with other gods and participation in rituals and his rise to higher rank and power. He does so in two parts, the first, "Prajāpati's position and gradual rise in the Veda", taking slightly more than half of the book, and the second, "Prajāpati in the Śrauta ritual", filling the rest.

This means that the author does not deal with the difficult question of how Prajāpati came to assume the highest rank as the creator of all that is and lives in RV 10.121, an early isolated distinction granted to him there. In that respect he surpassed other creator gods such as Viśvakarman, Tvaṣṭṛ and Dhātṛ who never really rose beyond the rank of artificers or demiurges. Thus, for a time, he occupied, in higher theological speculation, the position later assumed by Brahma. Instead the author selects as his starting point the phrase, often repeated in the Brāhmaṇas, "Prajāpati created living beings", and scans the Vedic scriptures in order to show how further areas of interest, association and influence were added to him, mainly as a result of ritual-based priestly elaboration. In the first part he collates a few references from the Rg Veda and the more frequent ones from the Atharvaveda, Taittirīya and Vājasaneyi Saṁhitās with the innumerable ones in the extensive literature of the Brāhmaṇas. Part two demonstrates the role of Prajāpati in rituals from full and new moon sacrifices to *āsvamedha* and from *agnihotra* to funeral rites. In this sense it can be said that the author has substantiated his narrowly defined thesis.

As is usual with the author's Vedic monographs, this will be of use to the specialist only. The author has made no attempt to produce a publication useful to workers in related fields such as

the history of religions, or to summarise the results of his investigations for them. Since the historian of religions, for example, can hardly be acquainted in detail with the primary sources of several religious traditions he has to deal with, he cannot be expected to read monographs of this kind. Unless the author plans to crown his research efforts with a new comprehensive presentation of his results, the wider field of religious studies will benefit from them only if some other Indologist undertakes this formidable task. So far, however, it transpires that the author has one or two other monographs of a similar type in the offing.

KAREL WERNER

THE PURĀṆAS. By LUDO ROCHER. (A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, Fasc. 3.) pp. vii, 282. Wiesbaden, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1986. DM 120.

As the first comprehensive study of the voluminous body of literature classed as the Purāṇas, this volume fills a very real need. Rocher himself is at some pains to point out that Puranic studies have not been as neglected as it has been fashionable to suggest, but what has been lacking hitherto is an adequate survey and evaluation both of the Purāṇas themselves and of the secondary literature. This Rocher now provides.

The book is divided, virtually equally, into two parts, the first of which deals both with the history of Purāṇa scholarship and with general issues about the Purāṇas, while the second provides a survey and discussion of individual Purāṇas and related texts (in alphabetical order). The strong emphasis on historiography is exceptional among the contributions to the *History of Indian Literature* but can undoubtedly be justified from the extent to which older attitudes have moulded current thinking, although it is perhaps questionable whether the frequent direct quotation of earlier scholars represents the most effective use of the space available. Conversely, the copious bibliographic information distributed throughout the volume (in a general bibliography, in the lavish footnotes and in topical bibliographies—some in Part I but most relating to the individual Purāṇas in Part II) is extremely effective in providing a vast amount of helpful detail; one can only regret, therefore, the decision not to index the bibliographies and to index the footnotes only selectively, which must to some extent restrict their usefulness. In general the bibliographies are both thorough and up to date, the most recent entries being from 1984; occasionally, however, something has been missed and so, for example, the Viṣṇudharma is said to be “as yet unpublished”, although the first part of Grünendahl's edition appeared in 1983 (also published by Harrassowitz). In any case, access to the secondary literature, as well as to editions of the texts, should be further enhanced by the appearance before long of the bibliography being compiled as part of the Tübingen Purāṇa Project.

A good deal of space is quite rightly devoted to the nature and extent of the Purāṇas, in terms both of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* formulation and of the traditional enumeration of 18 Mahāpurāṇas and 18 Upapurāṇas. The place of the Purāṇas in Indian literature is also given separate treatment, with particularly interesting sections on Puranic texts in the vernacular languages (although the treatment of the Tamil Purāṇas is surprisingly brief) and on the relationship of the Purāṇas to other branches of Sanskrit literature, especially the epics. Rocher stresses the extent to which printed editions (generally resting on an inadequate manuscript base) have tended to restrict Puranic studies, “in that they have accidentally raised one or two versions of each purāṇa to the rank of *the* purāṇa” (p. 65), and laments the resulting impoverishment of Purāṇa research. To an extent, the point is nowadays coming to be recognised but it is certainly worth emphasising. Possibly even more significant is the related point that lack of attention to regional variations may obscure particular religious developments; Rocher notes this specifically in relation to the place of Durgāpūjā in the Purāṇas of NE India (p. 114). In discussing the growth of the Purāṇas he also argues that “rather than being the kernel, the *pañcalakṣaṇa*, like most other parts of the purāṇas—as we understand them today—

was a purāṇa in its own right" (p. 96), explaining that he considers that each story, legend and the like was originally a Purāṇa, a "mini-purāṇa" in his somewhat infelicitous phrase. However, he here both endorses and raises certain caveats about the approach associated with Kirfel and his followers, expressing misgivings about its chronological presuppositions. This leads on naturally to a discussion of the dating of the texts, where he not surprisingly adopts a rather agnostic stance.

The second part, listing and describing the texts, though no less important, indeed perhaps more so, can be more briefly assessed. It aims at completeness, listing every title noticed from the literature, even those mentioned in a single text (the layout of the listing giving these an undue prominence). For the major Purāṇas the summary and description are more detailed (often including helpful notes on the relative location of passages in different editions) and add up to a major study of the contents of the Purāṇa literature. While it would be possible to quibble with the weight given to various elements of any one Purāṇa or the amount of attention to earlier opinion, there can be no question that as a whole this part forms an excellent guide to the literature, both extant and lost. In view of the high standard of the scholarship and the general care in presentation throughout, it is regrettable that a number of minor misprints have crept in.

To an even greater extent than with most volumes in this work, Rocher's will be a watershed in the study of its subject and should help to give a greater depth and a new impetus to study of the Purāṇas. Its publication is most welcome.

J. L. BROCKINGTON

RATNĀKARA'S *HARAVIJAYA*: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SANSKRIT COURT EPIC. By DAVID SMITH. (Oxford University South Asian Studies Series) pp. vii, 322. Delhi etc., Oxford University Press, 1985 [1986]. Rs. 200/£19.50.

In choosing the *Haravijaya* to serve as an introduction to the Sanskrit court epic, David Smith has consciously taken up a challenge. This is the longest extant court epic (*mahākāvya*), its fifty cantos filling 708 pages in the edition of Durgaprasad and Parab (1890). Keith roundly dismissed it as "a hopeless blunder", Richard Schmidt as "quite simply a monster (schlechthin ein Monstrum)", and, with one exception, subsequent writers on Sanskrit literature have endorsed these views, though they are at odds with the traditional Indian valuation of the work.

The book is in two parts: the first (chapters 1-3) aims to provide a general background to the court epic and to the *Haravijaya* in particular, while the second (chapters 4-11) analyses Ratnākara's poem from various viewpoints.

Ch. 1, besides giving the historical background of the *HV*, briefly sketches some of the salient characteristics of *mahākāvya*. To summarize such a large, and largely unstudied, topic forces one to be so selective that the result is inevitably a patchwork. In fact hardly anything is said about previous examples of the genre, on the plea that Ratnākara, writing in Kashmir sometime between 826 and 838, claimed the prose-poet Bāṇa as his model, not Bhāravi or Māgha, and that the *HV* is different in spirit from earlier *mahākāvyas*.

Ch. 2 deals with the attitude of "poeticians" (*ālaṃkārika*) to *mahākāvya*, and makes the important point that the formulae of poetics are inadequate for a full appreciation of Sanskrit poetry and that analysis of the *HV* in terms of *ālaṃkāra* and *rasa* will be unhelpful and not very illuminating. The author rightly stresses that the "poeticians" were theorists, not literary critics, that analysis is one thing, appreciation another. Keith's imperfect sympathies, stemming from a European-oriented aesthetic, have produced an over-reaction which demands that one interpret Sanskrit literature purely in terms of the native tradition of theorists and commentators (as though such a thing were possible, even were it desirable). Dr

Smith's advocacy of an informed, but essentially open, reading of *kāvya* redresses the balance and prepares the way for a genuine appreciation.

Ch. 3 discusses the social context of *mahākāvya*, i.e. court society and its ideology, the status of the king, and the important role of eulogy. Here the author attempts to get behind the invariably idealized literary representation to the reality. Ch. 4 presents Ratnākara's own view of his work, expressed in the seven-verse coda to the poem. Ch. 5 analyses the structure of the *HV* as a whole and of each canto. Some interesting theories are offered about Ratnākara's intentions in the placing of cantos 5 and 22, the descriptions of Mt. Mandara and of the ocean. Could these, and other such ideas, be tested by comparison with other *mahākāvyas*?

The next three chapters are each devoted to one important group of protagonists in the slow-moving drama, and they give the reader an opportunity to sample large sections of the poem in translation (the Sanskrit original is provided in footnotes): ch. 6 the Gaṇas and their speeches to which Keith so much objected (cantos 7–16 and 31–38); ch. 7 Ratnākara's presentation of women (esp. in cantos 17, 18 and 23–27 "the pleasure sequence"); ch. 8 Śiva's *tāṇḍava* dance in canto 2, the philosophical hymn in praise of Śiva in canto 6, the merging of Śiva and Pārvatī, in canto 21, and the hymn to Caṇḍī, the Goddess in her terrifying aspect, in canto 47 – also, the final verses of canto 50 which describe Śiva's final victory (*haravijaya*) and impalement of the usurping demon Andhaka – like a scene from *kathākali*. Here the author draws attention to the intense awareness of the divine in the hymn to Śiva and in the Caṇḍīstotra which is imbued with Kaula Śāktism, something quite distinctive when set against the standard neutrality of *kāvya* towards the gods.

Ch. 9 selects for discussion some of the more insistent symbols in the poem, which are peculiar to *kāvya* in general: winged mountains, the pregnancy of trees, precious stones, the lotus, the bee, the mirror, the moon and its markings, and the submarine fire. Ch. 10 examines Ratnākara's use of *śleṣa*, the most conspicuous feature of his style, and ch. 11 concludes briefly with a few general impressions of the work.

Dr Smith has taken what is ostensibly the most unapproachable example of *mahākāvya* to show that a patient and sympathetic reading can reveal pattern and purpose. Even if it may not be the masterpiece at which Ratnākara aimed, there is evidently much that rewards closer attention, if the effort is made. The emphasis of the book is on the poem's structure, its salient themes and general meaning. But, as the author himself admits, this is only a preliminary view: Ratnākara's claim that "there is a wonderful beauty of sound in our verses" is left undiscussed, as is his use of metre. Wisely perhaps, the poetry of individual verses is left to speak for itself (p. 178). "The proper assessment of the *Haravijaya* has as its essential prerequisite comparison with other *mahākāvyas* which have been studied in at least equal depth" (p. 305). Such a comparison would make good the inevitable deficiencies of ch. 1 and provide a test for the author's speculations about Ratnākara's intentions and individuality. Meanwhile we must be grateful for such a positive and stimulating introduction to his work.

PETER KHOROCHÉ

ANKĀḌAPARAMĒCUVARI: A GODDESS OF TAMILNADU, HER MYTHS AND CULT. By EVELINE MEYER. (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, Bd. 107.) pp. xii, 339, illus., 2 maps. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986. DM 56.

This is a well thought out and well researched book based largely on material collected during two years of fieldwork in the course of which the author visited some sixty different Ankāḷamman temples (nearly half of the total listed in the 1961 Census), talking to *pūjāris* and devotees, witnessing festivals and rituals in an attempt to obtain a comprehensive picture of

the goddess in her contemporary manifestations. The research focuses predominantly on the myths and rituals associated with *Ankālammaṇ*; its main objective being the discovery and abstraction of a core of rituals and myths especially associated with her which differentiate her from the other *Āmmas*, the disease-giving and disease-curing female deities of southern India.

The first chapter deals with the image of the goddess according to the myths related by her devotees and the various forms she assumes: mostly a woman but at times she may also manifest herself in a more archaic manner as a snake, a termite hill, a grinding stone, a pitcher and so forth. Nearly all the myths show a kaleidoscopic mixture of folk and tribal, Dravidian (i.e. Tamil-literate) and Sanskrit/Hindu elements. A recurrent theme is the motif of the originally independent all-powerful female, capable of re-creating without the assistance of a male, who is tricked into handing over her power to a "husband". There are often elements of archetypal fear in these stories, reflecting the unease of a parasitical, historically later, patriarchal society towards earlier strata of matrilineal communities.

The temples of *Ankālammaṇ*, simple affairs dependent on the wealth of their clientele, which are examined in the second chapter (together with her iconography) and the castes entrusted with her service, reflect her "otherness" by their very location: the outskirts of a village, the proximity of the cremation ground, an area of uncultivated land. Her offerings, though nowadays as a result of prevailing laws largely vegetarian, bear nearly always clear, if only symbolic traces of earlier animal or human sacrifices. The castes which provide *pūjāris* and claim *Ankālammaṇ* as their *kula tevyam* are predictably non-Brahmanical; altogether fourteen are named by the author, the most frequently quoted being that of the *Paṇṭāram* (priests, makers of flower garlands and suppliers of flowers for worship), followed by *Čeṭṭiyārs* who, being traders, took the worship of the goddess and some of her most daunting rituals abroad, most notably to Malaysia. As in the case of *Māriyammaṇ*, the *pūjāri* can be a woman belonging to the hereditary priest family of a particular shrine, though this does not happen too often.

The most fascinating chapter deals with festivals and rituals which more than anything else reveal the true character and the possible origin of the goddess. Though *Ankālammaṇ* shares many rituals, and many elements of her iconography, with the other disease-giving *Āmmas* (the walking over burning coals, the sacred vessels, the flag, the possession by the goddess of chosen worshippers) there are two distinctly different and unique core rituals: the *mayāṇakkolḷai* consisting of the figure in the cremation ground and the *kapparai*; and *pillāippāvu* consisting of the figure of the child in the winnowing fan taken through the streets of the village, and the wearing of intestines as garlands.

A special chapter deals with the Dravidian element of the goddess, that is with texts written in Tamil (songs, prayers, passages in the local *purāṇas*). Examples of such literature, both in transliteration and in English translation, a chronologically arranged bibliography, a list of informants, photographs and some maps are arranged in the appendix of this excellent work.

ALBERTINE GAUR

SCHATTENSPIEL IN KERALA: SAKRALES THEATER IN SÜD-INDIEN, MIT SUMMARY UND EINEM ANHANG: SEQUENCE OF SCENES OF THE KAMBA-RĀMĀYAṆAK-KUTTU. By FRIEDRICH SELTMANN. pp. 134, 3 figs., 44 pl. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986. DM 148.

The shadow play in Kerala has the appearance of being a somewhat decadent and incomplete survival of an art form which was once of substantial importance, with a long but unrecorded history, and probably a high degree of sophistication. Dr Seltmann has given us a full and systematic description of this art as it now is, based on his travels and residence in India, photographs and tape recordings, and collections of the leather puppets. In addition to

the German text, there is in English both a synopsis of each chapter, and a summary of the sequence of scenes which provide the repertoire.

Dr Seltmann says that the perforated figures of the Kerala shadow play have an affinity with those of Orissa, Thailand and Indonesia, in contrast with the translucent figures of other parts of India and of Turkey. While now more or less a rural art, he believes that in former times it was patronized by the court, and had a function in state religious ceremonies. There were a few scholarly notices of the art at the beginning of this century, but it was not till 1960 that systematic research and field work was begun. Nowadays the Kerala shadow play is confined to the Palghat district and adjacent areas, with annual performances at temples of Bhadrakālī and Bhagavati (forms of Durgā), or else commissioned for special occasions by private patrons. The repertoire is based on the Tamil version of the Rāmāyaṇa of Kamban, who is believed to have flourished about A.D. 1200, and performances are given in a theatre building within the temple compound by players called *pulavar*, a Tamil term used for various kinds of artistic performers.

The figures are nowadays made from goat or buffalo skins, the outline first being drawn, then the perforations made, and the figure is cut, painted, and mounted on bamboo rods. Some have no articulated parts, and these have a general resemblance to the Thai figures of the Nang Yai; others have a single moveable arm, articulated by a bamboo rod; some, and these appear to be the older examples, have two moveable arms, with an appearance somewhat like those of the *wayang Siam* of north-east Malaya. Many of the figures are illustrated by Seltmann's photographs: as well as the main characters of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāvaṇa and the gods, there are warriors, monkeys, giants, female attendants, as well as animals, trees, temples, and various scenic paraphernalia. As the figures are less mobile than those of the Indonesian shadow play, some characters are represented by more than one puppet, in standing, sitting or other postures; in Kerala, there appear to be no comic figures such as are found in some parts of India and Indonesia.

Dr Seltmann describes the theatre, stage and musicians, and the manner of performance, which begins with religious rites relating to Bhagavati or Bhadrakālī. The great annual performance proper may last up to twenty-one nights, beginning with events leading up to the birth of Rāma, continuing with his youth, marriage to Sītā, exile, Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa, and the preparation for her recovery with the help of the monkey army. More than half of the performance is given over to the sixth, Yuddha, *kāṇḍa*, including no less than fourteen battle scenes, culminating in the death of Rāvaṇa, the rescue of Sītā, and her return with Rāma to Ayodhya for his coronation. Although Kamban's version of the epic includes the seventh, Uttara, *kāṇḍa*, this has no place in the Kerala shadow play.

In this monograph, Dr Seltmann has done a great service to students of the Asian puppet theatre by providing a detailed critical account of one of the few surviving examples of the Indian shadow play. He has however had to face the difficulty that no ancient examples of the puppets remain, and so far little has been found by way of literary references which would help to establish the history of the art. What we have is the use of the XIIIth century Tamil Rāmāyaṇa text, the association of the plays with certain specific Hindu cultic traditions, the migration of the players from Tamilnadu to Kerala in the early part of the XIXth century, and certain indications that the whole genre was once more elaborate and enjoyed royal patronage. It is to be hoped that field research may produce more direct evidence, supported by allied studies such as the history of South Indian painting, and the searching of Tamil texts for references. The subject is of interest not only in the context of Indian cultural studies, but also in relation to the shadow play of Indonesia. The evidence of Seltmann's book strengthens the probability of Indonesian dependence upon the Indian shadow play. An interesting aspect of this is the way that Kamban changed the emphasis of the story from that of Valmiki by giving much more space and attention to the battles of the sixth *kāṇḍa*: though there is no likelihood of dependence of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa on the Tamil version, there is the same emphasis on the battle scenes, precisely that area of the story where it departs most from its Sanskrit antecedents.

Seltmann includes an extensive bibliography, which however indicates that the study of the Indian shadow play has advanced far less than that of the Indonesian; however, in view of the probability of an Indian origin for the South-East Asian forms, it is most important that

research in this field should go forward. The author gives descriptive lists of the figures three times: in the text at pp. 32–37, at pp. 130–4 introducing the illustrations, and with the captions repeated under each picture; more useful would have been pictures drawn from the earlier writers' works for the sake of comparison, and an attempt at a little more analysis of their historical development. The English sections are in somewhat stilted language, with occasional errors, but nowhere failing in clarity. This book is a must for all students of the shadow play.

G. E. MARRISON

ON BEING MINDLESS: BUDDHIST MEDITATION AND THE MIND-BODY PROBLEM. By PAUL J. GRIFFITHS. pp. xxii, 220. La Salle, Illinois, Open Court, 1986. US\$29.95.

Based on the author's Ph.D thesis, this is a careful and meticulously researched piece of work into an intriguing psychological phenomenon acknowledged by all major schools of Buddhism. This phenomenon takes the form of an altered state of consciousness which is classified as a supreme ninth stage or level of meditational absorption. This state, known as "the attainment of cessation" (*nirodha-samāpatti*), is a condition in which all mental life ceases and in which only the most basic autonomic physical functions continue.

"It is, in brief, a condition in which no mental events of any kind occur, a condition distinguishable from death only by a certain residual warmth and vitality in the unconscious practitioner's body" (p. 13).

An adept in this stage might be compared to "a mammal in the deepest stages of hibernation" (p. 10) or to a person in a "cataleptic trance" (p. 11). Interest in this state is sharpened by the fact that "The canonical orthodoxy is that the attainment of cessation is (more or less) the same as Nirvana" (p. 31).

Rather than pursuing the enquiry from a psychological point of view, the state of "cessation" becomes the nodal point of a primarily philosophical enquiry with three principal objectives:

"(1) to shed some light on the history of Buddhist views about a specific altered state of consciousness and its relationship to specified soteriological goals; (2) by analyzing the philosophical discussions surrounding this altered state, to increase our understanding of the way in which the relationship between the physical and the mental was conceived in early Indian Buddhism; and (3) to ask and attempt to answer some questions about the adequacy of the Buddhist view of the casual relations between the mental and the physical" (p. xivf). It is hoped that the book will interest three types of reader: (i) Western philosophers interested in Indian philosophical thought and the mind-body problem in particular; (ii) Historians of religion with an interest in mysticism and psychotropic techniques; (iii) Buddhologists concerned with the history of Buddhist thought and practice (p. xx). My own feeling is that the book's appeal will be in the reverse order to that listed above.

In the three core chapters the author approaches the central topic from the perspective of three major Buddhist schools: the Theravāda, the Vaibhāṣika, and the Yogācāra. The chapter on the Theravāda begins with an examination of key canonical passages illuminated by the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. Thereafter the discussion broadens out to the problematic of Buddhist meditational theory resulting from the tension between the techniques of *śamatha* and *vipassanā*, a subject on which the author has written elsewhere. The "attainment of cessation" as an ideal is clearly a product of the "enstatic" strand of Buddhist soteriological theory (p. 31), and the view that it is in some sense equivalent to Nirvana strengthens its position against the claim that the analytical (*vipassanā*) methodology and praxis is supreme. The chapter concludes by introducing a further central theme, namely how egress from the state of cessation is to be explained given the presumptions of Buddhist causal theory. The dilemma here arises because of the Buddhist tenets of strict impermanence

and mind-body dualism. In brief, the first moment of consciousness which arises upon the termination of the state of cessation is a mental event which, *ex hypothesi*, must be caused by an immediately preceding event of the same class. Yet, by definition, the state of cessation is devoid of all mental activity. If it is argued (as it was) that the mental event required to trigger the exit from the state occurs prior to entering the state, there would be a causal hiatus, and Buddhist causal theory abhors such a vacuum.

Chapter 2 on the Vaibhāṣika school is prefaced by a lengthy introduction to later scholastic thought and the associated textual sources. Attention is focused principally on the sophisticated debates surrounding the causal dilemma concerning the exit from the state of cessation. The solutions offered by the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika schools are examined and the debate between them is followed through in detail.

Chapter 3 on the Yogācāra focuses on the doctrine of the "store-consciousness" (*ālaya-vijñāna*) and much of the chapter is given over to an examination of this notion, including an exposition of the "eightfold proof" for its existence advanced by Asaṅga and Sthiramati. By reference to the store-consciousness, which is qualified as consciousness which does not consist of intentional mental events, the Yogācāra are able to explain how ordinary intentional consciousness can be suspended yet arise again upon the termination of the state of cessation.

In the short concluding chapter the author reviews his conclusions in the light of the mind-body problem. He concludes that the Buddhist position here may be classified as "a non-substantivist event-based interactionist psychophysical dualism" (p. 112). There are three appendixes: Appendix A shows in diagrammatic form the nine meditational levels described in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*; Appendix B is a translation of the relevant section of Chapter 2 of the same text recording the debates on the attainment of cessation; Appendix C is a translation of the eightfold proof of the store-consciousness from the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*.

In general this is a valuable contribution to Buddhist scholarship and a model of clarity in its systematic introduction and discussion of complex issues. Arguments are reviewed regularly in a helpful way and the conclusions reached are stated concisely and regularly updated as the discussion proceeds. The relationship between mind and body as conceived by Buddhism is a topic which has long awaited investigation, and given the breadth of the enquiry and the range of sources dealt with (all with admirable competence), the book will appeal to students of the Theravāda, Indian Mahāyāna and Tibetan traditions. The author hopes, as noted above, that the book will also appeal to western philosophers and envisages it as a free-standing philosophical contribution to the mind-body problem.

At the same time this broad appeal is also something of a weakness, in that although the book contains much valuable material, when this is divided up amongst the potential consumers there is inevitably less to go round. In order to ease the path of the western philosopher into the esoteric aspects of Buddhist thought dealt with here, a lot of space is given over to introductory material on the historical and philosophical background of the schools whose views are to be examined. In Chapter 2, for instance, on the Vaibhāṣika, there are 15 pages of introductory material before the attainment of cessation comes up for discussion, and only 18 pages in the remainder of the chapter devoted to the central issues. Much the same may be said of Chapter 3, which for the most part is a general discussion of Yogācāra idealism rather than a specific investigation of the attainment of cessation. Nor is the mind-body problem always the central philosophical theme: it is often overshadowed by the problem of causation, and this is particularly evident in Chapter 2. Students of Buddhism, however, will already be familiar with much of the introductory material, and although they may appreciate the lucid exposition of the background issues, are unlikely to regard it as breaking new ground.

There seems also to be a disproportionate amount of critical apparatus. For only 113 pages of text there are 106 pages of supplementary material comprising glossary, abbreviations, appendixes, notes, bibliography and indexes. The basic problem in approaching this question, it seems, is that when all is said and done, very little attention has been paid by the tradition itself to the stage of cessation, and that following the internal debates is therefore unlikely to be very fruitful. The most interesting statements about the state itself as a psychological condition are contained in Chapter 1 on the Theravāda. Yet even here we are told that "the attainment of cessation was not an issue of major significance for the scholastic thinkers of the

Theravāda tradition" (p. 4). As a result the focus of interest is deflected elsewhere, in this instance to the two types of meditational practice (*samatha* and *vipassanā*). And in Chapter 2 on the Vaibhāṣika, the attainment of cessation is a secondary issue in the broader context of competing views of causation and temporality.

In the end it must be said that the book is a bit like *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark: there are some strong supporting roles and lots of interesting background material, but the central character never really arrives on the scene. I would have liked to see a more direct investigation of the nature of the state of cessation itself as begun in Chapter 1 but not followed through. There are a cluster of questions surrounding this extraordinary state which could illuminate areas of Buddhist psychology and doctrine: if there is no consciousness during this state, then what has happened to the mind? What does this tell us about the nature of mind itself? What light does the attainment of this state in life shed on the question of the nature of final Nirvana? (discussed briefly pp. 29–31). The author states in the final chapter, "I have examined a set of debates about a particular altered state of consciousness". A more fruitful line of enquiry might have been to avoid the traditional debates, which by and large turn upon broader issues such as causation, and to question afresh the implications of the fact that such a state can be achieved at all. Nevertheless, there is sufficient in the book as it stands to interest a broad audience although my suspicion, as mentioned above, is that it will be Buddhologists rather than philosophers who will be at the head of the queue.

DAMIEN KEOWN

NĀGĀRJUNA: THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIDDLE WAY. *MŪLAMADHYAMAKĀRIKĀ*. INTRODUCTION, SANSKRIT TEXT, ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND ANNOTATION. By DAVID J. KALUPAHANA. (SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies.) pp. xv, 412. Albany, New York, State University of New York Press, 1986. US\$49.50 (cloth), US\$16.95 (paper).

David Kalupahana's thesis is that Nāgārjuna was neither original nor a follower of the Mahāyāna, but was simply restating the Buddha's original teaching, a teaching characterised by empiricism, pragmatism and verificationism, against the metaphysical tendencies of the Sarvāstivādins and Sautrāntikas, particularly their doctrine of inherent existence (*svabhāva*). The work under review seeks to demonstrate this thesis through a long introduction and a translation of the *Madhyamakārikā* (*MMK*) with Kalupahana's own explanatory commentary on each verse.

The principal historical claim of the book, that Nāgārjuna was not a Mahāyānist, and that at the time of Nāgārjuna there were no characteristically Mahāyāna texts which Nāgārjuna could have relied upon in formulating his thought, I find rather implausible. Kalupahana's study of Nāgārjuna's thought is based almost entirely upon the *MMK*, and he completely neglects to discuss the attribution of other works to Nāgārjuna. Now, this simply will not do. To take one important example, the *Ratnāvalī*, attributed to Nāgārjuna since before the time of Bhāvaviveka, is full of Mahāyāna teachings, defends the authenticity of the Mahāyāna against those who would disparage it, and outlines the ten stages of a *bodhisattva*'s path relying, it seems, on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. If Kalupahana is to show that Nāgārjuna was not a Mahāyānist then he *must* give reasons to believe that Nāgārjuna was not the author of the *Ratnāvalī*. Not only does he not do this, but at one point (one of the only two points in which he mentions other works attributed to Nāgārjuna) Kalupahana actually *accepts* the *Ratnāvalī* as being by Nāgārjuna (p. 165)! From which one can only conclude that Kalupahana has never read the complete text of the *Ratnāvalī* – which, if true, suggests that he should have waited before making rather dramatic suggestions about Nāgārjuna's religious allegiances. Moreover, paradoxically at one point Kalupahana actually quotes from the *Ratnāvalī*, and comments on it, noting the importance of the verse. Unfortunately, however, he presumes it to be a verse

from the *MMK* (3:7=*Ratnāvalī* 4:55)! This has happened because Kalupahana uncritically translates from the *MMK* verses contained in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's edition of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* commentary. Since Kalupahana has done no textual research, nor consulted those who have, he is unaware that *MMK* 3:7 in Poussin's edition is in fact a verse from the *Ratnāvalī* quoted in Candrakīrti's commentary, and not a verse from the *MMK* itself (see J. W. de Jong, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 20, 1978, p. 40). Kalupahana presumably holds also that the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, a collection of excerpts from Mahāyāna sūtras, and the *Bodhisambhāra*, are not by Nāgārjuna. He neither refutes their traditional attribution nor mentions them, however. Here as elsewhere, Kalupahana suggests views which are at complete variance with most or all commentarial traditions and yet gives no reason why we should accept his view as being correct. At one point Kalupahana claims to have been the first to understand a particular line since Nāgārjuna wrote the *MMK* (p. 340)! His style verges on the polemical at times, and Kalupahana is not averse from speaking of Buddhist "heretics" (pp. 2 and 22). Kalupahana's own approach appears to be based on a claim to direct insight into what the Buddha and Nāgārjuna "really meant", and a vision of the "true" meaning and direction of Buddhist thought.

Kalupahana suggests that there was an earlier stratum of literature later classed as Mahāyāna but not truly Mahāyāna, such as the *Kāśyapaparivarta* and the *Vajracchedikā*, which may have influenced Nāgārjuna. But if Nāgārjuna had wanted to know the Buddha's teachings he would not have gone to Mahāyāna sources as such, since the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* which highlights the "Hinayāna"-Mahāyāna controversy had not yet been composed. He would have gone therefore to the Nikāyas and the Āgamas, the pre-Mahāyāna canon. This is supported by the fact that the *MMK* is perfectly understandable as a restatement of the Buddha's original teachings – indeed, it is a glorified commentary on the *Katyāyānavavāda* (*Kaccāyanagottasutta*) – and shows no signs of being a Mahāyāna work (p. xiv. cf. p. 6). In actual fact Kalupahana considers that the Mahāyāna ideal of altruism is contrary to the Buddha's middle way (p. 4; cf. p. 9 – "heretical"?), and strongly implies that at the time of Nāgārjuna there was neither the notion of a transcendent Buddha nor the Mahāyāna conception of the *bodhisattva* (pp. 24–5). The *Mahāvastu* had not yet been composed. Indeed Kalupahana states his wish to "exorcize the terms Theravāda and Mahāyāna from our vocabulary" (p. 6 – among his stranger views is that Theravāda and Mahāyāna were the two major schools (my emphasis) of Buddhism! See p. 1). Such being the case, he argues, Nāgārjuna could not have been a follower of the Mahāyāna. Now, these issues are crucial for Kalupahana's thesis, but he is historically quite simply wrong. He accepts the traditional dating of Nāgārjuna to the IInd century A.D. (p. 27). But among the extant sūtras translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema during the second half of the IInd century A.D. were the *Lokānuvartanasūtra* and the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthisamādhisūtra*. The *Lokānuvartanasūtra* was probably one of the sources for the *Mahāvastu* and indicates a fully developed *lokottaravāda* already integrated with a doctrine of emptiness. One of the works attributed to Nāgārjuna, the *Nirāupamyastava* (not mentioned by Kalupahana) appears to refer to the same doctrine, and the *Lokānuvartanasūtra* may well have originated in the very part of India which Nāgārjuna came from (see Paul Harrison, de Jong *Festschrift*, pp. 211ff). The *Pratyutpannasūtra* shows already a clear notion of Mahāyāna and is aware of the accusation by some that these sūtras are not the words of the Buddha. There is a bitter attack on those who reject the sūtra and its principal message, a meditation by which one can ascend to a Buddha Land and see a Buddha (Amitābha is specifically mentioned) face to face. The practice of *buddhānusmṛti* and the teaching of emptiness are integrated. Both these sūtras refer to the *bodhisattva* and his conduct (on the *Pratyutpanna* see Harrison, unpublished translation, and *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6, 1978). It is likely that Kalupahana is wrong even as regards the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*. The earliest Chinese translation of the sūtra was made during the mid IIIrd century A.D. We can assume, therefore, that a version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* was extant in India in the time of Nāgārjuna. Hajime Nakamura, in a book which Kalupahana claims to have relied upon and to support his view, states that "The prototype of the sūtra now existing was produced in the first century A.D., and the original consisting of 27 chapters was already existent in 150 A.D." (*Indian Buddhism*, 1980, p. 186). I see no reason, and Kalupahana has given no reason, to doubt this estimate.

Part of the problem is that Kalupahana's knowledge of Mahāyāna is rather inadequate. He assumes, quite wrongly, that all Mahāyānists *reject* (or transcend, which for Kalupahana appears to be the same) the pre-Mahāyāna literature (pp. 7 and 69). Since it is agreed on all counts that Nāgārjuna did not reject the non-Mahāyāna *āgamas*, so he could not have been a Mahāyānist. For Kalupahana, Nāgārjuna is even opposed to the central Mahāyāna doctrine of the *bodhicitta*. It turns out, however, that Kalupahana incorrectly identifies the *bodhicitta* with the *prabhāsvaracitta*, the radiant mind originally pure, which he asserts is held by Mahāyānists to inherently exist (pp. 348–50). Since Nāgārjuna clearly does not hold this doctrine in the *MMK*, so he implicitly denied the *bodhicitta* and therefore presumably the Mahāyāna doctrine of the *bodhisattva*. Again, Kalupahana begs the question when he takes all Mahāyāna as absolutistic. I agree with Kalupahana that Nāgārjuna was not an absolutist, that is, he did not hold that the *paramārthasatya* is an absolute transcendent reality, existing as a *svabhāva*, the true reality in the light of which all else is false. But then, it is debatable whether such a view as this was held by any Indian Mādhyamika. For Kalupahana, however, this is an essential characteristic of the Mahāyāna.

It was Candrakīrti, according to our author, who misinterpreted Nāgārjuna and led Madhyamaka in the direction of absolutism. Kalupahana observes that modern Indian scholars brought up in the Vedāntic tradition are very happy with Nāgārjuna as interpreted by Candrakīrti, and this, he maintains, is because Candrakīrti interpreted Nāgārjuna as an absolutist on the Vedāntic model, "thereby initiating a process that culminated in the disappearance of Buddhism as a distinct ideology from the Indian scene a few centuries later" (p. xv). Kalupahana describes Candrakīrti's comments on *MMK* I:1 as "a lot of metaphysical trivia and diatribes" (p. 105). At one point in particular Kalupahana indicates where he thinks Candrakīrti's misinterpretation of Nāgārjuna led in the direction of "idealism" (p. 40). Candrakīrti, in his commentary on *MMK* 5:8, speaks of a *paramārthasvabhāva*, which is a *svabhāva* that equals the cessation of knowing and knowable (*jñanajñeyanivṛttisvabhāva*). The mention of a *svabhāva* would be anathema for Kalupahana's interpretation of Nāgārjuna, but neither Kalupahana nor his modern Indian scholars appear to have read Candrakīrti's other great work, the *Madhyamakāvatāra* and *bhāṣya*, which Candrakīrti wrote prior to his *MMK* commentary as an introduction or supplement to the *MMK*. In *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* on 6:181–2 Candrakīrti explains what he means by a *paramārthasvabhāva*. The Buddha stated in the scriptures that whether Buddhas arise or not, the true nature of things (*dharma*tā) remains and is stable. This exists and fits the definition of *svabhāva* as noncontingent and not dependent on another. We know elsewhere that for Candrakīrti this true nature of things is the same as their dependent nature (on *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6:117). Whether Buddhas arise or do not things are always contingent, dependently originated. There is no move here towards absolutism or idealism. Indeed, there have been virtually no Buddhist traditions which have ever interpreted Candrakīrti as an absolutist, and certainly not as an idealist. There were traditions in Tibet that interpreted Nāgārjuna as an absolutist, but they saw Candrakīrti as a major obstacle to their interpretation, and disparaged his understanding of Nāgārjuna accordingly. Poor Candrakīrti, it seems, cannot win! Moreover, these Tibetan "Great Mādhyamikas" (*dBu ma chen po*) more often than not granted that Nāgārjuna's logic treatises, like the *MMK*, were not absolutist. They had, therefore, to be supplemented by reference to Nāgārjuna's hymns, particularly the *Dharmadhātustava* (of debatable authenticity).

Kalupahana's approach to Nāgārjuna's philosophy is to stress that Nāgārjuna was attacking the *svabhāva* doctrine of certain metaphysicians, and not the empirical and pragmatic teaching of the Buddha himself as represented by the Nikāyas and Āgamas. This leads Kalupahana to stress that for Nāgārjuna things do exist. What doesn't exist is inherent existence. This applies to all phenomena, and was the view of the Buddha himself. It is false to think that Nāgārjuna somehow advanced an earlier doctrine of *pudgalanairātmya* to a Mahāyāna teaching of *dharmanairātmya*. Kalupahana constantly returns to this point, and clearly it is a major dimension of a thesis which he sees as innovative in the understanding of Nāgārjuna. Unfortunately, the fact that Nāgārjuna was attacking the *svabhāva* teaching, and the presence of *dharmanairātmya* among non-Mahāyāna doctrines, was a point made by Candrakīrti himself in the *Madhyamakāvatāra* commentary (on 1:8). Possibly the greatest of Candrakīrti interpreters, the Tibetan rJe Tsong kha pa, elaborated on this point at length in his sub-

commentary to the *Madhyamakāvaiāra*, as well as his other works. What is being negated in Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka is the *svabhāva*, not the existence of entities as such. This was a hallmark of Tsong kha pa's interpretation of Madhyamaka, based on Candrakīrti, as also was his stress, again in common with Kalupahana, on the fact that the Prāsaṅgika does *not* (pace certain modern and ancient Tibetan interpreters) negate all teachings and viewpoints. Kalupahana's principal interpretive points are well-made, therefore – anti-absolutism, the importance of morality and graduated practice, the stress that things do exist, against the absolutists such as the Vedāntins, the emphasis on *dharmanairātmya* among pre-Mahāyāna traditions – all of these are well made, but far from being original to Kalupahana; they can all be found within the Candrakīrti tradition itself.

Nevertheless, at a number of points Kalupahana's interpretations are at complete variance with all extant commentaries on the *MMK*. Our author claims to have found a much more faithful interpreter of Nāgārjuna than Candrakīrti in the Kumārajīva of the *Chung lun*, the standard Chinese Indic commentary on the *MMK*. But more often than not, when Kalupahana attacks the views of other commentators the *Chung lun* either contradicts or fails to offer him any support. (Kumārajīva, incidentally, certainly held that Nāgārjuna was a Mahāyānist. It is surely impossible to accept the faithfulness of Kumārajīva's interpretation of Nāgārjuna without seeing it in the light of works like the enormous Mahāyāna encyclopedia, the *Ta chih tu lun*, which Kumārajīva attributed to Nāgārjuna and translated.) For example, Kalupahana attacks those who would interpret *MMK* 26 as a "Hīnayāna" aside, in opposition to the Mahāyāna teachings which have gone before. This is, however, the view of every single extant Indian commentary, including the *Chung lun*. Traditional Buddhist commentaries, unlike modern commentaries, are not arbitrary. They embody a lineage of interpretation. This is not to say that Kalupahana is wrong, of course. His suggestions are sometimes very stimulating. But invariably Kalupahana gives us no reason why we should *accept* his innovative interpretations. Once all the commentaries are rejected it is difficult to know what are the criteria for truth when confronted by an interpretation, apart from consistency.

Finally, some selected further criticisms:

p. 15: "In order to distinguish this notion of *dhamma* from the Indian conception . . . the Buddha . . .". A slip, surely. Was the Buddha not an Indian? Was he, perhaps, Sinhalese?

pp. 17/49 and elsewhere: Kalupahana states that for Nāgārjuna there is nothing beyond language and duality. Cf., however, *Acintyastava*, vv. 37–9. The *Acintyastava* may not be by Nāgārjuna, but the traditional ascription is not even considered by Kalupahana.

p. 20: Kalupahana betrays his scorn for later Indian Buddhist thought when he states that Buddhism had "completely disappeared from the Indian soil as a philosophical and spiritual force around the seventh and eighth centuries . . .". This is an extraordinary comment, and one wonders in that case why Udayana, for example, was so concerned to combat Buddhism. Kalupahana strives to fit Nāgārjuna's criticism into the neat model of attacks first on Sarvāstivāda and then on Sautrāntika. That Nāgārjuna was attacking either of these schools has never been conclusively demonstrated. When Nāgārjuna mentions Abhidharma classifications (as in the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, for example) these lists are not obviously identifiable with those of the Sarvāstivāda. In particular, Kalupahana tends to classify the Puṅgalavādins as Sautrāntikas, and operates accordingly. This is a debatable and misleading classification.

Our author often attacks "modern scholars", but he appears to be rather poorly read in contemporary Madhyamaka studies. He makes no mention of the work of Ruegg, Lindtner, May, de Jong, not even Streng's book on emptiness. He completely ignores the large amount of material coming from the study of Tibetan Madhyamaka by scholars such as Jeffrey Hopkins and Robert Thurman. Kalupahana refers throughout to "Marvin" instead of Mervyn Sprung! On the other hand his criticisms of Inada's translation are often well-made. Again, philosophically Kalupahana often interposes lengthy quotations from William James (a pragmatist, of course), while his monotonous use of "empiricist" and "metaphysician" begins to take on the tone of slogans. In his emphasis on the Buddha and Nāgārjuna as empiricists, pragmatists and verificationists Kalupahana sometimes gives the impression that he is still preoccupied with philosophical problems of the 1950s (a '50s time-war). Occasionally Kalupahana goes to considerable and unlikely lengths to indicate a similarity between

Nāgārjuna's position and some Western philosophical controversy. Thus, Nāgārjuna's assertion "How could there be movement in the not moved?" seems "to be the refutation of the idea of an 'unmoved mover' at a microcosmic or phenomenal level" (p. 125)! Again, on *MMK* 24:11, when Nāgārjuna attacks those who misunderstand emptiness, for Kalupahana Nāgārjuna is attacking those who separate "emptiness" from "the empty", who abstract from concrete instances. This conception of emptiness gives rise to metaphysical problems. It is fatal to stress the universal in separation from the concrete!

pp. 326-8: Kalupahana asserts that Nāgārjuna does not state that all is empty, only that all *this* is empty. He implies that the misunderstanding is due to Brahmanic misreading. But cf. *Śūnyatāsaptati*, verse 65.

pp. 335: A strange comment that the Buddha was enlightened "by sheer accident"!

p. 367: Commenting on *MMK* 25:20, the verse which is taken by all other commentators to state that there is not the slightest difference between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* is taken by Kalupahana to be directed against a particular metaphysical position, that *saṃsāra* or *nirvāṇa* contain subtle entities. In point of fact the view of the literal identity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* which Kalupahana is so keen to combat is also not found in Candrakīrti, at least as he is interpreted by Tsong kha pa. *Nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* are identical only in that they are both empty of *svabhāva*. The book is unfortunately full of misprints, incidentally.

I find myself in disagreement with a number of Kalupahana's key theses and arguments. Those I agree with are often not as original as the author thinks. Nevertheless, this book is without doubt stimulating and thought provoking, while the translation appears quite reasonable and is certainly welcome. Kalupahana's study of Nāgārjuna serves to stress the continuity of the Buddhist tradition (a continuity already noted by Christian Lindtner in his *Nagarjuniana*), and it is indeed important to note the parallels between early Madhyamaka and the pre-Mahāyāna traditions. Nāgārjuna saw himself as a faithful interpreter of the Buddha; in philosophy he did not consider himself to be innovating. As Tsong kha pa stressed, Madhyamaka *view*, not *in itself* Mahāyāna, becomes Mahāyāna when supplemented with the *bodhisattva* motivation. Kalupahana has given us no reason to think that Nāgārjuna held otherwise.

PAUL WILLIAMS

THE HEART OF BUDDHIST WISDOM: A TRANSLATION OF THE HEART SŪTRA WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY. By DOUGLAS A. FOX. (Studies in Asian Thought and Religion, Volume 3.) pp. 183. Lewiston/Queenstown, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1985. US\$39.95.

Douglas Fox's book consists of a long "historical" introduction, a version of the Sanskrit text of the *Heart Sūtra*, a literal word-by-word translation followed by a more felicitous version, a step-by-step commentary on the translation, and a concluding analysis in which the author suggests some comparisons with the thought of Parmenides, and attempts the rudiments of a structural analysis of the *Heart Sūtra*'s place in early Mahāyāna.

The historical introduction is based almost entirely on well-established, sometimes rather dated, secondary sources such as those by Kimura, Dutt, Lamotte, Bareau and Warder. The chapter is, alas, unoriginal and unsophisticated. It contains some extraordinarily careless mistakes. Fox tells us both that the Third Council mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Aśoka) is unconfirmed by sources other than those of the Pāli tradition, and at the same time that it is mentioned by Tāranātha, who was, of course, a Tibetan (pp. 24-5). Actually Tāranātha's reference is not to the "Pāli" Third Council but to the council held during the reign of Kaṇiṣka centuries later and recognised as the Third Council by other traditions. Elsewhere Fox speculates on the possible "influence of wandering Nestorians in Central Asia" (p. 44) on the

key doctrines of the *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra*. Again, this is quite absurd. Our author himself points out that the *Sukhāvativyūha* is one of the earliest Mahāyāna *sūtras*. It was probably first translated into Chinese in about the middle of the third century A.D. Nestorius himself died in A.D. 451! Indeed, assuming ideas to be current in India at the very least a hundred years prior to a Chinese translation, there is really no realistic possibility of Christian influence, let alone Nestorian influence, on the original form of the Amitābha cult or *sūtras*. Again, Fox gives an account of Buddhist Tantric practice (pp. 69–71) based on Govinda's *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*. Unfortunately, he fails to realise that the section he has used from Govinda's book treats both Buddhist and Hindu Tantra, without always clearly distinguishing the two. Thus Fox refers to Kuṇḍalinī in Buddhism, although elsewhere Govinda specifically states that Kuṇḍalinī is not found in Buddhist Tantra (1969, p. 193). I find myself in further disagreement with our author's interpretation of Mahāyāna thought, particularly Madhyamaka. He is fond of sweeping generalisations and unsupported assertions, stressing the intuitive and non-rational dimensions of Madhyamaka in a way which has Chinese parallels but is at variance with certain Tibetan traditions, and is at least arguably at variance with Candrakīrti, for example. Fox also holds to the view, now seen to be more and more doubtful, that *dharmanairātmya* was a characteristic Mahāyāna development of the pre-Mahāyāna teachings. Candrakīrti makes it clear in his *Madhyamakāvatāra* that as far as he is concerned *dharmanairātmya* can certainly be found among the *śrāvakas* (Ch. I). This is surely correct. *Dharmanairātmya* can be found in the *Lokānuvartanasūtra* for example, arguably a text of the Pūrvaśāila subschool of the Mahāsāṃghikas (see the article by Harrison in the de Jong *Festschrift*). There really is no longer any justification for considering this to be a uniquely characteristic Mahāyāna doctrine.

Fox's version of the *Heart Sūtra* text, his word-for-word translation, and his final version, are all completely inadequate. They abound in mistranscriptions, mistranslations and misinterpretations. Fox has chosen to work on the short version of the text, which has only a few lines. Considering that the *Heart Sūtra* has been translated into European languages many times, and that there exist many commentaries, these mistakes are really rather difficult to credit. The author makes little or no reference to any commentary, even those available in English. Herewith some examples of his inadequate treatment of text and translation: *rūpāṇna prthak śūnyatā* is translated word-for-word as "form not other than emptiness", and then given the final translation of "form is not other than emptiness", instead of "emptiness is not other than (or 'separate from') form".

'śūnyatāyā na prthagrūpaṃ comes out word-for-word as "that which is emptiness (italics PMW – Fox appears to take the -yā as a relative pronoun!) not other than form" and translated "emptiness is not other than form"! This suggests an inadequate mastery of even the rudiments of Sanskrit grammar, a point reinforced when we are told (misreading E. J. Thomas) that the nominative of *mañi* is *maṇe*, and the vocative *mañiḥ* (p. 92), and that *gate* could be a feminine locative (p. 134). Elsewhere, *na prāptir nābhisamayastasmādaprāptivāt* is said to be "an excessively unpleasant compound" (p. 116). In actual fact it is not a compound at all but a quite simple series of separate expressions: *na prāptir nābhisamayās. tasmādaprāptivāt . . .* (this ending should be an Ablative, and go with the following expression).

Again, in the expression *sarvabuddhāḥ prajñāpāramitāmāśrityānuttarāṃ samyak-sambodhimabhisambuddhāḥ* Fox has first of all discovered (in Monier-Williams' dictionary?) that *anuttara* can mean "unanswerable". He has then taken the word in a syntactically extraordinary way as qualifying *prajñāpāramitām* – thus: "All Buddhas, . . . bound to irrefutable Transcendent Wisdom . . .". He completes this by giving as literal equivalents for *samyak-sambodhim* "complete full understanding", and *abhisambuddhāḥ* "highest enlightenment", and translating as though these were two straightforward linked nouns – they "reach completely full understanding and the highest awakening"! This is quite simply a complete mis-translation. As is clear from the Tibetan version, it should read: "All Buddhas, . . . in dependence upon the Perfection of Wisdom, have fully awoken to enlightenment which is unsurpassed (*anuttara/bla na med*) and perfectly complete". *Anuttarāṃ*, of course, qualifies *samyaksambodhim*, as it usually does.

Again, in *yadrūpaṃ sūnyatā, sū*, we are told, "implies equality or even identity" (p. 101). Now, I can make no sense of this. I can only hazard a guess that Fox has confused the

feminine pronoun *sā* ("what is form, that is emptiness") with the prefix *sa-*, which Monier-Williams tells us (when used as an inseparable prefix) can have some connection with equality.

Finally, Fox's Sanskrit text. He doesn't mention his sources, but states that he has "tried to achieve a text that does justice to what the *sūtra* seems to have meant to most of its readers" (p. 76). It is unclear whether this is an *edition*, and if so, what the principles of editing and variants were. As it stands, the Sanskrit text is quite unsatisfactory. Diacritics are omitted, as are letters and sometimes inflexion endings! In at least one case (*tasmādapṛāptivāt*) the expression has almost certainly been wrongly placed in terms of the division of the text. No reference, as far as I can see, has been made to the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Heart Sūtra*.

This book sets out to translate and comment on a very short text which has been translated many times before. It is superficial and full of errors. It is not clear to me what audience the book was aimed at, or indeed why it was published. It makes scarcely the slightest contribution to its subject (I include the comparisons with Parmenides and the "structural" analysis). I very much regret that the book cannot be recommended.

PAUL WILLIAMS

EIN GLOSSAR ZU AŚVAGHOṢAS BUDDHACARITA. Von WILHELM SIEGLING mit einer biographischen Einleitung von ERNST WALDSCHMIDT. Hrsg. von HEINZ BECHERT, JENS-UWE HARTMANN, KLAUS WILLE und CHAMPA T. ZONGTSE. (Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Göttingen, Nr. 3). pp. xiv, 89, Göttingen, Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Göttingen, 1985.

In the *OLZ* in 1928, in a review of Friedrich Weller's edition of the Tibetan version of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* with a German translation (Leipzig 1926), Johannes Nobel referred to the copy of the portion of the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhacarita*, corresponding to the greater part of the extant Sanskrit text, which Dr H. Wenzel had made from the Tanjur available in London. Nobel also drew attention to the existence of a glossary to Wenzel's manuscript.

That index had been made in 1906 by Wilhelm Siegling (destined to attain fame as an expert in Tocharian studies) while reading the Sanskrit text of the *Buddhacarita* with Professor Richard Pischel. It consisted of handwritten entries on 1270 cards, with head-words in Tibetan, their Sanskrit equivalents, sometimes the meaning (in German), sometimes a grammatical comment, and then chapter and verse references to E. B. Cowell's edition of the Sanskrit text (Oxford 1893). There was the occasional comment, e.g. under *skum.pa* (p. 3) when listing *rab.tu.bskum.pa.ho* (where Weller later read *skums*), Siegling noted "Skt ganz anders!", for Cowell's edition (VII.17) read *vasanti kūrṃmollikhitaiḥ śariraiḥ*. In his edition of the *Buddhacarita*, Johnstone noted this discrepancy, and suggested that the equivalent might have been *hrasanti kūrṃmapratimaiḥ śariraiḥ*.

When at last, 57 years after Nobel had drawn attention to the index, and nearly 30 years after Siegling's death in 1946, the decision was taken to publish his glossary, the editors arranged the cards in the order of the Tibetan alphabet, to make 89 pages. These were then photographed, reduced in size, and printed, with a colon in heavy type against each head-word to make identification easier.

Siegling presumably intended his cards to be part of a larger, more comprehensive, index. Only this can explain the fact that he wrote Bc (for *Buddha-carita*) before each reference he entered on the cards. As it stands now, it is somewhat strange to find the abbreviation written many dozens of times on every page.

To the glossary are prefixed a Foreword from the editors, noting the many years that the work has been in gestation, a bibliographical introduction by the late Ernst Waldschmidt

giving an account of Siegling's work, and a list of the abbreviations of grammatical terms which Siegling employed. This last is particularly useful, since Siegling's somewhat crabbed handwriting is very difficult to decipher.

It is good to have this glossary available after all these years, but it must be emphasised that, presumably in an attempt to save paper and money, the degree of reduction adopted is so great that only those with good eyesight or a powerful magnifying glass, and the ability to read hand-written German, will be able to take full advantage of Siegling's work.

K. R. NORMAN

BUDDHIST STUDIES IN HONOUR OF HAMMALAVA SADDHĀTISSA. Edited by GATARE DHAMMAPALA, RICHARD GOMBRICH and K. R. NORMAN. pp. xviii, 262, front. Nugegoda, Sri Lanka, Hammalava Saddhatissa Felicitation Volume Committee, University of Sri Jayewardenpura, 1984.

This is a collection of twenty-nine papers presented to the Reverend Saddhātissa on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his services to Buddhism at the London Buddhist Vihāra. The papers are all comparatively short and highly specific, which makes the volume easy to read and should ensure a broad appeal. Although there is no specific theme the papers may be grouped loosely into certain general areas. As may be expected, given the Reverend Saddhātissa's contribution to the field, Buddhist ethics forms one such nucleus. Another general area (attracting the largest number of contributions) may be characterised as text-based or linguistic. Other topics receiving attention from more than one contributor are meditation, psychology and art. While the centre of gravity rests in the Theravāda, a smaller number of papers extend to Sanskrit sources.

Among the articles on ethics, Harvey Aronson discusses "Buddhist and non-Buddhist approaches to the Sublime Attitudes". He considers the question of the pre-Buddhist origin of the four *Brahma-vihāras* and indicates how they were integrated into the Buddhist system of religious practice to support the cultivation of liberating insight. Also on the theme of the integration of non-Buddhist structures, Richard Gombrich argues persuasively that the Buddhist scheme of *Sīla*, *Samādhi* and *Paññā* subsumes, redefines and combines the Brahmanical alternatives of work and gnosis expressed in the soteriological triad of karma, yoga, and *jñāna*. This conclusion is prefaced by a discussion of the meaning of *sīla*. Attempting a characterisation of *sīla* from the perspective of Western ethics, John Ross Carter in a timely and sensible article entitled "Beyond 'Good and Evil'", attacks the notion that the enlightened being enters a transethical condition. Back in the context of Sri Lanka, Trevor Ling explores "Buddhist Ethical Concerns in the Work of Martin Wickramasinghe".

Turning to the area of text-based studies, to cite a few examples, André Bareau discusses the date of the *Mahāgovinda-sutta*, assigning it to the decade 370-360 B.C. P. S. Jaini comments on and translates the didactic (*nīti*) verses of the *Lokaneyya-pakarāṇa*, a late Pali text from Thailand. Etienne Lamotte discusses "Problems Concerning the Minor Canonical Texts", the problems in question concerning the relation between the texts of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* and their Prakrit and/or Sanskrit correspondents. K. R. Norman considers the complex metres of the *Lakkhaṇa-suttanta* and Walpola Rahula reflects on the origins of the Pali language.

On the topic of meditation, Lance Cousins discusses the relationship between *samāhi* and *vipassanā*, while W. Dhammaratna explores "The Revival of *Vipassanā* Meditation in Recent Times". On Buddhist psychology there are articles by Lily de Silva on "Self-Identification and Associated Problems", and M. Paliwardana explores the meaning of *mano* through the commentaries on the first two verses of the *Dhammapada*.

In the broader field of Buddhist art and culture there are papers on the origin of the

Buddha-image (C. Wickramagama), Sinhalese Buddhist painting (N. Wijesekera), and poetical descriptions of nature in Buddhist sources (J. Dhirasekera). A further theme which might be described as geographical links articles on "Modern Buddhism in Indonesia" (Y. Ishii), Buddhism in Bengal (S. C. Benerji), and the excavation of a Buddhist site in the Maldives (C. H. B. Reynolds).

In sum, about one third of the articles may be described as of general interest to students of Buddhism. Although the technical nature of the remainder will appeal primarily to a more restricted audience they are nevertheless brief enough to be digestible by the determined general reader. It is to be hoped that the place of publication will not inhibit the book's accessibility.

DAMIEN KEOWN

AYODHYĀ. By HANS BAKKER. PART I: The history of Ayodhyā from the 7th century BC to the middle of the 18th century, its development into a sacred centre with special reference to the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* and to the worship of Rāma according to the *Agastyasamhitā*. pp. xviii, 181, 1 fig., 1 map. PART II: *Ayodhyāmāhātmya*, introduction, edition, and annotation. pp. xliii, 471, 18 pl., 6 maps (5 separately enclosed). PART III: appendices, concordances, bibliography, indexes and maps. pp. 114. (Groningen Oriental Studies, Vol. 1.) Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986. Dfl. 215.

Both in physical appearance and in content this work is a most substantial one. Its three parts, though paged separately and each with its own title page, are bound in one and reproduced from typescript at A4 size, resulting in a somewhat bulky volume. The first two parts are relatively independent works (the third part is mainly an adjunct to the second, partly to both) but the whole is undoubtedly greater than the sum of its parts, for the two parts reinforce each other most impressively.

The subjects covered in the first part are the history of Ayodhyā or Sāketa from 600 B.C. to A.D. 1000, the religious developments there over the same period, its political and religious history in the XIth and XIIth centuries, the origin of devotion to Rāma within Vaiṣṇavism, the *Agastyasamhitā* and devotion to Rāma, the ritual of worship of Rāma according to that text, the growth of devotion to Rāma, the development of Ayodhyā as a sacred centre from the XIIIth to the middle of the XVIIIth century (this mainly based on the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* and thus drawing on the evidence of Pt. II), and the pilgrimage rituals specified in the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya*. In discussing the vexed question of the identity or otherwise of Sāketa and Ayodhyā, Bakker goes beyond the point that Sāketa is favoured by the Buddhist and Jain texts to suggest that in the Sanskrit sources as a whole, those using the name Sāketa are "of a semi-scientific or factual nature", whereas those naming Ayodhyā "have basically a fictional character" ("legendary" rather than "fictional" might have been more appropriate). He therefore questions the historicity of the epic Ayodhyā and suggests that the process of its identification with the modern site was completed by the Gupta period.

His efforts to trace the early religious developments are inevitably hampered by the paucity of evidence and he therefore has to forego the attempt to present a synchronic assessment of developments in Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism, treating each separately. Nevertheless, this section is carefully done and forms a worthwhile background to the material studied in the later sections. Among the significant points made in these is the existence of archaeological evidence for temples exclusively dedicated to Rāma in the XIIth century (Bakker is probably right to discount the Vākāṭaka evidence), which enables him to add this to the literary evidence in rebutting Biardeau's view that a temple cult of Rāma did not appear before the XVIth or XVIIth century. The section on the growth of devotion to Rāma and the cult of the Name is sensitively done. Such close attention to the historical evolution then enables him to

date with some precision the different versions of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya*, so that for example his OA recension must postdate the emergence of several holy places in the XVIth century, which he illuminatingly compares to the contemporary "rediscovery" of Vṛndāvana. Incidentally, within Part I, he makes a significant contribution to the evaluation of the *Agastyaśaṃhitā* and the *Bhūṣuṇḍī Rāmāyaṇa*, as well as that of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* with which he is directly concerned.

Part II consists of an edition of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* but in fact provides much more than that might imply since, when combined with the chronological relationship of the different versions demonstrated in Part I and the introduction to Part II, the topographical assessments and the remarks on the modern situation, included in the introduction to each chapter and based in large part on fieldwork carried out in the town itself, amount to a historical gazetteer of Ayodhyā as a pilgrimage centre; in this the detailed maps included separately and the indexes in Part III also play a valuable role. Although the manuscript base is not particularly large compared with the 36 MSS noted in the NCC (but three of Bakker's five MSS are not listed there – evidence of a wide search for material – and he also uses three editions), Bakker comments on the affiliation of a larger number than he uses and, in particular, presents a well-argued and convincing case for the textual history of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya*, which is unlikely to be significantly altered by further evidence. It should be noted that his "chapters" are explicitly the minimum continuous units of text underlying the reshuffling of the material in the various text-groups and do not correspond to the divisions of any MS. The texts of the three major versions (OA, BP and S) are presented in separate columns (usually only in two, since BP is complementary to S), each with its own apparatus criticus, while part of the introduction to each chapter lists parallel texts and in appropriate cases (especially the Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa and the *Bhūṣuṇḍī Rāmāyaṇa*) reproduces them.

There is a sprinkling of misprints here (as well as in the other parts) and two pages (pp. 72 and 154) have lost their right edge in reproduction. However, little of this is likely to be serious although I might perhaps mention a couple of items: the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* is not Mbh.13.153 but 13.135 (on p. 139) and in 59.24d (on p. 332) *candramāḥ* should not be underlined, since it does occur as a v. l. in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (on which this chapter is based). Bakker's careful analysis (Part II p. xx) showing that "The text of the Rām. borrowed by the composers of the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* largely corresponds with the 'North-Eastern version', in particular with the MSS in Devanāgarī script (D_{5,9}) (which, again, often coincide with the MSS in Maithilī script), but also shows influences of the 'North-Western version' (D₂)", is undoubtedly accurate but might be taken a little further; D₅ and D₉ are in fact somewhat anomalous MSS and there is also considerable affinity with N₁, all of which would render more probable his rather tentative suggestion of a "Central Northern Devanāgarī version". With such a wealth of material presented, deficiencies are rare – one of the few I noticed was that there are other, and to my mind more probable, identifications of Kuśāvati than that given on p. 99.

Part III contains seven appendixes (including in particular as App. 1 interpolations in the text but also various aids to its use), five concordances between the various recensions (three of which also serve as a table of contents to a particular recension), a list of abbreviations, a very full bibliography, four indexes (of the *tīrthas* within *Ayodhyākṣetra*, other toponyms, texts – headed "Titles" – and general items) and a note to the maps. The thoroughness with which these valuable aids to the use of the work have been compiled is typical of the whole volume. The quite exceptional combination of approaches directed towards the material studied is especially illuminating. Bakker's findings will undoubtedly prompt a reassessment of our views on much that he handles, while his handling of the text (both respecting the integrity of the various versions and placing them into historical relationship) offers a potentially useful exemplar for other anonymous literature. This volume holds much to interest those involved in many aspects of Indian studies.

KARMA AND CREATIVITY. By CHRISTOPHER CHAPPLE (SUNY Series in Religion.) pp. xii, 144. Albany. New York. State University of New York Press, 1986. US\$29.50 (cloth), US\$9.95 (paper).

The author is a theologian lecturing at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles and his book seems to have grown from his dissertation at Fordham University and his further work at the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions. He also had contacts with members of the State University of New York. He drew some further inspiration from his contacts with neo-Hindu establishments such as Yoga Anand Ashram.

His starting point is the popular usage of the word *karma* in English where it used to be equated with fate in connection with notions of reincarnation. But the word in its pure sense simply refers to action and "the mechanics of karma can also be regarded as incentive to better oneself, to strive to create action in a purposeful fashion". In order to highlight this positive meaning of "karma as a life affirming principle" the author undertakes to investigate relevant textual sources. He does so in three out of the five chapters forming his book.

After the short first chapter, "The Problem of Action", which hints at interpretations of *karma* in social life and liberation doctrines and its connection with reincarnation, the second on "Action and Origins" turns to the Vedas where action is represented by the act of creation brought about by the creator's ardour (*tapas*) which even man can generate, namely through ritual action (also called *karma*), to the Upaniṣads where the Self is the creator of all things, which means that even the individual mind shapes its world of experience by its own action, and to the Sāṅkhya where *prakṛti* accounts for all aspects of creation, but does so in ignorance, which in individuals leads to actions of continued bondage. Only active pursuit of knowledge with firm resolve, a form of higher action, leads to liberation.

This brings the author to the idea of the primacy of mind, the theme of the third chapter. He finds it already spelled out in the Upaniṣads and technically mastered in the *Yoga Sūtra*. Philosophical expression is given to it in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and the whole of the Yogācāra school. Similarly, *Yogavāsiṣṭha* teaches that altering and overcoming the world is achieved through the transformation of mind. All this is achieved only by employing real effort, argues the author in the next chapter, as stories in the *Mahābhārata* illustrate particularly, and as Vasiṣṭha confirms to Rāma by showing that action is the only means to fulfilment provided it is purified and aimed, in the last instance, at liberation. Which does not preclude further action in the world as *jīvan mukta* – Rāma had to return to his kingdom to rule it.

From the short concluding chapter we see that the author regards the figure of Rāma in *Yogavāsiṣṭha* as the embodiment of creative and accomplished action. Rāma reconciles phenomenal activity with the highest dimension and symbolises thus the totality of existence in both its transcendental and manifested aspect as does in its way the cosmic *puruṣa* in the *Rg Veda* (10.90). Another instance of the ideal of combining highest wisdom with action in the world is presented in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. The author clearly prefers that to the ascetic and purely otherworldly streak in Indian tradition and suggests that it could be a helpful model for the modern world, though he does not show how he thinks it could be done.

The book is not a piece of original research, no new materials or new assessments are presented in it and it is too short to do justice to its theme even on a popular level. Important examples of the ideal of enlightened action are missing from it, especially the way of the *bodhisattva*. Occasionally the author is rather imprecise, e.g. when he says of the *Rg Veda* that it was "composed by invaders probably from the steppes of Central Asia" and dates it "from about 1750 or 1500 B.C. to 500 B.C." or when he translates *daiva* as "fate". It is not easy to decide wherein the usefulness of this book may lie. Perhaps it will help to correct the distorted view of *karma* as a fatalistic teaching if such a view, once introduced by early Christian writers on Hinduism, still persists in some non-specialist quarters. But it should be followed by a great deal of supplementary reading.

THE TWO TRADITIONS OF MEDITATION IN ANCIENT INDIA . By JOHANNES BRONKHORST. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, hrsg. vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg, Bd. 28.) pp. xii, 145. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986. DM 36.

This book is a valuable addition to the quite large corpus of work recently done (notably, in the case of Buddhism, by Lambert Schmithausen in Germany and Paul Griffiths in the U.S.A.) on the relationship and differences between two attitudes to what is involved in meditation and the practice of asceticism, and to the religious goal of *mokṣa*. These might be characterised, roughly, as on the one hand forms of physical and mental *praxis*, which aim to reduce bodily movement and bodily functions such as breath to a minimum, and to transform consciousness to a point of stasis, beyond all mental activity; and on the other, forms of spiritual self-development and self-interpretation which aim rather to change the nature of mental activity, both cognitive and affective, so that it proceeds – or is perceived to proceed – with insight or enlightened wisdom. The former clearly has a greater affinity than the latter with the practice of self-mortificatory asceticism and literal self-restraint. Obviously these two are ideal types, and most traditions of meditation in fact incorporate elements of both.

Bronkhorst brings together an interesting collection of passages, mainly from Buddhist but also from Hindu and Jain sources, whose juxtaposition both exemplifies clearly the nature of these different forms or, better said, emphases of early Indian religion, and also – very interestingly – shows how they are in practice intermingled. For this reason the book is most welcome, and will long remain useful and informative. Unfortunately the discussion is presented in a simplistic historicist framework, which in my opinion introduces an unhelpful and unnecessarily rigid scheme of classification. Bronkhorst holds that what he calls “the mainstream tradition” of Hindu and Jain meditation just is the first of the two types outlined above, where the avoidance of *karma* requires complete psychophysical inactivity (which in turn implies self-starvation). Buddhism, on the contrary (and as is well-known), seeks to avoid *karma*, not by “aiming at the non-functioning of the senses”, but rather by remaining “equanimous in the face of the experiences they offer” (p. 26). Given that certain Buddhist texts criticise the “mainstream” kinds of practice, the hypothesis then is that any other parts of the Buddhist canon which seem to recommend, or at least not to condemn them, must be seen as “later borrowings from outside” (p. xi). Accordingly, practices which are, allegedly, peculiar to Buddhism must be seen as historically earlier, and definitive of “authentic, original Buddhism”. Correspondingly, any Hindu or Jain texts which seem to recommend, or not to condemn, equanimity and detachment rather than straightforward inactivity, must be seen as having been “influenced by” Buddhism (as in the title of Chapter 6). To make such a concrete and institutionalised distinction, between one “ism” and others, seems to me quite unnecessary. The ghost of Mrs. Rhys Davids stalks these pages, both in the search for “original Buddhism” and in the polemical, rather strident tone of much of the writing.

Personally, I remain quite unpersuaded by the historical arguments, for both *a priori* and *a posteriori* reasons. The historical hypotheses depend, with one or two minor exceptions, simply on the internal evidence of the texts; there is no use of epigraphical, archaeological or other independent, external evidence. External evidence, I contend, is absolutely indispensable to any attempt to use texts as historical witnesses. (No doubt such evidence may be difficult to find for issues of meditation strategy, but we may simply have to put up with that.) The arguments here are thus essentially textual interpretations, and can be countered by others. (This is a debate about interpretation, *not* about history *versus* literary analysis.) There are a number of recurring general forms of argument, which are highly debatable. Two examples: if any two texts A and B share some characteristic X, and A is thought to precede B, then X's presence in B must be due to “influence” from A. (But the two texts may have no B, then X's presence in B must be due to “influence” from A. (But the two texts may have no connexion.) If any two texts A and B, from the same general tradition, share some characteristic X, but B also contains others, Y, Z, etc., then these others must be “later additions”, while the shared X must be earlier, and both A and B probably derive from a now lost “original”. (But, for reasons of their own, the redactors of A may have chosen to preserve it as a separate, shortened version of B.) These and other forms of *a priori* historiography are

ubiquitous in the book. They are common enough in scholarship, but seem to me quite groundless speculations.

Limitations of space allow me to discuss only one example in detail. In the first chapter, Bronkhorst investigates the *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* from the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Here, in what is in my view a unified and skilful piece of narrative, the Jain Saccaka is presented as argumentative, hostile, at times incoherent or self-contradictory; this characterisation allows the Buddha to be more clearly presented as, contrastingly, a calm, compassionate and patient teacher, as he tells Saccaka a long autobiographical story in which his experience of, and attitudes to, physical and mental asceticism/meditation are thoroughly explored. Bronkhorst studies this text in the Pali canon, and its Chinese counterpart, and finds everywhere "inconsistency", "muddling", portions which do not "make sense" or which "serve no purpose", and so on, and ends with the discovery of the "Original Mahāsaccaka Sutta", which omits all the offending passages. Then an episode from this text is dated, in the following way (p. 12–13). The Pali canon was written down in the 1st century B.C. Since the text as we now have it contains additions, the original *sutta* "must have been much earlier than this". Now, while we do have evidence that a version of a canon was written down in the 1st century B.C., we have in fact no precise idea of what it contained, and cannot presume that our *sutta* was included, in its present form or otherwise. Still less can we deduce from the "fact" that it had its present form at that date that parts of the text, argued on interpretative-evaluative grounds to constitute a more coherent "original" *sutta*, can be dated "much earlier". Bronkhorst continues by arguing that we can, indeed, "push this date back considerably". The text says that the Buddha at one point formed the intention to starve to death, but abandoned the idea when he realised that certain gods planned to feed him, through the pores of his skin, so that he could not succeed in his purpose. He then subsisted on a minimum. This little episode has many meanings, including the familiar picture of the gods as "bit-players" who help the hero through his heroic and "foreknown" – since the tale is told *ex post facto* – mythical course. As far as the matter of starvation is concerned, the point is surely simply that the final extreme of self-starvation was known as an ideal of Jainism, and so the episode explains why the Buddha did not practise this to its end, as he claimed to do with other practices of his religious rivals. Bronkhorst tells us that "the author of the episode did not really have much choice here, for if he had let the Bodhisattva die as a result of these hardships, the latter could not have reached enlightenment in the same life". (Nor, indeed, would he have been alive to tell the story, so the whole *sutta* would have been impossible to conceive!) "Embarrassment could however have been avoided by placing the episode in an earlier existence of the Bodhisattva. In that case the Bodhisattva could finish his fast to death completely. Why was this not done?" The answer given is that the *sutta* must have been composed before the stories of the Buddha's previous lives became a recognised literary genre, in the Jātakas. (As he knows, and states, there are such stories in the *sutta*-collections.) Since the earliest known sculptures which depict episodes from the Jātakas are dated to the period 150–100 B.C., and thus the Jātaka stories were presumably composed before then, so "it seems that we must date our episode long before this time, i.e., in the third century B.C. at the latest". He then goes on to claim, however, that the episode "does not belong to the earliest layer of Buddhist literature", since it makes use of some quasi-formulaic comparisons found in other texts; these are then called "already existing passages". I hope it is clear from the way I have presented the argument why I consider it to be shot through with *non sequiturs*, and to make unwarranted, and certainly unargued assumptions about, for example, the relationship between oral and written literature, about the presumed intentions and motivations of "the author" (*sic*), and about the sophistication (or, rather, lack of it) which we can impute to Buddhist texts. (One might hope that the interpretative and – dare I use the word? – hermeneutical lessons of, for example, Homeric and New Testament scholarship might one day be attended to by Indology.) These kinds of argument permeate the book, being particularly clear also in Chapter 9, which spends a great deal of time (in what is a very short book) discussing an isolated and contextless sentence from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, in the hope of proving it to be later than "original" Buddhism; and in Chapter 10, which devotes two and a half pages, about a thousand words, to solving the problem of the nature of "the early Saṅgha" and its effect on Buddhist literature of the period.

I must make it clear that I do not mean in any way whatsoever to disparage Bronkhorst's

scholarship. On the contrary, his philological skills are well-known and admired by Indologists, and this book should further confirm that reputation. Rather, I am trying to respond, I hope constructively, to the challenge he throws down in the preface. Here he says, rather grandly, "this book presents a *theory*" (p. xii, his italics). "There is no way to *prove* that the theory presented in this book is right. But this does not by itself detract from its value. A great deal, if not all, we know about the world is of such a theoretical nature." (As a piece of epistemology, this seems to me somewhat gnomic, to say the least.) It is not enough, he says, for those who disagree with his theory to say that it has not been proved. "It may be more worthwhile to try and show that the theory does not fit certain facts. Criticism of this kind, though not without value, will at best bring us back to the situation where the contradictions in the Buddhist canon are, again, unexplained. Really constructive criticism of my theory will present an *even better theory*" (*ibid.*, his italics). I should rather respond by saying that the apparent contradictions, seemingly difficult passages, and so on in the canon may well be the result of its having been composed over a long period of time. But before we decide that these are the kinds of "contradiction" or difficulty whose "explanation" requires dismemberment of the text and historical speculation as to its genesis, we should remember – apart from the obvious fact that surface "contradictions", tensions, counteracting emphases, and the like, both conscious and unconscious, have their uses in religion – that good literature (and the Pali canon *is*, for the most part, good literature) makes use of a large number of rather subtle narrative, and other, techniques, whose appreciation and interpretation must be equally subtle. Apparent contradictions may be only apparent, and the eye seeking only disjointed textual and historical "episodes" or "layers", may well not be alert to see this. The historiographical attempt to reconstruct something approaching a precise chronology of ancient Indian religion is, indeed, a vital and pressing task; and, indeed, it may well be true that, alas, we have to rely on the internal evidence of texts as our main – but never our only – primary source-material. But both of these items on the scholarly agenda are, I think, very much more complex and difficult than this book makes out.

STEVEN COLLINS

MRGENDRĀGAMA. SECTION DES RITES ET SECTION DU COMPORTEMENT, AVEC LA VṚTTI DE BHATṬANĀRĀYAṆAKAṆṬHA. Traduction, introduction et notes par HÉLÈNE BRUNNER-LACHAUX. (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 69.) pp. xlvii, 496. Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1985.

We are already indebted to Mme Brunner-Lachaux for the appearance over more than twenty years of a stream of major studies and translations of works belonging to the southern Śaiva school, of which she has been perhaps the foremost interpreter; the present substantial volume further increases our debt, while itself relying in part on her earlier publications. The core of it is the careful translation of the *kriyāpāda* (*kp*) and *caryāpāda* (*cp*) of the *Mrgendrāgama*, together with Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's commentary, based on N. R. Bhatt's edition of the text in the same series. However, the work is much more than that, since it is preceded by a substantial introduction (of which the bulk is reproduced in the twenty-page English summary at the end) and accompanied by copious notes, typically occupying about half the page; between them these greatly increase its value.

The main part of the introduction consists of a detailed analysis of the text, which is a distinct asset for its appreciation, but there are also comments on the relationship of the *Mrgendrāgama* to the *Kāṃikāgama*, on the connections with the other two *pādas* of the text (unlike these two, also current in Kashmir and so edited previously, as well as translated into French by Michel Hulin in this series), and on the commentator. Among the points that Mme Brunner makes are the considerable gulf between the text and its commentator, reflected for

example in the vocabulary employed (pp. ix-x; the two are therefore distinguished in the Index, which is incidentally an index to the text quite as much as to the translation), and that, though nominally for *ācāryas*, the text is much concerned with the *sādhaka* (pp. xl-xli). She notes that she has been able to simplify her annotation of the description of the *dikṣā* by referring to her translation of the *Somaśambhupaddhati* but also modestly suggests that otherwise she has made limited reference to other texts, since she is not engaged here in an exploration of Āgama literature (p. xlv); the reality is that the excellent notes do contain many significant cross-references, as well as comments on textual details and matters of interpretation.

The translation itself is based on Bhatt's edition as modified by the variant readings listed in Appendix IV, which are justified at the relevant points in the notes and are taken from two new manuscripts discovered since the publication of Bhatt's text (and from a fuller consideration of his third manuscript, discovered only when printing was in progress); all but two of these have been made with the agreement of Bhatt himself and so Appendix IV in effect represents a further list of corrigenda to his edition. Although a reader may not always agree with the interpretation adopted, debatable points have been fully discussed in the notes. Brunner tends to translate the text in accordance with the commentary, despite her reservations about the latter, but here again any doubtful points are usually signalled and there are occasions when she follows a different line (e.g. *kp.* 8.242b-243a, pp. 337-8). On one occasion she follows Bhatt's MS. C in reordering text and commentary in a more natural order (at *kp.* 8.11-13, p. 207), but does not do so on another comparable occasion (*kp.* 8.66-68, p. 239) and indeed does not even make a comment. Personally, I found the glossing of *ayugmacchada* in the text of *kp.* 6.67b (on p. 136) misguided, since it results in making the commentary awkward, although it is clarified then by the footnote. Other quibbles concern merely the presentation: the use of *a* and *b* to denote the lines rather than the *pādas* of a stanza results, for example, on pp. 41-2 in the appearance of 6a₁ and 6a₂b to mark the first and the remaining three *pādas* (rather than to present mathematical formulae), and the numbering of footnotes afresh from each *śloka* occasionally results in the clumsiness of as many as three footnotes 1. to a page.

However, these are really very minor matters and in its general presentation this translation is clear and helpful. Doubtful points have been carefully discussed, anticipating any possible criticism, and all in all a most valuable tool for the understanding of the work has been provided. This volume is a credit to its author and to the Institut Français d'Indologie, which has been doing so much to bring southern Śaivism to our attention. Our congratulations and thanks are due to both.

J. L. BROCKINGTON

DAS KĀTHAKA-GRHYA-SŪTRA MIT VIVARAṆA DES ĀDITYADARŚANA, BHĀṢYA DES DEVAPĀLA, GRHYAPANCIKĀ DES BRĀHMAṆABALA. KRITISCHE EDITION MIT ANMERKUNGEN, TEIL I: I. KANḌIKĀ UND SANDHYOPĀSANAMANTRABHĀSYA DES DEVAPĀLA. VON CAREN DREYER. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien hrsg. vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg, 30.) pp. xxv, 185. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986. DM 48.

The *Kāthaka Grhyasūtra*, attributed to Laugākṣi by the Kāśmīri tradition, in which it has been intensively studied, and by Aparārka, with whose commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* some of its manuscripts share certain features, has previously been edited by Willem Caland and Madhusudan Kaul Shāstri. The present edition marks a notable advance on either, both in the number of MSS utilised and in the care with which the text has been established, thus justifying their rather abrupt dismissal as unsatisfactory (p. III). Caland's edition, of course,

gave only brief extracts from the commentaries, while Kaul's gave only Devapāla's, whereas Dreyer here presents successively for each *sūtra* Ādityadarśana's, Devapāla's and Brāhmaṇabala's commentaries. This part covers just the first *kāṇḍikā* dealing with the obligations and rules of conduct of the Vedic student, together with the relevant section of Devapāla's *mantrabhāṣya* (which comments on the *mantras* subjoined to each *kāṇḍikā*); the latter in fact represents the greater part of the text given (pp. 36–104, equivalent to vol. 1 pp. 15–66 of Kaul's edition and not found at all in Caland's, where his pp. 1–10 correspond to pp. 1–35 of Dreyer's) and slightly oddly it is not signalled by a separate title or heading, as might have been expected.

The introduction includes not only descriptions of the manuscripts and of their inter-relationships but also notices of related texts and their MSS, remarks on the problem of distinguishing between *sūtra* and commentary for this text, comments on the orthography (in particular on the Śāradā script, both directly and as a source of error in Devanāgarī MSS), a statement of the principles on which the text has been constituted, and brief descriptions of the commentaries and their authors. Many of these topics are further discussed in the detailed notes, which also from time to time raise issues of the history and interpretation of the text that were deliberately excluded from the introduction; these notes therefore constitute an important and valuable part of the work as a whole.

The text itself is edited on the basis of 8 MSS for Devapāla's commentary (and also Kaul's edition), 3 for Brāhmaṇabala's *Gṛhyapañcikā* and one (containing also the other two commentaries and included in the preceding totals) for Ādityadarśana's *Vivaraṇa*. Throughout, the editor has made every effort to identify the quotations found, extending the information in Caland's edition. The text and critical apparatus are clearly and carefully presented. Misprints there or in the notes are very infrequent and in most cases consist of an omitted macron (e.g. "bhumir" at p. 43 l.15 and "mahadevasya" at p. 171 l.10); these are easily rectified and indeed the most disconcerting error noted ("mahābhrāra-ta" at p. 100 ll.10–11) was so only because of its coinciding with an awkward line division. In general, the text and apparatus show a high standard of care. They are completed (on pp. 105–116) by appendixes containing passages occurring in only a few MSS (between 1 and 3) of Devapāla's Bhāṣya.

The editor is certainly to be congratulated on the quality of her work. We must hope that she will soon be able to publish further parts of this interesting but so far inadequately studied text (for instance, its relatively close links with the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* warrant further investigation) and we look forward to their appearance.

J. L. BROCKINGTON

PEASANT HISTORY IN SOUTH INDIA. By DAVID LUDDEN. pp. xix, 310, 18 maps, 10 figures, 10 tables. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1985 (published March 1986). £32.20.

In this elegant and impressive book, David Ludden attempts something without precedent in recent South Asian history: he places the changes of the XIXth century in a continuum beginning from the earliest times. The introduction to the work is entitled "A Peasant Millennium", but elements in the story look back to the IIIrd century B.C. The focus is on Tirunelveli district, yet the book is far more than another local study. It will be of interest to any student of agrarian societies, and in particular of Asia. Its lessons for the study of XIXth century changes, and of what is loosely called "development" are of considerable importance.

The central assertion – at first it seems an assumption – is that the nature of XIXth century transformation has been misunderstood. Far from being a unified assault on a stable rural order, associated with the expansion of Europe, it was a variety of influences upon a range of conditions already subject to change, and representing a "global, cross-cultural process of invention" (p. 216). Tirunelveli is thus not a model for changes elsewhere, except in two major

senses. First, it contained several diverse social, economic and political formulations which were explicable in ecological and historical experience. Second, these persisted or changed over time, and interacted differently with Western or market forces.

The story begins with an agrarian order based on rice paddy and South Indian gods, but is most concerned with migrations, military force, the growth of state and local power, and market networks, which diversified the society both within communities and across regions. The XIXth century redefined social relations, through the state, law and the market, but as a continuation of far earlier trends. In rich irrigated tracts, British rule allowed the perpetuation of the alliance between a literate agrarian élite and the state. In dry areas rich peasants were able to take advantage of commercial opportunities. The result was a "distinct style of agrarian capitalism", the product of "local creativity and peasant learning" (p. 14).

It is impossible in a short review to do justice to the richness of the data marshalled in support of these arguments, or to the sophistication of the case put forward. Three points may be made, however, to provide a measure of the achievement. First, the broad lines of the approach are not new, or at least will not be unexpected. Ludden's work marks a refinement and an authoritative endorsement of a trend in recent South Asian economic history. This trend has not the advantage (if such it be) of a label, but could perhaps be described as a new empiricism. It is new because it offers radical rethinking, about concepts, sources, periods, and subjects. It is empirical because it is firmly based upon an historical appreciation and is not beholden to any particular set of assumptions or ideological priorities. An important feature of such work, exemplified in its most chronologically extensive form by Ludden, is the idea that particular circumstances must be explained in long-term influences and particular influences assessed against long-term conditions. Ludden calls this the "salience of diversity" (p. 218). In consequence, such forces as imperialism may be understood in a rounded and complex way, so as to make many former controversies seem facile or irrelevant.

Secondly, the very nature of the historical method is being rethought. Ludden writes of the need for a comparative approach, by which he means working on the basis of respect for differences. Comparative method, in its earlier sense, is in fact precisely what is ruled out. There are no lessons of a definite kind to be learnt from one society for another, no assumptions to be made about development or change, except after the fullest allowance for the "salience of diversity". And finally, in spite of the title of Ludden's book, dichotomous treatment of rural and urban society has to be abandoned. The word "peasant" itself is condemned, at least in the senses in which it is customarily understood. The peasant is neither autonomous nor undifferentiated; or, to put it another way, if there are subsistence family-farmers, they represent only one of a range of different actors in the society, with whom they are intricately related. How much more interesting and formative such ideas are, than some of the alternative views of rural or subordinate peoples that have become fashionable!

PETER ROBB

RELIGIONSPOLITIK IN BRITISCH-INDIEN 1793-1813: CHRISTLICHES SENDUNGSBEWUSSTSEIN UND ACHTUNG HINDUISTISCHER TRADITION IM WIDERSTREIT. Von CORNELIA WITZ. (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, Bd. 98.) pp. viii, 137. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985. DM 28.

The British missionary movement claimed the inclusion of a "pious clause" at the 1813 renewal of the East India Company's charter as a great victory for the cause of Christianity in India. Cornelia Witz's thesis examines the 20-year struggle leading up to this "success" and points out that, hitherto, no comprehensive study of the campaign has been made. Unfortunately, her work adds little to our previous knowledge and has severe limitations because she has failed to understand the nuances of English history. For example, East India Company officials at the time would have been astonished to read that the Company was divided into two wings: Evangelical and Conservative. Similarly, contemporaries would have

been amazed to find that there were two radical reforming movements in England in the 1790s: the Utilitarians and the Evangelicals.

Witz's argument is the traditional one that Evangelicals within the Church of England, led by William Wilberforce and Charles Grant, were almost entirely responsible for the conduct and success of this campaign to open India to Protestant missionary activity. Baptists and Congregationalists would rightly not be happy with this unbalanced interpretation of events, nor with her use of the term "evangelical" to refer solely to the Clapham Sect. She also misunderstands the intellectual background, asserting that the controversy over the wisdom of allowing missionary activity in India formed part of a wider debate between "Anglicists" and "Orientalists". These are anachronistic terms and, in any case, fit ill, giving far too simplistic a view of the attitudes held by supporters and opponents of missionary activity in India. In addition, she overstates Burke's importance in stimulating changes in imperial policy towards India at this time.

Finally, 1813 did not lead to a fundamental change in the Company's long-held policy of "strict neutrality in matters of religion". On the contrary, religious neutrality remained Company policy to the end of its rule in 1858.

PENELOPE CARSON

THE INDIAN 'MUTINY' 1857-58: A GUIDE TO SOURCE MATERIAL IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY AND RECORDS. By ROSEMARY SETON. pp. xvi, 99, 10 pl. London, The British Library, 1986. £12.95.

Rosemary Seton's guide is based on a listing of record material relating to the events of 1857-8 held by the India Office together with a list of relevant private papers in the Library's European Manuscripts collections. A small selection of photographs is added as a most welcome embellishment at the end.

Apart from a brief introductory note to each category of records, the reader is for the most part provided with no more than lists of volumes with their dates and their reference according to the India Office's system of classification. For some classes of records, however, brief indications of the contents of each item are also given. This is, for instance, done for the 216 surviving "Board's Collections" deemed relevant and for the 27 volumes of enclosures received with Secret Letters from Bombay, the Bombay Government appearing to be the channel through which London received much of its earliest intelligence throughout the crisis. The records of the home authorities, Board of Control and Company, are treated first, with the proceedings of the Government of India and the Indian Presidencies and Provinces following. Here there must have been some problems of selection. The chronological limits presumably more or less imposed themselves. The "Mutiny" is interpreted as the events of 1857-8; to have tried to employ hindsight and offer guidance on material revealing antecedents or to have traced forward aftermath or consequences beyond the year 1859 (covered in many entries) would have been an unmanageable project. There might have been more temptation to extend the classes of records included, particularly for the Indian authorities. The fear of disorder and relatively isolated instances of it were of course widespread in 1857, while no Indian government agency could remain unaffected by what was happening elsewhere. But the decision to concentrate on those in the eye of the storm, the governments of the Northwestern Provinces together with Bengal and Bombay, seems to be entirely defensible. The Residency records from the States most directly involved are also listed.

The India Office Library's private European manuscripts are, because of inevitable difficulties of classification and listing, a difficult source for readers to be sure that they have fully mastered. In this guide relevant collections are listed alphabetically. This is an especially

valuable part of a most useful compilation. All students interested in how the events of 1857-8 were seen by the British and how they reacted to them will be deeply in Rosemary Seton's debt.

P. J. MARSHALL

CRIME AND CRIMINALITY IN BRITISH INDIA. Edited by ANAND A. YANG. (Association for Asian Studies Monograph XLII.) pp. xii, 192, map. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Press, 1985. US\$17.95.

This volume contains seven papers in a field defined by the editor as "the study of historical crime" – more properly, the historical study of crime and its suppression. The editor and his colleagues display their awareness of the latest trends in historical writing about crime in Europe and America – "the pioneering trails that that scholarship has blazed", as the editor sees it. Various theories are rapidly summarised in an introductory chapter, with little attempt to suggest ways of discriminating between them or of identifying which are the most appropriate to the study of Indian history. Foucault is cited for the view that the substitution of imprisonment for torture reflected "a harsher conception of man and of social discipline", and the alternative view that it sprang from humanitarian motives is then presented without any hint that the assumptions behind such policies in British India have received the attention of historians like Eric Stokes and Jörg Fisch. Nor is it suggested that the views of Mughal officials might be of relevance. There is no reference to Sayyid Muhammad Reza Khan, Naib Diwan and Naib Nazim in Bengal during the second half of the XVIIIth century, who criticised the ways in which the British differed from their Mughal predecessors in matters of criminal justice, and whose ideas have been carefully examined by Abdul Majid Khan (*The Transition in Bengal, 1756-1775*, Cambridge, 1969).

Some contributors ask how far the British defined crime in ways that suited the needs of colonial authority. Sandria B. Freitag argues, without convincing this reviewer, that the concern felt by British officials for their authority as colonial rulers explains their judicial and police policies. This, she asserts, was why they were particularly vigilant against criminals organised in groups. But other governments, including that of the United States, have shown themselves to be similarly concerned about criminals organised in groups. Most governments seem anxious to defend their authority, but one can find other reasons why they prohibit crime. Again, she asserts that the British prohibited female infanticide among the Rajputs and human sacrifice among the Konds because "such culturally important actions were deemed threatening to British exclusive authority". But what evidence is there to support such an hypothesis? In the same volume Edith S. Brandstadter argues, on the other hand, that the British prohibited the Kond custom of human sacrifice because they were, as she puts it, "inflamed by the wave of evangelical fervor that had enveloped Britain at the turn of the century". Without accepting that her choice of language is entirely apt, one might agree that religious and moral considerations had much to do with British policy in such matters.

What were the results of the British assumption that certain social groups or "tribes" were inherently criminal? The editor's study of the operation of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 in relation to the Doms suggests that their relegation to the status of a "Criminal Tribe" and their consequent segregation in colonies under the auspices of the Salvation Army resulted in no very perceptible improvement in their social or economic conditions. On the other hand, Stewart N. Gordon, in a brief essay on British policy towards the Bhils of Western India, concludes that the British had considerable success in their dual policy of recruiting some into a militarised police corps and encouraging others to take to agriculture by land grants and loans. But British policy towards the Bhils has been analysed before, and in greater detail. However, in both cases, British assumptions about the low and dangerous character of Doms

and Bhils resembled the assumptions of high-caste Hindus, who despised them even more.

How far were dacoits "social bandits" in the sense defined by historians of Europe such as Eric Hobsbawm, robbing the rich and admired by the poor? John R. McLane concludes that the dacoits in early XIXth century Bengal tended to avoid persons of status and wealth such as Brahmans and large landholders, and preyed instead on smaller fry. Understandably, they were not very popular. How far did the British think that a major function of the system of criminal justice and police was to defend private property? Surprisingly, McLane criticises the British for not reinforcing the authority of the big landholders over the rural poor. Had they forgotten, he asks, the alliance of judge and gentry in rural England? But this was something which the Utilitarians with influence in the East India Company strongly deplored.

David Arnold, on the other hand, in his analysis of crime and police in the Madras presidency between 1858 and 1947, criticises the British there for relying on the village headman and watchman as the "primary police agencies in the countryside". The village headman, he argues, was usually a person of wealth and influence, and the watchman would serve his interests. How far was crime there affected by economic conditions? Arnold reveals that some officials saw such a connection as axiomatic. An Inspector-General of Police called dacoity "the special famine crime". But Arnold points out that although robbery and housebreaking can be correlated with food prices this does not explain the steady rise in the number of murders during this period. This he suggests was due to the tendency of dominant castes to use dacoits to assert their authority over lower castes and to keep rivals at bay. So McLane's argument that the British should have made more use of local dignitaries in Bengal in the first half of the XIXth century seems to be undermined by Arnold's criticisms of later British policies in Madras.

KENNETH BALLHATCHET

WAR IN AFGHANISTAN, 1879-80. THE PERSONAL DIARY OF MAJOR GENERAL SIR CHARLES METCALFE MACGREGOR. Edited by WILLIAM TROUSDALE. pp. x, 266, front., illus., 3 maps. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1985.

Charles MacGregor was an ambitious army officer who achieved some minor fame as a traveller in Persia and Baluchistan. He subsequently became Quarter Master General in India but his importance to historians was primarily in his service in the Second Afghan War and in particular in his period as Chief of Staff to Roberts. Out of this period of service came the extraordinary document which Mr. Trousdale has edited in an exemplary fashion, placing all historians in his debt.

Many people in important positions keep diaries and use them as a safety valve for their frustrations and jealousies. Very, very few have them printed and distributed. MacGregor did. How many copies exist is not known. At least two copies exist (the one in the library of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs, which Mr. Trousdale has used, and one in the New York Public Library). But it is inconceivable that MacGregor went to the length of having his diary set up in type in order to print only two copies so there may well be other copies lurking undiscovered in libraries or private houses.

No man is a hero to his own valet and much the same applies to diarists. Certainly MacGregor does not emerge in his diary as a particularly attractive man. Eaten up with ambition to rise to the top of his profession, he early fixed upon winning the VC as the vital stepping stone. He was not wrong in his calculation - there was an extraordinarily high proportion of VCs among Victorian generals. But there is to modern tastes something slightly repellent in such avid seeking. The same ambition led MacGregor constantly to seeking after, and dreaming of, positions to which it is now easy to see he had little claim. At one moment,

he was dreaming of taking Cavagnari's place at Kabul; at another, he is aspiring to be military governor of Afghanistan; at yet another point, he was seriously speculating on getting a peerage.

In the end, he achieved his ambition of a brigade command under Roberts, received the KCB at the end of the war and, when he died prematurely in 1887, he was a major-general and QMG. It is doubtful if he would have gone further. He had suffered major damage to his reputation with his book *The Defence of India* published in 1884, and he may already have been suffering from a degenerative disease which was affecting his judgement.

As Chief of Staff, first to Sam Browne commanding the column advancing on Kabul via the Khyber in 1878-79 and then to Roberts during the latter's advance and subsequent operations round Kabul after Cavagnari's murder, MacGregor was at the centre of events and his diary is therefore an invaluable source of evidence on the course of the war. But the primary importance and fascination of the diary lies undoubtedly in MacGregor's portrait of Roberts himself.

That MacGregor was primarily actuated by jealousy of the man who had gained all the plums (including the VC) which MacGregor thought were rightfully his is beyond dispute. Nor can it be doubted that his assessment of Roberts is prejudiced and distorted; but, if harsh, it is not entirely unfair. Roberts was most certainly not the simple, honest, upright soldier that biographers and Kipling have so far successfully portrayed. He had a keen appreciation of the press which he manipulated with considerable skill. He was quick to temper his opinions to the political climate. He intrigued to get what he wanted. And there was in him a harsh streak which may have owed much to his experiences during the Mutiny. On the issue on which MacGregor most found himself at odds with his chief – the wisdom and justice of the mass executions at Kabul – it seems to a modern reviewer that MacGregor was right, both practically and morally.

Mr. Trousdale, from the Department of Anthropology in the Smithsonian, is an expert on Afghanistan, having excavated there for a number of seasons up to 1979. His knowledge of the period of the Second Afghan War is deep and in consequence his editing of the text of MacGregor's diary is a model of what such editing ought to be. Perhaps only those who have had reason to study the Second Afghan War can really appreciate the depth and accuracy of his scholarship. But everyone can benefit from his introduction which provides not only an admirable short biography of MacGregor but also a wise and perceptive analysis of the Second Afghan War itself. As compared with the rigorous scholarship of his textual editing, he allows himself a degree of comment and speculation which, while refreshing and provocative, will not in every instance command total support. For example, the evidence simply will not support his theory that Roberts may have got rid of Dunham Massy because he was jealous of the latter's talents. And it is surely a little far-fetched to argue that if MacGregor had not snubbed Ayub Khan in Meshed in 1875 events during the Second Afghan War and even the war itself might have been avoided.

But these are criticisms of the most minor character. In editing MacGregor's diary in such an exemplary fashion Mr. Trousdale has put all historians in his debt. His publishers also deserve the highest credit for the admirable quality of the production.

B. E. ROBSON

ISLAM ET SOCIÉTÉ EN ASIE DU SUD. Études réunies par MARC GABORIEAU. (Collection Purusartha, 9.) pp. 203. Paris, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986. Fr. 170.

According to the editor of this symposium, the study of the Islamic dimension of the history and culture of South Asia has been "rather neglected", especially in France. But no special

pleading is required to justify this book; the twelve essays it contains – six each in French and English – are all illuminating and interesting as well as scholarly. Indeed, this reviewer found reading it from cover to cover not merely a duty but a pleasure.

One advantage of a symposium is that it enables the specialist scholar to shed further light on some particular facet of a large subject which more general works merely mention *en passant*. A disadvantage is that it tends to be too disjointed to hold the attention. The editor has tried to counteract this tendency by dividing the essays into three roughly chronological groups. They are, firstly, "Historical perspectives" (5 articles), which may said to deal with historical and religious aspects of Islam in India between the XIIIth and XVIIIth centuries. Secondly, "Focus on Islamic social groups" (4 articles) ranges from Muslims in Bengal to those who migrated to East and South Africa. Thirdly, the three articles of "The contemporary political scene" deal with models of political leadership, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and how Muslims used their votes in 1984, following the murder of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Each article is followed by notes, a bibliography and a bilingual summary/résumé. The editor provides an introduction (pp. 7–22), which both sets the scene, and suggests some basic conclusions. He is also responsible for a useful glossary (pp. 193–203) of about 150 technical terms with bilingual definitions and limited page references. Sadly, there is no general alphabetical index. Thus, for example, when the reviewer wanted to re-read remarks on Macaulay's "reforms", which had far-reaching effects, he was unable to locate them.

In a short review, it is perhaps unfair to single out selected articles for mention: each reader will have his preferences, according to his individual tastes and interests. Thus when stating that he particularly enjoyed the articles in Group I – especially Geneviève Bouchon's "Quelques aspects de l'islamisation des régions maritimes de l'Inde . . . (XII^e – XVI^e siècles)"; Peter Hardy's "The authority of Muslim kings in medieval India"; and Simon Digby's "The Sufi Shaikh as a source of authority in Medieval India" – the reviewer intends no slight on other articles.

The articles in Group II are not so closely interconnected. M. R. Tarafdar's "The Bengal Muslims in the pre-colonial era: problems of conversion, class-formation and culture", shows that converts to Islam in Bengal came mainly from lower-class Hindus, and were unable to constitute a middle class. Tarafdar's discussion of language and literature is particularly refreshing – as, for example, his remarks on the status of Bengali poets (p. 105), who were "the precursors of those a modern scholar has called the *lesser ashraf*." He suggests that "the prevalence among them of such Arabic and Turkish titles as Sayyid, Shaikh and Khan clearly indicates that they used to claim foreign origin." The fourth article in this group is W. J. Argyle's stimulating account of "The migration of Indian Muslims to East and South Africa: some preliminary comparisons". However, in discussing the provenance of various categories of immigrant (p. 136) he reproduces – albeit tentatively – the view that the Khojas were so named from *khōja*, an Arabic word meaning "honourable disciple" or "respected". In fact, it is probably a corruption of Persian *Khwāja*. (*Khōja* also mean a eunuch in Urdu and Hindi!)

Of the trio of articles in the third group, the final one, Violette Graff's "Le vote musulman en Inde (Lok Sabha, 1984)" has added interest in these days of discussion of tactical voting in Britain. The numerous Indian parties are listed and defined. But the real starting point of the article is advice given to Muslim voters by their New Delhi weekly, *Nāi Dunyā*. (p. 174). "Sympathy over the death of Mrs. Gandhi does not mean that Muslims should automatically vote Congress – but should weigh up the candidates, rejecting those who are weak or have a dubious past. They should vote for candidates who at this sad moment have not thrown their secularism to the wind, and these are found in various parties. Muslims should not vote just for one party". The article then indicates how Muslims did vote, according to local situations, "in favour of candidates belonging to a wide spectrum of political parties".

This book can be recommended to those interested in the sub-continent and in Islam in general. Most will surely find in it much to interest them. It is well-written and efficiently edited.

THE STATE AND PEASANT POLITICS IN SRI LANKA. By MICK MOORE. (Cambridge South Asian Studies No. 34.) pp. xv, 326, 4 maps. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press, 1985. £30.00.

Sri Lanka is still a predominantly rural country, yet there has been no agrarian political movement there, although the country is highly politicised and has had universal suffrage for over 50 years. On the contrary, the politics of all parties seem slanted towards consumerism. Dr Moore considers this apparent paradox at considerable length and with every appearance of authoritativeness.

He begins his historical survey in or about 1931, when universal suffrage was first introduced (two years after it was introduced in Great Britain), saying that he finds little merit in suggestions that either 1948 (Ceylon's attainment of independence) or 1972 (introduction of the republic and change of the country's official name in English) represents "a significant watershed . . . in anything other than a symbolic and emotive sense". Ever since 1931, Lankan politics have been principally concerned with hand-outs and other forms of Welfare (already amounting to 50% of the revenue by 1945), concurrently with the gradual decline of the plantation industry on which the island's late XIXth and early XXth century prosperity was based. As a result of this, there is hardly any landlessness in Ceylon, at least among the Sinhalese, and – anyway until recently – no significant social discontent. The Lankan élite, who were in a position of overwhelming superiority by 1930, have by and large maintained their position in spite of the great upsurge of party politics since then, and have encouraged development of the formerly sparsely populated Dry Zone into a rice granary during the last 50 years without provoking the rise of any powerful smallholder pressure group. The politics of the Dry Zone have developed as an extension of those in what Moore calls "the core", i.e. the south-west coastal region, where the emphasis is not on whether there is enough for everyone – there is – but on *who* gets *what* in the social welfare handouts.

Several reasons are adduced for this turn of events. As much as 50% of the smallholders have other sources of livelihood as well, and smallholder interest is also fragmented by crop and area. In the case of paddy, the biggest individual landowners are Tamil or Muslim, so that energies which might otherwise go into smallholder pressure groups can be easily diverted into ethnic quarrels. Also, the smallholder has not had to suffer from taxes or exactions; of agricultural land, only the plantations (mainly of tea) have been subject to nationalization, while "encroachers" on government paddy land are generally tolerated and given legal rights. Nor has there been any attempt to impose production quotas on the smallholder, even in times when food supplies were low as in the mid-1970s. There is not, in any case, a "peasantry" in Lanka in the normal sense, in spite of the use of that term in the title of the government Commission which reported in 1951.

The Waste Lands Ordinance of 1840 appropriated to the government a fund of some 6 million acres, and this has been gradually distributed ever since. Although the measure was originally designed to help plantation interests, sales were never confined to European purchasers, and in fact the newly prosperous Ceylonese of the British colonial period acquired land in this way from the first. Nor was it alienated in large lots; the *average* lot was only 1½ acres, i.e. often for residence as much as for cultivation (though the residence would include a "house garden"). Since independence, most of the remaining Crown land has been in the Dry Zone, where it has been handed over in small holdings to potential rice-growers in accordance with the national mythic tradition that Sinhala civilization should be based on rice as much as it is based on Buddhism. The members of the élite who formed the governing circles by this time were so distanced from their poorer compatriots that the abortive 1953 Paddy Act was based, apparently, on an ignorant misbelief in a non-existent problem of absentee landlordism in the East coast paddy lands. Philip Gunawardena's Paddy Lands Act of 1958 was designed by its author to facilitate collective farming and the disciplining of the idle cultivator(!); in the result, however, the Cultivation Committees that were set up proved a failure, and increased power in fact accrued to the government Agrarian Services Department.

The ceilings imposed on individual holdings in 1972 and the nationalization of plantations in 1975 involved about one million acres, but hardly any paddy lands. Allotments of paddy land in recent years have been to a considerable extent by *de facto* "encroachment" in Dry Zone

areas, and most of the "bank" of Crown land has now gone. Since the electoral system gives proportional over-representation to the principal smallholding districts – 67% of MPs for 50% of the electorate – these areas are in fact crucial for government majorities; yet no smallholder party has arisen even in the "extreme periphery" areas of paddy surplus. Even the handouts can sometimes, it seems, be safely neglected in these areas; while the official rice ration has been distributed extremely efficiently island-wide, as part of a scheme of Welfare, fertilizer, for instance, which is nominally available on preferential terms, does not reach the periphery areas with any regularity, and is treated as not so much an item of state welfare as a capitalist facility. For most of the postwar years the price of paddy has in fact been artificially depressed, chiefly by a managed rate of exchange, contrived so that imported grain became cheaper than the domestic product. Yet there has been no smallholder reaction in favour of higher prices. Voters in general seem to have always voted chiefly with an eye to retaining available social benefits; Moore points out that the greatest increases in voting turnout were in 1952 (to 71%) and in 1960 (to 78%), in each case probably in defence of newly granted social benefits.

Moore suggests that in fact a nascent or potential smallholder movement in the Vanni area – that is, the country north of Anuradhapura which was hardly habitable before 1948 – was pre-empted by the government policy of sending Sinhalese settlers to these regions, since this had the effect of diverting political energies towards ethnic rivalry. Furthermore, most of the political leaders in those areas were settlers from the Low Country, who managed politics as an extension of the old politics of the south-west "core" region, which had been based on the existence of the big plantation areas. Nowadays, "no party is aiming at fundamental socio-economic change" (p. 224), and politics are about access to the welfare benefits which all parties provide. Even the revolutionary JVP which organized the Insurgency of 1971 "had no agrarian programme to speak of" (p. 221).

Thus Ceylon and India have developed very different political patterns in the years since independence (though it begins to ring a little hollow today to say that Lanka has, by contrast with India, "very little recent history of the local use of *organized private violence*" (p. 180).

Political power is now overwhelmingly centralized, and locals no longer have much influence – except perhaps in the Tamil districts, which are at present no-go areas. But 1977 – the last general election – may have been a political turning point. The bank of State land is now virtually empty, organized labour has lost power while the military have probably gained it (inconceivable not many years ago), and the ultimate effects of proportional representation are still to be seen. The argument in this part of the book is somewhat obscured by the use of the word "class" to mean "occupational category" and its contrasting with "socio-economic strata", which are what most people mean by "class". The general implication is that the absence so far of a smallholder movement may not necessarily be permanent, as far as rice is concerned, especially since the present government – accidentally, according to Moore (p. 116) – has pinned much of its reputation on successful completion of the enormous Mahaweli irrigation and power project. Here one can surely see traces of the wish to emulate the Buddhist kings of old, whose efficacy was judged (as we can see in the *Mahāvamsa*) by the amount of social welfare they provided for their subjects, especially in the field of irrigation; this was stressed by H. D. Evers as long ago as 1964, and from this point of view the accelerated Mahaweli scheme seems of a piece with the re-establishment of Parliament at Kotte.

The lines of argument are made very clear in each chapter (though the sequence of chapters involves some repetitiveness), and the considerable research involved is clearly documented and convincing. There is an excellent bibliography (in which the author, who appears on the titlepage as "Mick Moore" classifies himself more formally as M. P. Moore); some of the works quoted are not generally available in Western libraries, especially the publications of the Agrarian Research and Training Institute, Colombo, and of the Ceylon Studies Seminar, Peradeniya, the *Lanka Guardian* and some unpublished theses. The name Senaratne (Sēnāratna) is written Seneratne throughout.

PEACOCK DREAMS. By BILL TYDD. pp. x, 193. Putney, London, British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA), 1986.

W. H. (Bill) Tydd, born in 1908, joined the (imperial) Indian Police in December 1929. He chose to go to Burma because his father had served there. His career followed the conventional pattern of transfers and promotions. As a young Assistant Superintendent he was involved in putting down the rising called by the British the Saya San rebellion. After being in various rural districts he was appointed to the Rangoon city police force in 1934. Unusually, he remained in Rangoon until the Japanese approached the city early in March 1942. Before then, the most serious event was the savage rioting in the city which began in July 1938. It took the form of attacks by Burmese toughs on the Indians, ostensibly because a book written by a Burmese Muslim contained opprobrious comments on the Buddhist monkhood. An Indian historian observes, "the police forces and the Government . . . were most ineffective . . . The total loss of lives and property was never exactly evaluated. July 26 to mid-September 1938 was a long period of horror for Indians".¹ This book presents a rather different version.

During the Japanese occupation Mr Tydd was with military intelligence. While on leave in Edinburgh in 1945 he received an appointment with the Allied Control Commission in Germany but was required to return to Burma ("much against my will") at the end of September 1946. He did not stay long. As Superintendent of the up-country district of Yamethin he found that the pressure of post-war politics had swept away the old comfortable life for ever. On 19 October, as one of a group of senior police officers asked by the Governor to evaluate the situation, "Mr Tydd said that his District Force could not now be relied upon to perform its duties and he thought it impossible to rectify the position . . . The police force was now in fact a police force composed of political factions".² Shortly after, in January 1947, he took home leave prior to retirement. He played no part in the testing last year before independence.

Those acquainted with British Burma will find nothing remarkable in this book, but a future historian who picks it up will marvel at the aloofness of one who was supposed to be in touch with the life of the people. We read about faithful retainers and loyal subordinates but no mention of educated, middle class Burmese. Although Mr Tydd's territory in his first stint in Rangoon included the university he never seems to have met staff or students, off duty or on. Indeed, he never seems to have become friendly with any Burmese. He records "The unwritten law that Europeans should not visit Buddhist shrines any more, since it now meant the removal of shoes". Tydd accepted "the need to prevent this understandable affront": though looking back he can see that it was "a stupid convention". On his final departure, feeling sore as he did, he did not even turn to view that incomparable sight, the shimmering Shwe Dagon, from the stern of the ship. Bill Tydd's Burma of polo and parties belonged to another age. George Orwell, the best-known member of the Indian Police in Burma, resigned three years before Tydd arrived: he was able to accept without question the values which Orwell had rejected.

HUGH TINKER

¹ N. R. Chakravarti, *The Indian Minority in Burma*, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 158.

² Hugh Tinker, ed. *Burma: the Struggle for Independence, 1944-1948*, Vol. II, HMSO, 1984, p. 89.

HOLLANDS RUHM IN ASIEN. FRANÇOIS VALENTYNS VISION DES NIEDERLÄNDISCHEN IMPERIUMS IM 18. JAHRHUNDERT. By JÖRG FISCH. (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, Bd. 34.) pp. xx, 166, front., 18 illus. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986. DM 38.

The Rev. François Valentyn (*b.* Dordrecht 1666, *d.* The Hague 1727) was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church who lived for many years in Amboina and Java (1685–94 and 1705–13). During this period and after his final return to Holland, he collected an enormous mass of information on a great variety of subjects, historical, geographical, botanical, ethnological, which he utilised for the publication of his great encyclopaedic work *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* in eight large folio volumes at Dordrecht and Amsterdam in 1724–26, comprising nearly 5,000 pages and over 1,050 illustrations and maps. The use which he made of his material and the merits and shortcomings of his work have been very variously assessed. The Swiss scholar's analytical discussion and evaluation of Valentyn's work form a major contribution to the historiography of the Dutch East India Company's activities from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. Valentyn did not limit himself to describing the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) territorial possessions, but he also dealt with places where it traded in competition with its rivals, whether Asians or Europeans.

As Dr. Fisch has indicated in his subtitle, he has focused on how Valentyn himself regarded this colonial empire, then at the zenith of its outward prosperity, and how far he represented the well-educated Dutch person's viewpoint. The former assessment is easily done. Valentyn was a convinced imperialist and he never missed an opportunity to extol the achievements and benefits of Dutch colonial rule, as Dr. Fisch shows with a wealth of detail. The favourable reception which the book met with in the Netherlands also indicates that there was a market for it. The original edition of 2,200 copies was over-subscribed; and although it was never reprinted in full, it was widely quoted and portions of it were often reproduced in Dutch works and in foreign translations, such as the Rev. William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch* (London, 1903) and in the Van Riebeeck Society of Cape Town's edition of *Valentyn's Description of the Cape of Good Hope, with the matters concerning it* (1971). The most recent instance is afforded by Professor S. Arasaratnam (trans. and ed.), *François Valentyn's Description of Ceylon* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1978), on which Dr. Fisch draws heavily. He is right to do so; but anyone interested in Valentyn's account of Ceylon should also consult the probing review of Arasaratnam's book by Professor K. W. Goonewardena in *Modern Ceylon Studies* Vol. 7, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 239–49, Colombo, 1978, but actually published in 1982. This article, which was unknown to Dr. Fisch, amplifies and corrects both Valentyn and Arasaratnam in several particulars.

Valentyn was never in Ceylon himself, although he devotes a great deal of space to it (462 folio pages). As Arasaratnam observed, next to Amboina and Java, Ceylon receives the most detailed coverage of all the countries and regions dealt with in the entire work. But much more valuable than his account of Ceylon, are his descriptions of Amboina and Java. During his stay in the former island, he became a friend of the celebrated naturalist, Georg Rumphius (1628–1702), the "blind seer of Amboina", who initiated him into the collecting of sea-shells, turning Valentyn into an expert conchologist as well as a regional historian of the Moluccas, on which Rumphius was likewise an expert. Valentyn tried to avoid much travelling around his seaborne missionfield, since he suffered from sea-sickness, and he liked to stay at home with his extensive library and his creature comforts. He denounced tea as "hay-water", but he was a connoisseur of wine and brandy. He was fortunate in his marriage to a wealthy widowed Dutch lady, Cornelia Snaats. She was probably born in the East, was fluent in Malay, and a fine calligrapher in the Jawi script. His step-daughter, Cecilia, was also fluent in Malay. In fact, the ladies of Valentyn's household were much more at home in this language than he was, although he prided himself on his knowledge of Malay and was anxious to be recognised as an Orientalist.

Valentyn was (and is) often accused of plagiarism, and he seldom hesitated to pass off as his own work something which he had derived from others, when he thought he could get away with it. One instance (not cited by Dr. Fisch) is his plagiarism of the Portuguese chronicler, Diogo do Couto (1542–1616) in the latter's description of Ceylon in his *Decada V* (Lisbon, 1612). This was exposed at some length by Donald Ferguson in 1908 (*Journal of the Ceylon*

Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX, No. 60, 1908, Colombo, 1909). But Ferguson did not realise that Couto himself was plagiarising an account of Ceylon (where he had never been), from an Augustinian missionary-friar, Fr. Agostinho de Azevedo, who knew the island well, as was conclusively proved by the late Father Georg Schurhammer SJ, in 1977.

As all readers of Valentyn know, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* is not an orderly historical narrative, but a vast heterogeneous compilation of sources, good, bad, and indifferent, compiled by the author at various times and places, interspersed with numerous digressions and comments; and evidently prepared for final publication in rather a hurry. But its manifold defects are outweighed by its merits, apart from the fact that Valentyn had access to sources which are no longer extant. In this connection, we may note that the policy of secrecy regarding its territorial possessions, which the VOC officially maintained, was breached wide open by Valentyn and by many others. He makes specific acknowledgement to several directors of the company and to former senior employees who had supplied him with oral information and manuscript material. Moreover, the numerous maps and charts, though faulty by modern standards, were valuable and informative at that time. The numerous illustrations likewise vary from the purely fanciful to others which are clearly reliable in the light of modern knowledge, or were closely copied from originals such as Mughal miniatures.

Valentyn's conviction that Dutch expansion in the East was divinely favoured, did not prevent him from criticising the misbehaviour of his countrymen on occasion. He was particularly outraged by their lax sexual mores and concubinage with indigenous women. He shared the traditional European dislike and ignorance of Islam, denouncing the Prophet Muhammad as a *schurk* (scoundrel). Nor could he feel any admiration for the Indonesian rulers who fought against the Dutch, despite his wide-ranging if rather superficial interest in many aspects of Asian civilisations and cultures. He described with relish the cruel and treacherous murder by the Dutch of the Ternatan prince, Kachil Saidi, in 1650, as "an all too soft end" for "one who had deserved to live longer in order that he might have suffered a still more painful death". A mixture of Calvinism and sadism which was not unique.

Valentyn's hard-line Calvinism made him particularly critical of the Roman Catholic Portuguese predecessors and rivals of the Dutch. His account of Hinduism was derived from the works of his predecessors in this field, Rogerius, Baldaeus and Havart. As a missionary, he deplored the fact that there were so few Protestant workers in the vast potential harvest; but he realised that the propagation of the faith among "the blind heathen" was not a top priority for a trading company.

In conclusion, Dr. Jörg Fisch's thoughtful little work can be commended to those interested in the history of European-Asian relations in the early modern period. We may hope that he will in due course produce a "Life and Times" of the Rev. François Valentyn, which does that complex and controversial character full justice, "warts and all".

C. R. BOXER

YOGYAKARTA, CULTURAL HEART OF INDONESIA. By MICHAEL SMITHIES. pp. ix, 101, 16 col. pl., 6 maps and plans. Singapore etc., Oxford University Press (Oxford Paperbacks), 1986. £4.95.

THE TEMPLES OF JAVA. By JACQUES DUMARÇAY, translated and edited by MICHAEL SMITHIES. pp. viii, 101, 21 figs., 12 col. pl., 22 b. and w. pl. Singapore etc., Oxford University Press (Oxford Paperbacks), 1986. £4.95.

These two works should serve as introductions for students, or handbooks for visitors to Java. Professor Smithies' *Yogyakarta* is a modest, but sympathetic, description of that city, which sums up in itself so much of the life, arts and ideals of Indonesia; however, his affection

is tempered by a realistic eye to some of its imperfections. He summarizes the history of Yogyakarta, and looks at the palace complex, the town, its arts and crafts and its people, and the ancient monuments and other places, including Surakarta and Semarang, in easy reach of the city. This he follows by practical information for the traveller, a glossary of Indonesian and Javanese terms and a good bibliography. The illustrations are all of the royal buildings of Yogyakarta and the old Buddhist and Hindu temples of the region: the people and their arts and crafts are not pictured. I enjoyed this book as recalling the pleasure of visiting Yogyakarta and its surroundings and as confirming many of my own impressions of its life style.

Jacques Dumarçay's book describes the setting of the Javanese temple, the Hindu and Buddhist shrines to the beginning of the IXth century, wooden temples (testified by scant remains, together with representations on sculptured panels of surviving stone monuments), the Hindu renaissance after A.D. 832, the Xth and XIth century buildings of the kingdom of Kediri, the temples of Singosari and Majapahit and concludes with his architectural perception of the Javanese temples. The author holds to a Hindu first stage in the construction of Borobudur; and also an early date (832) for the Hindu revival: this makes it difficult to place or explain the later Buddhist buildings of Central Java. His text appears to have been abridged from monographs and articles published by the École Française d'Extrême Orient, as some of the names of monuments compared, and technical matters, are given without explanation or reference. The line drawings and most of the colour plates are excellent, but some of the black-and-white photographs are dark and lack definition, and it would have been helpful if there had been plans of the complexes of Candi Sewu and Candi Penataran in the text. However, the descriptions, maps and Dumarçay's archaeological judgments, taken with the English version of his earlier work, *Borobudur* (OUP: Kuala Lumpur, 1978), would make it possible to plan a fairly comprehensive and informed tour of the chief Buddhist and Hindu monuments of Java.

G. E. MARRISON

SOLO IN THE NEW ORDER: LANGUAGE AND HIERARCHY IN AN INDONESIAN CITY. By JAMES T. SIEGEL. pp. viii, 338, illus. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press. £20.10.

The Solo of Professor Siegel's title is the familiar name of Surakarta, one of the former princely cities of Central Java. His study is built upon a threefold basis: firstly, a consideration of the Javanese language, with its special feature of *ngoko*, or common, and *kromo*, or respectful forms; and the related notions of a hierarchical society, where the fitness of speech to the occasion and the interlocutors is always of importance, and where suppression and restraint condition the appropriate discourse. Together with these, he alludes to certain terms and concepts well known in Javanese and Indonesian contexts, amongst which are *latah*, a form of mental disturbance, *anèh*, the unusual or unexpected, and *alus* = refined, which may refer to language, art or conduct. Secondly, notwithstanding the author's interest in language, his approach is anthropological, and his methodology to some degree reflects ideas from the Clifford and Hildred Geertz, Jacques Derrida on *Grammatology* and Samuel Weber on *The Legend of Freud*. Thirdly, Siegel spent 22 months within the period 1978–1980 in Surakarta, and describes in detail certain aspects of life in the city which he was able to observe, and offers an extended commentary on and interpretation of them. Among the institutions which specially engaged his attention were the *ronda*, or young vigilantes of one of the wards of Surakarta; the modern alternative theatre, Sri Mulat; the classroom, where Indonesian is the medium of instruction, and learning by rote is the rule; the market, the management of money and street activities including the lottery; teenage pop musical culture; aspects of the Javanese

attitudes to death and its attendant ceremonies; and the impact of political change from the era of Sukarno to that of Suharto.

I myself had an all too brief visit to Surakarta in 1981, to see what I could of the cultural heritage of the city: the two palaces, the museums, the bookshops, the classical theatre, the markets with their many stalls selling fine *batik* cloths; above this, what I had not looked for, was the best cuisine I had found on my Indonesian travels, and a degree of courtesy, kindness and interest from the people beyond what any unannounced stranger could reasonably expect; and I was left with the feeling that there was a lot more to look forward to, should I ever return there. The impression that I have from Professor Siegel's book is that coming after and in contrast to his researches in Aceh, he found certain aspects of life in Surakarta somewhat bland, and the community and its culture elusive and difficult to penetrate: the courtesies of Javanese language and manners are there not only to put the stranger at ease, but also to protect the Javanese from the intrusions of outsiders and outside influences. The consequence of this is that the subject matter of Siegel's field researches relates mostly to the public and external aspects of life: what is lacking is the description of the intimacies of Javanese family life, and for the most part, religious activities and attitudes, and the relationship of the life and culture of present day Surakarta to its own past, or to other Indonesian cities.

Siegel's method is represented most extensively and characteristically in two chapters, the one on the theatre, the other on pop music. Sri Mulat (1905–1966) was the daughter of a Surakartan nobleman; she became an actress in the popular musical theatre, *ketropak*. In 1936 she formed her own troupe, putting into practice new ideas, which have been continued and developed since her death. The repertoire is all of a kind, a sort of social comedy, whose special feature is the introduction of a modern, foreign, disruptive, female spirit known as *Draculla* (*sic*). Every performance uses a new, slightly different script, and includes elements of improvisation and exchange with the audience: many of the traditional conventions of Javanese language and behaviour are reversed or traversed. Siegel attended many performances, and on one occasion also participated. He gives a long commentary on and interpretation of this institution, which he sees as expressive of certain significant aspects of current thought and manners. However, though his observations and analyses are within the terms of his approach to anthropology, he does not often give reasons for his particular conclusions, and some of his data are capable of alternative interpretation.

The author's discussion of teenage pop music society is based upon a study of the magazine *Topchords*, published in Salatiga, but widely read in Surakarta. This includes examples of the music, the life of the stars, centrefold posters, and a mail order business dealing in a variety of souvenirs, but especially pop clothes. The stars and the magazine cater for the modern high school students, the *remaja*, whose outlook and manners contrast with the traditional conventions and restraints of their elders.

In his final chapter, Siegel recapitulates his understanding of the nature of the Javanese language. At p. 299 he says:

"The question of translation is central to Javanese. Linguists, for instance, would not be satisfied with my characterization of Javanese as two languages. Even though they are mutually incomprehensible, knowledge of one not ensuring knowledge of the other, there is only one community of speakers; anyone who speaks High Javanese also speaks Low Javanese."

I find myself bound to agree with this criticism. Javanese is not two languages, but one. The alternation of High and Low Javanese in discourse is not translation, but a mode of code-switching, conditioned by the hierarchical character of Javanese society and reflected by the language in a mandatory manner. For almost every object or concept, there are not one but two terms, which are differentiated, sometimes completely, but more often closely related in shape; at each point there is direct reference to the subject of discourse, without any process of translation. What is undoubtedly true is that this feature of the Javanese language was in harmony with the character of the traditional society, but does not relate so readily or logically to the social conditions of the new Indonesia: hence, the Javanese are faced with a problem of linguistic and psychological adaptation. It is in this field of cultural and linguistic change that Siegel's observations and interpretations have been made. He appears not altogether to have

succeeded in this, because the task requires a rigorous interdisciplinary control, involving not only anthropology, but also linguistics.

There are certain things which would have made Siegel's researches easier to follow. It would have been helpful to have had an introductory chapter, giving briefly the history, geography, demography and cultural tradition of Surakarta, explaining the way that the city is special, or distinguished from, other towns of Java; and, with this, a more explicit outline of his anthropological method, including a critical assessment of his authorities. His chosen subject is one of fundamental importance for the understanding of Indonesia, because by it he has attempted to assess the attitudes, moods and motivations of the younger generation, which is to a large degree cut off from the traditions and outlook of pre-independence days. In a brief period of time, new norms, new attitudes and new aspirations have been established: but these are in a process of rapid evolution. What would be welcome from Professor Siegel would be a more extensive work, not only descriptive and interpretative, but also diachronic and comparative, set in the wider context of Javanese urban life and culture, and of Indonesian national development.

G. E. MARRISON

FAMILY AND POPULATION IN EAST ASIAN HISTORY. Edited by SUSAN B. HANLEY and ARTHUR P. WOLF. (Based on a conference sponsored by the joint committees on Chinese Studies and Japanese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.) pp. xxiv, 360. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1985. US\$45.00.

Most of the thirteen papers presented here were prepared for a conference held in Oxford in 1978. The lapse of time before publication does not detract from their usefulness.

As the large number (185) of tables accompanying the text would indicate, this is a work of primary interest to historical demographers, but anthropologists and historians will find many leads here to effective use of historical sources on population composition and movements. Chinese genealogies and Japanese household registers are the main focus of attention, though other written sources and oral data gathered by fieldwork are also dealt with.

In their introduction the editors examine the possibility that the dichotomy set up by John Hajnal in 1965 (in which Western Europe was characterised by late marriage and a high proportion of women who did not ever marry while Eastern Europe practised early marriage of all women) might apply also to Japan and China. Associated with the dichotomy are other features, so that, for instance, universal marriage of women may be linked with a high incidence of joint families, and non-universal marriage of women with the stem or simple family. The conclusion reached is that some such East Asian dichotomy might indeed exist and that it might be fruitful to explore further the coincidence of differential economic progress between the Western Europe/Japan type and the Eastern Europe/China type. The editors do not pretend that any of this is more than speculative at this stage. The diversity of family type and family movement strategy chronicled in the papers makes any firm conclusion inadvisable, but the concentration of so much high quality work on a limited area of study is of great value, as the continual holding of research conferences attests.

HUGH D. R. BAKER

HAN YÜ AND THE T'ANG SEARCH FOR UNITY. By CHARLES HARTMAN. pp. x, 459. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1986. £35.80.

Professor Hartman's study of Han Yu (768-824) admirably fills a long-felt gap in the English language literature on Chinese intellectual history. A reasonably well-read student of my generation knew that Han Yu was regarded as the spiritual founder of Neo-Confucianism, that his advocacy of the simple "ancient style" accomplished a significant reform in mediaeval Chinese letters, and that in his most celebrated writings he upheld the doctrines of Confucianism against the alien Buddhism; but one did not have much sense of him as an intellectual. Indeed, it barely occurred to one that he might have been interesting. This is no doubt in part because of the particular definition of philosophy applied by Fung Yu-lan, in whose influential *History* Han is dismissed with some four pages and the comment that he "is more famous as a stylist than as a speculative thinker"; but it perhaps also reflects the fact that many important clues to Han Yu's intellectual personality are dispersed in his occasional pieces, textual exegesis, and poetry.

It is the great strength of Hartman's book that (drawing, to be sure, on a considerable body of existing scholarship) he pursues these clues, presenting the reader with the texts often in full translation, and proposing interpretations which are sympathetic and in general convincing. The translation, too, is skilful and creative. While consideration is given to Han Yu's place in Chinese intellectual history as a whole – the author even goes so far as to speculate whether Han would have been of the Cheng-Zhu or the Lu-Wang school of later Neo-Confucianism, and finds in favour of the latter – the author's major effort, as is only proper, has been to portray Han's thought and intellectual concerns against the background of his times, so that the book is above all a re-creation of the mental world of an outstanding member of the late Tang intellectual and governing élite. The theme of unity announced in the title pervades the book at a number of levels. First there is political unity: in practical terms, Han's contribution included both support within the ruling group for Xianzong's policies, and personal participation in military-diplomatic missions, to the cause of anti-separatism; and in the realm of ideals, a commitment to the integration of the ethnically and culturally diverse elements of the Tang empire into a homogeneous society defined by Confucian culture. Second is that familiar theme of Neo-Confucianism, the unity of thought and action, or of private virtue and social engagement. The Confucian ideal of morality proved through engagement with the world is, needless to say, represented as the antithesis of the Buddhist ethic of detachment; for Han, it was the trump-card demonstrating the superiority of Confucianism over Buddhism, an issue of vital social and political relevance during the Tang. Third, in doctrinal matters, there is Han's search for a unified understanding of the Confucian scriptures and of other writings of the ancient period, his belief in a single proper path to Sagehood and a single line of transmission of Confucian orthodoxy, and his Buddhist-influenced conception of the Sage as metaphysical absolute. Finally, Han sought to promote a conception of literature as the expression of personal identification with the ways of the Confucian ancients, and a single style of such flexibility as to permit artistic reflection of the Confucian life-in-the-world in a variety of *genres* and contexts.

Reflecting these interests, the book is divided into four sections. The first third of the text comprises a detailed reconstruction of Han's own life, while Chapter II, *The Politics of Empire*, discusses the historical background to Han's ideal of cultural homogeneity, and presents an extended exploration of his most famous acclamation of Confucianism, the essay *Yuan Dao* (impressively translated as "Essentials of the Moral Way"). The remaining chapters are entitled *The Oneness of the Sage* and *The Unity of Style*. Professor Hartman had a difficult task in this book: writing about Han Yu for scholars long accustomed to reading about later Neo-Confucianism is a little like presenting *Romeo and Juliet* in the 1980s – the audience is likely to decry the masterpiece as being full of clichés. Thus for the present reviewer, as a non-specialist, the most enjoyable parts of the work were the translations and interpretations of occasional pieces, the explanation of Han's stylistic principles and his originality as a stylist, and the various small interesting details dispersed about the book. For a specialist in intellectual history, however, the most valuable aspects of Hartman's study would probably be the elucidation of Han's intellectual debts to Buddhism; the use of the *Random notes on the*

Analects by Han Yu and Li Ao as a guide to Han's exegetical principles and philosophical beliefs; and the study of the importance in his thought of the now famous catenation at the beginning of the *Great Learning* and the canonical expression *qiongli jinxing* ("to develop one's nature to perfection through the understanding of Principle", as Hartman renders it).

There are occasions when one's own linguistic principles are riled by Hartman's usage ("momentarily" for "presently" is a little hard to take, for instance), and there is one somewhat ironic typesetter's error in the glossary (p.439, *lian* after *xiu* instead of *geng*). Essentially, however, one congratulates the author on a rich work which, despite the *Romeo and Juliet* effect, is intellectually pleasurable.

HELEN DUNSTAN

¹ See D. Bodde tr., Fung Y.-L., *A history of Chinese philosophy* Vol. II (Princeton, 1953), p. 410 in the 1983 paperback edition.

LA VALEUR ALLUSIVE: DES CATÉGORIES ORIGINALES DE L'INTERPRÉTATION POÉTIQUE DANS LA TRADITION CHINOISE (CONTRIBUTION À UNE RÉFLEXION SUR L'ALTÉRITÉ INTERCULTURELLE). By FRANÇOIS JULLIEN. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. CXLIV) pp. vi, 312. Paris, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1985.

Dr Jullien's "Contribution to a reflection" in 312 pages constitutes his doctoral thesis (1983). It opens with a polemic against traditional sinology. Like most polemical writing the language is vigorously abrasive. "The sinologist" (we are all lumped together whether we are dead or alive, young or old, European or American, and regardless of specialisation or contribution to the discipline), Dr Jullien claims, is guilty of "diffidence in his work which often leads him to reproduce (= 'recopier') Chinese learning or knowledge without really daring to ask himself how such learning may be integrated with our own (= Western) concepts" (p. 3). This charge is repeated on p. 9. He also accuses "the sinologist" of a tendency to become locked into his narrow research and lose touch with the real concerns of his topic (p. 5). It is true that much sinological research entails meticulous attention to detail in study lasting many years, sometimes a lifetime devoted to one topic, for the discipline is very difficult, especially early classical Chinese. There is still much original work, real sinology, to be done before future generations may properly attempt to present more generalised conclusions. In fact, many gifted sinologists in this century have already "dared" to go beyond the mere reproduction of traditional Chinese methods and knowledge, and have reconstructed in a bold, original manner facets of Chinese culture: Marcel Granet (social patterns in ancient folk song), Charles O. Hucker (censorial system), Ho Ping-ti (examination system), Erik Zürcher (Buddhism in medieval times), Jonathan Spence (late imperial China), Edward H. Schafer (T'ang exotica, T'ang metaphysical imagination), and other distinguished sinologists. One of these, James J. Y. Liu, who has written a sophisticated book of pioneering scholarship on Chinese literary theories, on which topic Dr Jullien's own book touches, is dismissed by Dr Jullien with unprofessional sarcasm: "... the work of the comparatist becomes lost in a kind of rhapsodic inventory, the gratuitous references of which are not redeemed by any proper attempt at analysis (this seems to me to be the case with James Liu's study [*Chinese Theories of Literature*, 1975])" (p. 21).

Dr Jullien's aim in his book is to confront the terminology and mode of thinking of traditional Chinese literary critics with contemporary, avant-garde Western terminology and concepts in order to produce a fruitful cultural interaction. The book's organisation does not immediately reveal an on-going argument or even an evolving thesis. The leitmotif of the early

chapters and the tenor of the last two chapters, however, invest his title, "La valeur allusive," with meaning. This may be summed up as follows: traditional Chinese critics avoided theorising; in general, their discourse on literature was conducted in figurative language; their search for value and meaning in literature, especially poetry, led them into abstractions, metaphysical musings, on the nature of the pure ideal; this quest was expressed in a language that was essentially concrete and familiar, albeit indirect and allusive; they found this mode of indirection and allusiveness ultimately inspiring and illuminating; the mode acquired its own self-perpetuating value.

Dr Jullien's method is generally ahistorical. Chinese literary terms and ideas are strewn across several chapters and discussed in terms of critics of different periods and in varying contexts. The implication is that the historical evolution of a critical term or concept, its changing semantic meaning, is irrelevant. The implication to be drawn from the ahistorical method is also that Chinese critical terms embody a meaning which remains constant regardless of period, author, or work. Consequently, his reflective essays, some of which are very short, give his discussion a piecemeal quality. In addition, the absence of conventional scholarly references (page numbers of cited classical texts, dates, Western research, etc.) underscores the fragmented style. On the other hand, some of the central body of his work, such as the 40-page section on *wei*, literary savour, is intrinsically interesting.

The proof of the value of such a polemically engendered book lies in its reading and in its comparison with similar contributions to the field. I found that I was no better informed on the subject at the close than I was at the start. The comparativist conception of the book, while anachronistic, may be viewed as a kind of literary tour de force. My conclusion is that it in no way supersedes the valuable, original research of *Chinese Theories of Literature* by Professor James J. Y. Liu.

ANNE BIRRELL

REMEMBRANCES: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST IN CLASSICAL CHINESE LITERATURE. By STEPHEN OWEN. pp. (xii), 147. Cambridge, Mass. and London, Harvard University Press, 1986, £14.95.

This is one of the very few books on Chinese literature by a sinologist which I have enjoyed reading. Professor Owen has presented eight essays loosely structured around the theme of time past. In this case, the elegant chapter headings fulfil their promise of sophisticated discourse on his chosen theme. From the somewhat stodgy, even murky style of his English prose and translation in earlier studies on Tang poetry, this author has emerged as a writer of considerable sensitivity and poetic insight. Each essay gives vivid evidence of his personal encounter with his material, his honest struggle to come to terms with it, and his brilliant transmutation of moribund texts into living, significant art. In a word, Stephen Owen has found his literary voice.

Apart from this personal triumph of art over narrow sinological discipline, he has achieved a victory for that school of sinology which seeks to explore Chinese literature, rather than merely to serve up material on the sometimes platitudinous platter of translation. Moreover, his book, and one hopes others like it, may deter self-styled "professionals" in certain Departments of English Literature from straying into sinology in search of new material. These "professionals," unschooled in Chinese and ignorant of the pitfalls in sinology, will only clutter the field with half-baked theories and ill-matched literary comparisons, the whole delivered in the language of jargon and mystification. With the publication of his *Remembrances*, Owen has proved that sinological skill and literary professionalism admirably combine to produce new perspectives on a traditional theme.

This praise does not gainsay the weaknesses of this book. Some scholarly matters are

brushed aside in the grand sweep of literary excursus. In the Introduction Tu Fu's poem, "Meeting Li Kuei-nien in the Southland," is translated and given an extensive commentary (pp. 3-7), yet nowhere is it mentioned that the authenticity of the poem has been questioned for centuries, as William Hung pointed out several decades ago (*Tu Fu*, 1952, p. 271, and *Notes Volume*, p. 112). Professor Hung rightly called attention to the poem's temporal anomaly: Tu Fu must have first met the male singer, Li, in about A.D. 725, when Tu Fu was a mere fourteen years old, for the two celebrities who were Li's patrons, the Prince of Ch'i and Ts'ui Ti, both died in A.D. 726. Consequently, the temporal aspect of the poem which is emphasised in Owen's treatment stands on shaky foundations. Elsewhere in the Introduction the old propaganda against Ch'in Shih Huang-ti is trotted out unquestioningly – that he ordered the Classics to be burned and scholars executed. The general reader needs to be given a caveat on this point. In Chapter One, a reference to the author's putative "copy" of Herbert W. Gleason's photographic study, "Mayflowers, Plymouth, 1903," is probably nullified by the fact that Plymouth sustained saturation bombing in World War II, so that the original site of the photograph may no longer exist. Later in this chapter the origins of *huai-ku* poetry (meditations on the past) are discussed. I would dispute the *locus classicus* given by Owen for this poetic theme. Surely some passages in the *Li sao* of the Ch'u Tz'u contain the seeds of the theme, two centuries prior to the Mao commentary on the *Book of Songs* (*Mao shih*) and about four centuries prior to Cheng Hsüan's commentary (*Shih-p'u-hsü*). Moreover, while it may be true that the Mao commentary of Song no. 65 turned an innocent love song into a Han meditation on history by a specific historical personage at a certain point in time, it should have been stressed in Owen's analysis that this sort of didactic interpretation was completely rejected by creative poets of the Latter Han and later, especially the influential poets of the Chien-an era (A.D. 196-220). This makes a nonsense of Owen's comment (p. 24): "capitals disappear, their place taken (*tai*) by lush fields of millet" (repeated on p. 26), where he erroneously applies the didactic interpretation of Song 65 to the T'ang poet Meng Hao-jan. In this chapter Owen goes on to discuss Yang Hu's stele on Mount Hsien (pp. 22-32). Regrettably, he fails to acknowledge two earlier works by sinologists: Paul Kroll translated almost the same text from the *Chin History* (pp. 22-23) and Meng Hao-jan's poem (*Meng Hao-jan*, 1981, pp. 34-35), and Ronald C. Egan translated the essay by Ou-yang Hsiu, "Hsien Mountain Pavilion," in full, but also originally raised the motif of vanity recurring throughout the essay (*The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu*, 1984, pp. 224-26, 249-50, 39). On the other hand, a faulty, yet profoundly eloquent, translation of Chang Heng's "Prose-poem on a Skeleton" by Arthur Waley (pp. 35-37) is presented uncorrected. In his analysis of this piece Owen might have mentioned Derk Bodde's exposition of the Pan Ku creation myth ("Myths of Ancient China", 1961, p. 383) for the idea of plundering the universe to form parts of the human body. Similarly, his perceptive examination of conscience and motivation might have acquired more critical depth had he availed himself of a body of Wang Yang-ming's writings alternative to Wang's essay, "Burial on the Road" (pp. 42-50). Wang's letter "To Wang Ch'un-fu," written in A.D. 1512, explains that Wang Yang-ming was in exile in Kweichow, the scenario of the burial: "It was only with my three-year exile in Kweichow, where I suffered every possible difficulty, that I received some insight . . ." (Julia Ching, *The Philosophical Letters of Wang Yang-ming*, 1972, p. 18). Wang's humility in this letter and his awareness that old habits and attitudes die hard put the confessional narrative of his essay in a more immediately human light. Chapter Three has some good moments, but the author jumps about, pompously, from one Grand Theme to the next – historical necessity, tragedy, retributive justice, moral order, absolute free will, human justice, moral history, nature as mechanism, etc., etc., – all this reading like an undergraduate thrilled at discovering novel sounding concepts. In Chapter Four an emendation is in order: it is now generally agreed that Confucius did not edit the *Book of Songs* (p. 68). Again, with the translation of Li Ho's "Song of an Arrowhead from the Battlefield of Ch'ang-p'ing" (p. 70) it is regrettable that two earlier translations receive no mention, despite the presence in Owen's version of echoes from them: Angus C. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang*, 1965, p. 99, and J.D. Frodsham, *Goddesses, Ghosts, and Demons*, 1983, pp. 179, 275 (Frodsham provides the possible date of A.D. 814 for the song, in the poet's early twenties). Li Shang-yin's poem, "Drunk Beneath the Flowers" (p. 77) does not carry the interesting note that "drifting-cloud" (i.e. drifting-dawn or dusk mist) was a fancy name for a

wine connected with immortality (from James J. Y. Liu, *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin*, 1969, p. 137). This reference conjures up related ideas of sleep, death, deathlessness, awakening, intuitive wisdom. The last couplet in Li's poem surely echoes the *carpe diem* theme, linked to the theme of *tempus fugit*, in "Nineteen Old Poems" of the Han, no. 15, line 4. This literary allusion contradicts Owen's negative reading of Li's heptasyllabic quatrain. Here it is disappointing to find the old ideology of traditional Chinese poetics, embodied in the so-called four stages of T'ang poetry – Early, High, Middle, and Late – applied to the poetry of Li Shang-yin, a late T'ang poet, dismissed as "a true decadence" by Owen (p. 79). It should be noted that the citation of "an old song" by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (p. 128) is merely the first couplet of the Han poet's irregular heptasyllabic seven-line song for the lute.

In all, Professor Owen cites seventeen poems in full dating from the Chou, Han, Chin, Southern Dynasties, T'ang, and Yüan, affording the reader a measure of chronological perspective. Of these the T'ang poems predominate, revealing his special interest in this period over the years. On the prose side ten pieces date from the Chou, Chin, Sung, Ming, and Ch'ing. These will be relatively new to the general reader.

The book lacks notes and a bibliography, but has an index. On the other hand, most of the information useful to the general reader is incorporated into his text, and a finding-list provides sources for the citations. Some of these sources are unacceptable, such as Lu Ch'in-li's 1982 sourcebook for Han and Chin material; the *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*, comp. mid VIth century A.D. usefully contains this. Some citations in his list are inadequate, such as the absence of *Shih ching* poem numbers.

Perhaps the sinological scholarship was deliberately kept unobtrusive in order that the author might engage the sophisticated general reader from other disciplines in a literary discourse untrammelled by constant annotation. My own conclusion is that Owen has written an original, deeply personal set of literary essays which explore and illuminate many hidden facets of Chinese imaginative art with verve and brilliance.

ANNE BIRRELL

TIME, SCIENCE AND SOCIETY IN CHINA AND THE WEST. THE STUDY OF TIME, V. Edited by J. T. FRASER, N. LAWRENCE and F. C. HABER. pp. xv, 262. Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1986.

The excellent collection of articles contained in this volume are the papers presented to the Fifth Conference of the International Society for the Study of Time. This is a society, founded by Dr J. T. Fraser, whose objective is to bring to the study of "time" a strongly interdisciplinary character. "Time" is certainly strangely mysterious – so much so that we are often tempted to speak of "the problem of time", but without even being able to say just what that problem is! Perhaps greater understanding may be obtained through a comparison of the partial insights achieved in different disciplines, or in a variety of cultures. Such is the Society's view and the theme for its Fifth Conference was chosen as "time in its relation to science and society in China and the West."

The volume is dedicated to Joseph Needham and he kindly contributed a short opening paper based on his earlier monograph contained in *The Voices of Time*. (Ed. J. T. Fraser, New York, Braziller, 1966). Needham rebuts the widely held idea that the European is the only culture having a real sense of history; China, too, he says has a great historiographical tradition. Related to this is another very significant point: the Chinese were well aware of the cyclical time conceptions common to ancient Greece and India, but nevertheless the *philosophia perennis* of Chinese thought accepted that notion of a linear continuous time which has been the most widely held conception in Europe. Needham concludes that the

failure of Chinese civilisation to achieve a mathematical natural science was not related to Chinese views on time and change.

Out of a total of some two dozen papers I will pick out for special mention those which will perhaps be of the greatest interest to Fellows of the Royal Asiatic Society – i.e. papers by native Chinese scholars or by orientalist from other countries.

Fan Dainian and co-authors expound the view that, whereas in Western society scientific theory, controlled experiment and technology could mutually stimulate each other, the long-continued feudal system in China prevented this. The development of science and of technology were thus separately confined within mutually isolating frameworks and it was this factor, the authors believe, that accounts for the fact that Chinese culture lagged behind the West. A further factor consisted in a tendency, within the cultural system of Confucian-Tao complementarity, to keep experiment and theory apart.

Qiu Renzong, in the following article, suggests that historical studies can be of great value in assisting present-day China to rectify past errors. He believes that natural science is not a type of knowledge which is independent of the social context such as existed fortunately (although improbably) in the West. Confucianism, he says, is a major factor working against the progress of Chinese science towards maturity. A striking instance from the past concerns the practice of astronomy and the making of calendars. The latter was a Court monopoly, during the period of the dynastic rulers, and indeed "private calendar makers were beheaded" (p. 183)!

A very detailed article by K. Schipper and Wang Hsiu-Huei is about time cycles in Taoist ritual. As I understand it, the term "cycles", as used in this paper, is not to be thought of as implying any contradiction of Needham's view, as described above, about the prevalence of linear time in Chinese thought. For example on p. 189 of the article there is a reference to the "life cycle" of an organism, from birth to death. When used in this sense the term "cycle" clearly does not convey any implication of a "return" to the original starting point. But obviously there is scope for confusion in the usage of the term "cycle". The picture presented in this article is that of "cycles" nesting within each other, but in a "time" which, in itself, is taken as linear. The ultimate "cycle" is the period extending from the creation of the world to its final destruction or "transformation" (p. 194). Even so, Taoist ritual is complicated by the existence of an "inner time", in addition to the "outer time" as spoken of above. "... progressive time observed and present was seen as counterbalanced by hidden regressive cycles".

Zhang Yinzhì's paper is about the "materialist view" of time and space which was developed by the Mohist school of Chinese philosophy dating from the Vth century BC. That view is seen to be remarkably similar to the modern Western conception, except perhaps that time and space were supposed to be infinite by the Mohists whereas present-day scientific thought allows also of the possibility that time and space may be finite.

N. Sivin deals with Chinese ideas about the limits to the accuracy of empirical knowledge. The paper begins with a consideration of "cycles" in the sense referred to above. The great advantage of supposing that certain processes – processes occurring within *linear* time – are indeed cyclic is that this assumption greatly increases the accuracy of prediction. This, of course, is particularly significant in astronomy where celestial bodies are supposed to make periodic repetitions of their positions in the sky – a form of law-boundedness or orderliness. Much of Sivin's fine paper is concerned with the reasons for the *failure* of such predictions during the early period of Chinese astronomy. Was it to be explained as resulting from inaccuracy in the data, or as from a more fundamental indeterminacy which sets a limit on empirical knowledge? Sivin suggests that the Chinese scientists aimed, not so much at economy of hypothesis, as at giving an account of nature which does full justice to its richness.

The paper by Hans Ågren of Uppsala discusses the peculiarly central position of the time concept within the Chinese tradition of medicine. One of its forms concerns the idea that there is some sort of *resonance* between macrocosm and microcosm. Another form uses time sequences in analysing the progress of acute diseases. The former is perhaps the more interesting in the present context since it presents a real contrast with Western ideas. Indeed the notion of resonance is further developed in an article by Lo Huisheng which deals with Zi Wu Flow Theory. The terminology of this theory is very intricate but the general purport

seems clear and it resides in the claim that there is a dependence of the human body, in health and disease, on periodic phenomena in the external world.

Some half dozen very beautiful translations of Chinese poems about human transience are contained in Frederick Turner's paper about space and time in Chinese verse. Chinese ideas about archaeology are discussed by Synnove Vinsrygg and here the contrast between cyclic and linear time is again referred to. This contrast is also strongly emphasized in a contribution by Anindita Balslev which is about ancient *Indian* philosophy. She remarks (p. 110) that "the recurrences of world cycles do not in the Indian context involve any idea of exact repetition of the particular, and that instead the emphasis is on the similarity of the generic features". Another very interesting aspect of her article is that she brings out the connection of "time" with "the problem of being and causality". She quotes Buddhist doctrine to the effect that causal efficacy is the criterion of whatever is *real*. Furthermore causal efficacy cannot be predicated of anything that remains unchanged and, if so, it follows that at no two moments can a real thing "be said to remain identical". Thus "the real" is "necessarily momentary in character" (p. 107). As a scientist I find this Buddhist doctrine of very great interest.

As mentioned at the beginning, I have picked out for mention only those articles which struck me as being of prime interest to orientalists. Yet there are several other very fine contributions on the theme of time, science and society in the West. No doubt these will be appraised in some other review of this excellent volume. The editors are to be congratulated on having done a very thorough job, one which must have been exceedingly time consuming since some of the articles had to be translated from the Chinese. The University of Massachusetts Press is also to be congratulated on having achieved a really attractive production, one which is singularly free from misprints.

KENNETH DENBIGH

POPULAR CULTURE IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA. Edited by DAVID JOHNSON, ANDREW J. NATHAN and EVELYN S. RAWSKI. (Studies on China 4.) pp. xvii, 449, map. Berkeley etc., University of California Press, 1985. £33.95.

The dividing line between the work of historians and anthropologists of Chinese society is a very blurred one. In a literate, long-settled and historically aware society the anthropologist cannot easily undertake research which ignores long-term trends or the springs of historical action. In the same way the historian of China is required to come to terms with the minutiae of daily life if he is to make living sense of the past. In one way the historian has had the harder job - history has been very much the preserve of the élite-besotted, commoner-blind scholar and such men did not on the whole talk of daily life.

Recent years have seen the anthropologists and the historians pool their resources to the benefit of our understanding of past and present. This volume is an excellent example of the value of such shared work. Thirteen scholars have focused their attention on late Imperial China (defined as lasting from the mid XVIth century to the early XXth) and have looked at "popular culture". The material and approaches they have uncovered are impressive in their range and versatility. There are papers here on local-level specialists and documents, on vernacular literature, drama, religion, journalism and language, and each paper provides further leads to wider spheres. Clearly it is possible to know far more about everyday life than the old-fashioned historian revealed.

Almost by default, it seems, the weight of the evidence insists on a reassessment of the "Great Tradition/Little Traditions" analysis of Chinese society. It is not that the analysis is incorrect, on the contrary it has been a most fruitful one, but that the mechanism by which the two traditions meet and interact has not been well explored, and the interchange of informa-

tion and values between them needs a great deal more research. If popular culture was black and central "High" culture was white, the existence of a very wide swathe of grey is confirmed by this book.

From the erudite and thought-provoking introductory chapters, through the main body of chapters on specific topics, to the concluding summary of "Problems and Prospects" this is a work of high scholarship and great interest. There is not a weak paper in the set and the publisher has produced a book to match. It may not be cheap but it most certainly is good value.

HUGH D. R. BAKER

SUFISM AND TAOISM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KEY PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS. By TOSHIHIKO IZUTSU. pp. viii, 493. Berkeley etc., University of California Press, 1984. £23.00.

This important work, written when the author was teaching Islamic Philosophy at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University, was first published in two separate volumes in 1966-1967 by the Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Keio University, Tokyo, entitled *A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts in Sufism and Taoism: Ibn 'Arabi and Lao-tzu - Chuang-tzu*.

Demand for another edition brought it into galley proofs by 1978 to be published in Tehran. Iranian events delayed its appearance until the University of California Press produced the edition under review.

To quote Seyyed Hossein Nasr: "Since this book appeared it has influenced every work on Ibn 'Arabi and metaphysical Sufism . . . any cursory study of Sufism in the last fifteen years will reveal the extent of Izutsu's influence." Dr William C. Chittick, who published in autumn 1975 and spring 1976 a translation of Ibn 'Arabi's own summary of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (*Naqsh al-Fuṣūṣ*), wrote ". . . for a good deal of the terminology employed in the translation I am indebted to T. Izutsu's brilliant study of Ibn 'Arabi, probably the best work in European languages for explaining the intricacies of Ibn 'Arabi's doctrine. . ." (*Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arab Society*, vol. I, p. 33 and note 13, p. 32).

For many of those whom it chiefly concerns, therefore, it will perhaps be enough to announce that Izutsu's book is once more available, even if, however fittingly, as a pearl of high price.

The new volume still contains the two original books: each an analytical study of a distinct world view, that of Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi and that of ancient Taoism, separated by a millennium and a half as well as by linguistic and cultural barriers. The fundamental structure of each world view is laid bare rigorously and independently. A third part *A Comparative Reflection* takes up only five per cent of the whole book.

Dr Izutsu's motive in this labour has been the desire to open a new vista in the domain of comparative philosophy and mysticism, convinced as he is, with Henry Corbin, that "a trans-historical dialogue" ("un dialogue dans la métahistoire") is "something urgently needed in the present world situation". He believes "the philosophical drive of the human mind is, regardless of ages, places and nations ultimately and fundamentally one". Between the two poles (shared with other types of mysticism), the Absolute *al-haqq/tao* and the Perfect Man *al-insān al-kāmil/shēng jēn*, extends a developed system of ontological thought.

At the outset of the first part the author makes clear that this is not a philologically exhaustive study of Ibn 'Arabi but essentially an analysis of the major ontological concepts which Ibn 'Arabi develops in *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, drawing also on 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī's commentary and occasionally on those of Qaysari and Jāmi.

Izutsu finds that "the ontological core itself of Ibn 'Arabi's entire philosophising is sur-

prisingly simple and solidly immovable; it is the different angles from which he considers it that constantly move and change, revealing at each step a new aspect of the core". He also refers to "the unusual profundity and fecundity of his (Ibn 'Arabi's) experience, which always underlies his thinking. The depth and richness of mystical experience demands, in his case, multiplicity of expression".

Ibn 'Arabi is explicit that *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* is a book that was not merely commissioned but also received. This angle of Revelation is matched when Dr Izutsu propounds the hypothesis of the shamanic origin of Taoism ["Taoism is a philosophical elaboration of the Far Eastern type of shamanism"].

"The world view of Taoism and Sufism represents . . . a vision of Existence peculiar to 'abnormal' men", for an Ibn 'Arabi, a Lao-tzū, and a Chuang-Tzū it is a product of a purified spiritual state. "It is an ontology" holds Izutsu "because it is philosophised vision of Existence. But it is an extraordinary ontology, because the underlying vision of Existence is far from being an ordinary one". (Did not Pythagoras and Proclus keep themselves fit by inner disciplines to handle and transmit truths difficult of expression?) "Abnormal" may be an unsuitable word in this context, if perfect man be the goal and ideal norm. In Islam are combined two Truths: "the truth based on Intellection" and "the truth based on Revelation" – *ḥaqīqah* and *sharī'ah*; and in this connection occurs Dr Osman Yahya's remark, quoted by Izutsu "le destin a voulu placer Ibn 'Arabi à la croisée des chemins pour dégager, en sa personne, la véritable vocation de l'Islam". (*Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabi*, 2 vols. 1964, Damas, pp. 18–19.)

It seems possible that, for another edition, a case exists for reviewing the uses to which are put the words "existence", "Existence", and "being" and "Being", in view of the difference in meaning between "to exist" and "to be". Etymological dictionaries offer for "exist" the meanings: "emerge, appear, proceed, be visible, manifest, take up a position" (Oxford); "stand forth, to emerge" (Partridge *Origins*); "come forth, arise, be" (Skeat); "to appear, stand forth" (Klein). Awareness of this suggests that "exist, existence, existents" better describe "the ten thousand things" or *wan wu* resulting from Shēng, and the *mumkināt* resultant from *tajallī*; while "being" (or "Being" for pure Being or Being itself) is more appropriate when *tao* and *ḥaqq* are in question. Dr Izutsu does vary the use of "existence" by writing "Existence" in some places where it is now being suggested he might consider the substitution of "Being".

There are several passages on pages 482, 483, 486 where "Being" in lieu of "Existence" could perhaps be tried out: ". . . the *Essence* in the Unity of its unconditional simplicity is, in Ibn 'Arabi's view, nothing other than pure *Existence*, . . . the Absolute is *actus purus*, the act itself of 'existing'." (p. 482).

"The Reality called the 'Essence at the level of Unity' in its true nature is nothing other than Existence pure and simple . . ." (p. 482).

p. 483. "And Chuang-tzū clarifies . . . that this transcendent Nothing is not a purely negative 'nothing' in the usual sense of the word; that, on the contrary, it is a supra-plenitude of Existence as the ultimate ontological ground of everything, as Something that lies at the very source of all existents and makes them exist."

p. 486. "Existence *per se* is thus absolutely inconceivable and inapproachable. Ibn 'Arabi refers to this aspect of Existence by the word *ghayb*, 'concealment' or 'invisibility' (sic). In the Taoist system, it is *hsüan* or Mystery that is the most proper word for referring to this absolutely transcendent stage of Existence."

Dr Izutsu has managed to present his difficult treatise most readably.

MEDICINE IN CHINA. A HISTORY OF PHARMACEUTICS. By PAUL U. UNSCHULD. (Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care.) pp. xiv, 367, front., illust. Berkeley etc., University of California Press, 1986. £40.50.

Until the early part of the present century the Chinese had no official pharmacopoeia, and relied on the *Pen-ts'ao*. Originally a compendium of animal, mineral and plant medicaments designed to "increase longevity without ageing" the *Pen-ts'ao* was amplified over 2000 years by private citizens, officials and practising physicians. These authors passed on maternal advice, expanded and revised earlier texts, and reported new discoveries and occasional corrections, sometimes in verse and often beautifully illustrated.

Confucian society's well-being depended on a healthy life style and adherence to moral and dietetic rules, and while apothecaries sold plants and minerals, specialism was contrary to the ideology. Knowledge of pharmaceuticals was considered part of the general education on which each family relied for its maintenance of health. In *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceuticals*, Paul Unschuld, Professor in the Institute for the History of Medicine at the University of Munich, surveys the pharmaceutical literature from 200 BC to the present day when the *Pen-ts'ao* has been replaced by official Drug Codes. Only from the VIIth to the XIIIth centuries was the *Pen-ts'ao* sponsored by the Chinese government, but in 1930 a regulatory committee was appointed to provide an authentic pharmacopoeia edited by the Minister of Health, but accessible only to those with western type pharmaceutical training. New characters were designed for "tinctures", "elixirs", "pills", and "capsules". Subsequent editions of the Drug Codes covered the analysis, storage, manufacture, dosage and testing of drugs, and a poisons list of dangerous drugs was compiled including those to be kept under lock and key.

Tao Hung-chin, around the end of the Vth century was probably the first scholar to suggest that the verbal transmission of pharmaceutical knowledge must have been written down as early as the Eastern Han Dynasty. The most famous contributor to the many subsequent versions of the *Pen-ts'ao*, Li Shi-chen, worked on his expanded contribution over more than thirty years. In the *Pen-ts'ao Kang mu* published in 1596 he corrected the view previously held that worms were helpful for digestion, noting the increased appetite induced by these "guests". He described lead poisoning and correlated tooth decay with the intake of candy. He quoted 952 previous authors and enlarged the *Pen-ts'ao* from a work on drugs to an encyclopaedia of ancillary subjects in nature. He drew attention to the reciprocal effect of drugs taken simultaneously, and recommended the fumigation of the sick room after infection.

Opium appeared in the XVIth century from Java, and was used as an aphrodisiac as well as a pain reliever. The author of a *Pen-ts'ao* published in 1864, 75 years after it was written, gave the first detailed Chinese pharmaceutical account of opium smoking: "For the first few months it seems as if one were able to give up this habit. But when one suddenly stops smoking after a longer period one feels very exhausted and ready to die. Finally one's family and one's body are destroyed and ruined." The same writer identified the cinchona tree bark (from which quinine is derived) as a treatment for malaria "transmitted among the barbarians at Macao".

As late as the XIXth century there was no unified medical care in China. Nor had the missionaries much to offer medically. Professor Unschuld vividly describes the impact on China of Western science which hit the country in the late XIXth and early XXth centuries, opening visions far beyond the concept of Yinyang and the Five Phases of traditional healing in which drugs were then integrated. The reformers seized on the principles of Western medical health care, and in 1914 when the traditionalists wanted to register the Peking Medical Society they were told by the Minister of Education that Chinese pharmacy would no longer be used and that he had decided to abandon Chinese medicine. A Marxist was later to refer to the years of its practice as "the millennia of old garbage". However in 1958 Mao Tse-tung, critical of "capitalistic Western medicine" called for the upgrading and restoration of Chinese medicine. Henceforth in the People's Republic traditional and Western pharmacy were to co-exist.

The official Drug Codes carry both Chinese and Latin or Western indexed drug names, but the most recent (1980) edition from Taiwan, in spite of the hundreds of thousands who continue to practise it there, makes no mention of traditional Chinese pharmacy; while

approximately half of the latest Drug Code (1977) of the People's Republic is devoted to traditional pharmacy and remedies. The main difference in the two forms of health care is the attempted integration on the mainland of traditional practitioners, acupuncturists, bone setters and pharmacists (but not shamans or priests) into Western type health care. Moreover in contrast to Taiwan there are several research institutes where the clinical and theoretical issues of traditional Chinese medicine are studied, including the concept of Yinyang and the Five Phases to which significant numbers of the population evidently continue to adhere.

This important book has an extensive bibliography of Chinese primary sources as well as secondary Chinese, Japanese and some Western secondary sources. There is a bilingual index of drugs (11 pp), an index of book titles (10 pp) and an index of persons (22 pp) as well as comprehensive notes. The remarkable scholarship we have come to expect of the author, a Western authority on Chinese medicine, is heightened by the reproduction of many delightful original illustrations.

BARBARA EVANS

T. S. BAYER (1694–1738): PIONEER SINOLOGIST. By KNUD LUNDBAEK. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 54.) pp. xiv, 241, illus. London and Malmö, Curzon Press, 1986. £10.50.

Accounts of the beginnings of European sinology usually concentrate on the work done by Jesuit and other missionaries inside China and the influence that such work exerted on European scholarship of the XVIth century and later. Certainly it is appropriate to start the story in this way, in view of the astonishing achievements of pioneers such as Matteo Ricci, Martino Martini, Ferdinand Verbiest, Antoine Gaubil and Adam Schall. The inspiration of their efforts lay in the grand design of winning the souls of the Chinese by first appealing to their intellect. It was in order to be able to discourse on China's literary, philosophical and historical heritage with scholars and officials that the fathers spared no pains in mastering both literary and spoken Chinese. As a result they could claim to the Chinese with whom they were in contact, sometimes including the emperor himself, that they were well prepared in intellectual terms to engage in disputation on religious matters.

At the same time another motive was affecting the growth of sinology. This arose from the studied attempts of European scholars of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries to establish and identify a comprehensible system within which all creation could be seen to take a designed part. Within such a search for universal reasons, there emerged Leibniz' (1646–1716) idea of the "Adamitic language", a perfect mode of communication for the exchange of intellectual ideas. Possibly such thoughts were partly stimulated by what was becoming known of China and its language. Shortly we hear of a paper by Étienne Fourmont of Paris (1683–1745) which describes the Chinese script as the "noblest achievement of the human race". In pursuit of the same aim, that of seeking a universal synthesis, Georg Bülfinger of Tübingen was assembling all that he could discover about the Chinese language in the hope that this would stand as an example of a vehicle of communication framed in an exact philosophical order.

In his turn Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) played a part in the investigation of the Chinese language, not in the hope of converting Chinese to Christianity, but in order to enlighten the European intellect. Born in Königsberg, where he served as municipal librarian, Bayer studied in Berlin and strove to further his acquaintance with Chinese at the Academy of St Petersburg. The scant material that he had at his disposal included certain Chinese writings and some work on the language that the Jesuits had sent back to Europe (e.g. the vocabulary compiled by Father Diaz). Bayer conducted a slow but steady correspondence with missionaries serving in China and benefitted from an exchange of views with teachers

such as Father Dominique Parrenin. Eventually he acquired a copy of the *Tzu hui*; but he did not see a copy of the K'ang-hsi dictionary (completed 1716). As a result of his labours he produced no less than three studies, entitled *De eclipsi sinica*, *Museum sinicum* and *De horis sinicis* which were duly published; his Chinese lexicon was never printed. He never visited China.

Knud Lundbæk gives a detailed and scholarly account of Bayer's work and publications. He includes a full translation of the preface to *Museum sinicum*, in which Bayer traced the gallant and at times fruitless attempts that had been made to fathom the mysteries of the Chinese language and script, and to represent their findings to the learned world of Europe. The preface takes the story back to the XIIIth century and brings it up to Bayer's contemporaries. As yet it had not been possible to treat the language except within the European-Christian framework. Only in Bayer's time was the attempt being made to find in its script clear evidence of that cosmic order whose existence was being postulated by the philosophers. Much of the preface is concerned with criticising theories already propounded, in favour of Bayer's own scheme of classification of Chinese characters. Bayer rejects the claims of Andreas Müller of Berlin, that in his *Clavis sinica* (later burnt) he could teach a child to read Chinese in a matter of days. Bayer reserves considerable praise for the achievements of Christian Mentzel (1622-1701), court physician in Berlin.

Within this climate of opinion and belief there was scope for considerable misapprehension. Along with the Jesuit scholars, Bayer was anxious to discern in Chinese literature evidence that would substantiate the historical accounts of man and of the Passion that are related in the Bible. We find Bayer arguing that passages in the *Hsiao erh lun*, an historical record drawn up for children, were a corrupt version of the story of creation in Genesis. Even more curiously we find him setting out to prove, partly on etymological grounds, that Nü kua, a female figure enshrined in Chinese mythology as one of the partners on whom the creation and operation of the world depended, was to be identified with Eve. There is also a preoccupation with an eclipse that was recorded in the Standard Histories and which had been identified as the darkness that covered Golgotha on the day of the crucifixion. But here Bayer is highly critical. He exposes the fallacy of this identification, if only on the grounds that eclipses do not occur at Full Moon, the time when the Passover begins. A further detail which does not appear to have been noticed by Bayer might be mentioned; the day for which the eclipse was recorded in the Chinese texts corresponds to 10 May, 31 CE.

Bayer expended very great energy on the preparation of his Chinese-Latin lexicon, which however was never printed. There are references to the existence of two copies of the work, and the greater part of one of these (23 out of a total of 26 large volumes) is held in the archive of the Academy at Leningrad.

It was a tragedy for Bayer that, in the course of correspondence mainly with Father Parrenin in Peking, he was obliged to forego some of his life-long beliefs; his faith that he understood the rationale that lay behind the Chinese script was shattered. His industry and application had been exemplary. Like others who worked before the days of Xerox he often found it necessary to copy texts or documents with his own hands. His preface to the *Museum sinicum* remains full of interest, marking the stages whereby Europe learnt of Chinese writing and literature, and recording some of the strange theories or fantasies to which such knowledge could give rise. Thus Claude Saumaise (1588-1653; professor in Leiden 1631) conceived the idea that the Chinese language was similar to Scythian; Abraham Hinckelmann (1652-95) denied that ultimately the Chinese language may have derived from Hebrew, as had been thought by Louis Thomassin (1619-95); Bayer however dissociated himself from so strong a denial. Brian Walton (1600-61) had pointed out in his prolegomena to the *Polyglot* that Chinese characters were entirely different from Egyptian hieroglyphs, being made up of only nine different, very simple lines, which were combined together to form innumerable characters. In such a flurry of opinion it is hardly strange that there were those who sought rationality and a system of truth. All credit must be given to their efforts, working as they were within the unavoidable limitations of their times.

NACHITEXTEDITION. TEIL 1: I, 1-II, 0014. TEIL 2: 19, A-30, M. VON KLAUS LUDWIG JANERT und ILSE PLIESTER. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 26. 1 und 2.) Teil 1: pp. xviii, 482; Teil 2: pp. viii, 628. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1984. Teil 1: DM 98, Teil 2: DM 122.

These volumes continue the authors' long-term study of the Rock collection of Naxi manuscripts. Rock was an expert who spent many years in the Naxi area collecting them. His collection is certainly the most complete outside China, and is probably more complete than anything currently available in China. Thus these volumes, combined with previous volumes by Janert, are extremely useful for the study of Naxi epigraphy. They provide hand-rewritten versions of texts not previously reproduced.

Unfortunately they are less useful for the study of the Naxi language, because the pictographic script in which most of the manuscripts are written is only a mnemonic for priests who know the actual text by heart. While the title of a Naxi pictographic manuscript is usually complete, each spoken "line" (usually of five, seven or nine syllables) is represented by one to four characters. As each character corresponds to one syllable, the reader must supply about two-thirds of the necessary syllables from memory.

In recent studies scholars in China have provided examples of spoken text plus pictographic representation; The most detailed is Fu Maoji ("A study on a Naxi pictographic manuscript, White Bat's Search for Sacred Books", *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages*, 17, 1981; 23, 1984, in Chinese) which illustrates one manuscript, gives the spoken version and discusses it in 333 pages; He Zhiwu and Can Ding (*A Guide to the Naxi Pictographic Writing*, Kunming, Yunnan Peoples' Publishing House, 1981, in Chinese) is mainly a glossary, but pp. 483-585 give the spoken texts for a few pictographic manuscripts.

More useful for linguistic purposes are the syllabic-script manuscripts, such as those in He and Can (pp. 586 ff.)—which represent each syllable in the spoken text. Only a couple of the texts in the work under review, those in Part 1 pp. 13-31 and 353-364, are of this type. By using J. F. Rock's *A 'Na- 'khi- English Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Serie Orientale, Roma, XXVIII, Part 1 1963, Part 2 1972) these texts can be read.

The authors' introduction is useful, but not sufficient without previous volumes by Janert which are referred to. There are some minor inaccuracies; for example, there is no need to cite old population estimates when the 1982 census totals are now available: 236,409 Naxi in Yunnan Province and just over 10,000 speaking the very different Nazi "dialect" (which in the Chinese context probably means a separate but closely related language) along the southwestern border of Sichuan Province. More worrying is the acceptance of the Chinese official classification of Naxi in the Yi Group (known as Loloish outside China). Comparative linguistic research such as D. Bradley 1975 ("Nahsi and Proto-Burmese-Lolo", *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 2, 1, 93-150) and 1979 (*Proto-Loloish*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 39, London and Malmö, Curzon Press) suggests otherwise.

In fact one current view is that there is a closer connection with Qiang, Jiarong, and adjacent languages of western Sichuan; and this is supported by the suggestion (p. XIV-XV) that the Naxi priests entered the area from the north. There is nothing unstable about Naxi tones, contra p. XV; they are as much a part of the syllable as the consonant or the vowel. Finally, there is a minor error on the spine of part 2.

A couple of minor points about the Yi script: it is *not* used by all the different groups included in the category "Yi" by the Chinese, and was traditionally used mainly by priests (contra p. XI); it is only fantastic (p. IX) in the sense that it was a complete orthography for every word in the language, mostly independent of Chinese characters. Yi manuscripts, unlike most Naxi manuscripts, have a character for every syllable in a text. The characters are essentially pictographic in origin, but like Chinese the Yi characters developed beyond this point. Thus it is most unfortunate that there was no Rock to collect Yi manuscripts.

Rock's work has made Naxi manuscripts accessible outside China; now this work has made them widely available. It is to be hoped that research with a Naxi speaker in Cologne (p. XV) will soon produce linguistically as well as epigraphically valuable results. Janert and Pliester

are to be congratulated for their work, and it is to be hoped that they will continue by collecting the spoken versions of the texts and publishing these as well.

D. BRADLEY

JAPANISCHE HANDSCHRIFTEN UND TRADITIONELLE DRUCKE AUS DER ZEIT VOR 1868 IN MÜNCHEN. BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, DEUTSCHES MUSEUM, MÜNCHNER STADTMUSEUM – PUPPENTHEATERMUSEUM, STAATLICHES MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK. Beschrieben von EVA KRAFT. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. XXVII, 2.) pp. xx, 239, 16 pl. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1986. DM 150.

This catalogue is a worthy successor to Dr Eva Kraft's earlier compilation of 1982, in which she described the holdings of pre-1868 Japanese printed books and manuscripts in five libraries and museums administered by the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. This time she has turned her attention to similar material in Munich, covering the early books and manuscripts held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (which has the lion's share) and four other institutions in the same city.

In reviewing the Berlin catalogue of 1982 in the pages of this Journal (Vol. 1, 1984), I hailed it as setting "a new standard for the compilation of bibliographic records of Japanese antiquarian books held by libraries in the West". The Munich catalogue now under review maintains that standard and puts the world of Japanese historical bibliography even more in Dr Kraft's debt. Once again she has deployed her wide knowledge of pre-Meiji books and their history to good effect. This catalogue, like its forerunner, is a model of painstaking and accurate scholarship. Dr Kraft, as an experienced librarian, excels in organizing and presenting her material in a systematic way, always with the needs of users first and foremost in her mind. Thus the main sequence of detailed entries for each book, arranged alphabetically by title, is followed by an extremely useful series of indexes and other lists. There are separate indexes of personal names (authors, illustrators, editors, etc.), block-cutters, publishers and/or booksellers, subjects, year-periods (*nengō*) of the Edo era, and a comprehensive title index (supplementing the main sequence) listing every conceivable form of title under which a book might be looked up. There is even – and this is a particularly helpful feature – a numerical list of items in the catalogue arranged chronologically under date of publication.

The preliminary pages, as in the Berlin catalogue, include a two-page preface summarizing the history of the book and of printing in Japan, an explanation of the descriptive details contained in each catalogue entry, and a useful bibliography. The only minor cavil I would make is that in every catalogue entry Japanese script is given only for the title of the book, and not for the names of authors, compilers, publishers, or technical terms in Japanese. Reasons of economy dictated this, no doubt, but it is wearisome to have to look up the *kanji* for names in the relevant index each time.

The five libraries and museums whose holdings are described in the catalogue are: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, with 235 works in 1057 volumes (*satsu*); Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, 262 works in 711 volumes (the majority of them books collected by Philipp Franz von Siebold); Deutsches Museum, 9 works in 9 volumes; Münchner Stadtmuseum – Puppentheatermuseum, 39 works in 37 volumes (mostly *Jōruri* texts of the Bunraku theatre in Osaka); and Universitätsbibliothek, with 41 works in 600 volumes (*gōkan* novels predominating). In all, the catalogue comprises 587 works (82 of them manuscripts) in 2450 volumes.

The range of books covered by the Munich collections is varied and interesting, with a strong bias towards literature of the Edo period and illustrated books and prints, both in

colour and monochrome. This predilection for pictorial material will surprise nobody acquainted with the tastes of western book collectors in Japan in earlier times. It is true, however, that a very large proportion of all books published in the Edo period contained woodcut illustrations, and that many of these were well worth collecting on aesthetic grounds. It is all the more surprising (not to say disappointing) that only a few of the most famous picture books (*ehon*) by noted woodblock artists are represented in the Munich collections.

In contrast to the Berlin catalogue, which opened with a selection of notable examples of early printing, Dr Kraft has chosen in this volume to include everything in one alphabetical sequence, without picking out the bibliographical "plums" for separate listing. She does, however, draw attention to some of the more interesting and important manuscripts and early printed books in her brief notes (*Die Sammlungen*, pp. ix-x) on each of the five contributing collections. The choice of illustrations provides another pointer to the most noteworthy items in the catalogue. The six colour plates include a splendid XIIth century manuscript copy of the *Daihannyakyō* sutra in gold script on dark blue paper, a sumptuous manuscript of *Genji monogatari* in elegant calligraphy attributed tentatively to Ono no Otsū (c. 1605), and a printed picture map, hand-coloured, of Itsukushima by Kaibara Ekiken. Among the black and white plates is a wooden pagoda containing one of the Empress Shōtoku's "million charms" printed between 764 and 770 (there are two of these in Munich), several examples of early XVIIth century printing, and the world map *Bankoku sōzu* published in 1671, now very rare indeed. But, on the whole, the Munich collections cannot offer so many choice items, bibliographically speaking, as those of Berlin. There are no more than six manuscripts or printed books earlier than 1600, and only nine dating from the first half of the XVIIth century, including a handful of books printed with movable type.

The main significance of both these catalogues is that we now have a reliable and comprehensive record of pre-Meiji Japanese books in the two main groups of libraries in West Germany. The gaps in our knowledge of early Japanese books in European collections are gradually being closed, and there is much here to be thankful for.

K. B. GARDNER

ASPECTS OF THE JAPANESE WRITING SYSTEM. Edited by CHRIS SEELEY. (Visible Language XVIII, 3.) pp. 219-304. Cleveland, Ohio, Visible Language, 1984. US \$4.00.

The present volume consists of five articles and an introduction. Of these, A. E. Backhouse "Aspects of the graphological structure of Japanese" together with the "Introduction" by Christopher Seeley provide an excellent introduction to the subject. The two articles by J. Marshall Unger "Japanese orthography in the computer age" and "Japanese braille" make stimulating reading, treating aspects of Japanese writing new to a western audience.

In comparison, Nanette Twine "The adoption of punctuation in Japanese script" and C. Seeley "The Japanese script since 1900" tread familiar ground. These articles are very specialized, and the latter would certainly have gained by some tightening, perhaps to give place to an account of the issues of romanization, which would be more accessible to the general reader.

On the whole, the accounts are uncontroversially written; the authors either, at times rather tamely, echo official Japanese views, or adopt exclusive criteria of communicative efficiency.

There is no mention of the aesthetic aspects of the script, presumably because these have been treated elsewhere. Other topics which relate to the particular character of the Japanese script, and which would therefore be central in a volume like the present, are not taken up either. One dearly misses a treatment of the didactics. Or of stylistic variation including technical and scientific literature. If, as it seems, the Japanese writing system is open-ended

and implements lexical stratification (Backhouse p. 221), an orthographic development can be expected to be under way in precisely these types of texts where lexical productivity and borrowing are most intense. The adoption of the Latin alphabet for Western loanwords will be the ultimate result, a concrete and incontestable confirmation that English has become the prestige language in Japanese society.

There are obviously topics enough to warrant a sequel.

L. TAKEUCHI

SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE AND THE EARLY HEIAN COURT. By ROBERT BORGES. (Harvard East Asian Monographs No. 120.) pp. xv, 431, front., 16 illus., errata slip. Cambridge, Mass. and London, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University. Distrib. by Harvard University Press, 1986. £18.95.

No other country one feels can surely have had as a deified patron of literature, still commanding veneration and respect, a IXth century scholar and statesman whose work, except for the famous addresses to the plum-tree, is so little known to his countrymen as Japan has in Sugawara-no-Michizane (845-902 A.D.). Indeed, his life, legends that gathered around it and the apotheosis that followed are full of contradictions. He is known, particularly to Kabuki audiences, as the patron and supreme Japanese exponent of calligraphy yet as Professor Borgen tells us he was accorded no such honour in his lifetime and no specimens of his art survive. He came of a highly distinguished family of scholars devoted to Chinese culture, unwisely allowed himself to be drawn into court and national politics, but when the supreme reward came of leading an embassy to China, urged its cancellation, to which the Emperor agreed. Perhaps this was indeed because the T'ang empire in the year 894 was in a state of upheaval as his memorial pointed out: or perhaps a modern theory is correct, since Michizane and others kept the special ranks to which they had been appointed, that the embassy was actually postponed because of a sudden outbreak of Korean piracy. However, it is also true that Michizane's life came at a turning point in Japanese literature which itself was gaining new life. Chinese models were no longer followed blindly. A distinguished modern critic, Professor Shuichi Kato, has pointed out that although Sugawara made full use of Chinese prosody, allusions and quotations – indeed poems translated here seem to be studded with them – and his poetry is nearly all in Chinese, the main themes are centred on his own thoughts and experiences and on those of the people of Japan he saw around him. Again, of virtues ascribed to Michizane, the most emphasised are his sincerity and his loyalty to the Imperial House. Yet in his apotheosis as the Thunder God (matched rather oddly by one as Kannon, personification of compassion) his angry ghost was blamed for the death of the Crown Prince and for other calamities at the capital. Finally, Professor Borgen tells us that modern students are even now to be seen at Tenjin shrines seeking Sugawara's blessing on their examination results.

All this and much more is presented with clarity and force in this carefully researched biography. Personal detail is hardly to be expected after the lapse of a thousand years but a credible picture emerges of Michizane, and much of the detailed information on early Heian culture, education and government is of considerable historical interest. A useful background account is given of the scholarly Sugawara family, including Michizane's grandfather, diplomat as well as scholar, with a translation of a rather charming poem by him on the unexpected subject of whistling, apparently esteemed as a Taoist exercise, but shown to have more practical functions such as to attract attention. Michizane himself achieved the highest scholastic honours at an unusually early age, served as junior minister and at the same time lectured at, and eventually headed, an important private academy owned by his family.

Affection for his pupils and for his family is apparent in his letters and poems. His personality and scholarship attracted the admiration and eventually the friendship of Emperor Uda (reigned 887-897). Inevitably perhaps he thereby incurred the jealous hostility of the entrenched court aristocracy of which the strongest element was the "northern" Fujiwara. Traditional accounts of his fall ascribe it to the machinations of his ministerial colleague, Fujiwara Tokihira, mainly because it was he who appeared to gain most by it. Tokihira however is known to have been an able and just administrator and to have been on friendly terms with Michizane before the event. Professor Borgen shows that there were certainly others involved and that in any case the proceedings had the tacit approval of the new Emperor Daigo (reigned 897-930), by whose command all papers relating to the case were afterwards destroyed. It is natural that Daigo was interested since the charge was that Michizane planned to bring pressure on him to abdicate and to put on the throne an Imperial prince who was also Michizane's own son-in-law. It was hinted also that the retired Emperor, Uda, was implicated or at least had given his approval, and when the sentence became known Uda hurried to the palace to protest. He was not given an audience. Michizane then proceeded to Dazaifu in Kyushu, his place of exile, a gentle fate compared with that meted out by later Japanese oligarchs to political opponents but apparently made as comfortless and lonely as possible. The best evidence of the innocence on which he insisted until his death two years later lies in the fact that far from having grabbed at despotic power when it was almost within his grasp, he declined the all-powerful office of Chancellor and three times sought to resign his ministerial office. Professor Borgen gives a fascinating account of the very strange series of events that followed, entwined with both Buddhism and Shinto, leading to the establishment of shrines to Michizane's spirit, eventually to be known as Tenjin, throughout the country, and to the spread and perpetuation of his cult to this day. I understand however that a shrine visit may not everywhere be essential now, and that provided other requirements are fulfilled a telephoned supplication may receive favourable consideration. But on another aspect of Michizane's life, to keep a sense of historical balance with regard to cultural and linguistic borrowing, we should perhaps remind ourselves that even in our own time Western poets use such phrases as "Et ego . . ." and "Gaudeamus Igitur" without fear of not being understood.

Professor Borgen has made a valuable addition to our knowledge of a period in Japanese history little known in the West.

D. L. M. MACFARLANE

ZEAMI'S STYLE; THE NOH PLAYS OF ZEAMI MOTOKIYO. By THOMAS BLENMAN HARE. pp. xii, 319, illus. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1986. US \$39.50.

In the last decade or so, Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) has won increasing recognition outside Japan as one of the great figures in the history of world drama. One of the more specific results of this is that, as the author tells us in his introduction, "There is a crater on Mercury named after Zeami Motokiyo. It is one of the 135 that were named for great artists from all over the world at a 1976 convention of astronomers."

Before the publication of this present work, his reputation was based partly on translations of his plays. These often did less than justice to the original texts, which are themselves only one aspect of the composite art of Nō. It was also based more substantially on translations of his mainly theoretical writings on Nō. These are often striking in the universality of the aims and techniques he describes and in Zeami's vision of the possibilities of his art, which set Nō on its future course of development and only brought it to its peak of fulfilment long after his time.

This present book can be seen as the culmination of previous work on Zeami by western writers for, in spite of its subtitle, it is more than a narrow treatise on his plays. It is in fact a comprehensive treatment of the present state of knowledge about Zeami and his world, in which an account of his life and a detailed presentation of his plays are offered against the background of a commendable familiarity with his theoretical writings. The heart of the book consists of a discussion of the three roles of old man, woman and warrior, which Zeami saw as the basis of the performance of all roles in Nō, and each of these is illustrated by a full treatment of one of his plays setting out, section by section, the romanized text, translation and exposition. The author's scholarship and general understanding of the world of Nō are impressive, and it will be a very long time before his work is superseded, even if the discovery of new material should fill out one or two details. It is a delight to the initiated but, by the same token, much of it is likely to be hard going for the general reader in spite of the author's provision of a full panoply of notes and glossary.

The high academic level of the work makes one minor point all the more irritating and surprising. Hare states in his introduction that in romanizing Japanese words he has followed the usage in Kenkyusha's *New Japanese-English Dictionary*, but he has failed to conform to this admirable standard for the central word in his book, namely "Nō", which he transcribes as "Noh". Widespread though this form is in Japanese English and among foreigners who know little or no Japanese, it is an obsolete absurdity and should be discarded with the Itohs, Uyenos and other "Meidi"-period aberrations. Its use in a work like this appears ill-judged and unscholarly, from one who clearly knows better.

This pinprick apart, one can only give an unreserved welcome to a book which sets a new standard in western writings on Nō, and congratulate the author on the successful outcome of what he describes as "a long-lasting pleasure to research and write this book."

P. G. O'NEILL

IKKYŪ AND THE CRAZY CLOUD ANTHOLOGY; A ZEN POET OF MEDIEVAL JAPAN. Translated and introduced by SONJA ARNTZEN with a foreword by SHŪICHI KATŌ. (UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Japanese Series.) pp. xvi, 197, 4 pl. Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1986. Yen 4000.

This book forms part of the Unesco collection of representative works, Japanese series, and contains translations of 144 of the 880 poems which are included in the anthology. This was compiled by the Zen poet Ikkyū Sōjun who lived in Japan from 1394 to 1481, and included among the names which he adopted from time to time that of Kyōun (Crazy Cloud) – hence the name of his anthology. The subject-matter of the poems is very often religious, that is to say, they often invoke important incidents in the development of the Rinzai branch of Zen Buddhism, often with reference to the solution of *kōan* (problems for meditation) by which famous figures attained enlightenment. However, subjects are not always clearly defined, and there are also topical references, criticism of corrupt clergy, and sometimes erotic but always affectionate mentions of his blind paramour, Mori, perhaps better known by another reading of the Chinese character with which her name is written, Shin.

Katō Shūichi, the eminent Japanese critic who contributes a Foreword to this book, sees the possibility of a comparison with, among others, John Donne, who could, however, as an Anglican cleric and not bound by vows of celibacy, freely write love poems, unlike the Buddhist Ikkyū. The latter, in his poem no. 250 (p. 34) is anxious because he has "ignored cause and effect" for eighty years, but this lapse does not seem to worry him too much. Your reviewer sees the possibility of a resemblance to the *Carmina Burana* from a XIIIth century manuscript from Bavaria, in which one finds comparable themes of love, criticism of clergy

etc, but, of course, one must not carry things too far, for the *Carmina Burana* were written by various priests and scholars and, to some extent, in a sentiment of criticism from below, whereas Ikkyū was in a high position in Rinzaï Zen.

The poems are in Chinese, mostly in the form known in Japanese as *shichigon zekku*, a four line poem with seven characters in each, a concentrated form of considerable pithiness, which Dr Arntzen translates in a way which sometimes seems not like translation at all, but rather the setting down of a string of words to represent the individual Chinese characters. The English version thus gives a very good idea of the original Chinese, and the apparent simplicity of her method is surely a case of the art which conceals art, for she is said to have spent twenty years over her task. The key to her method lies in what can be seen to be the most significant passage in the book, i.e. pages 39 to 59 of the Introduction, which is entitled "Allusion". These brief poems sometimes have several layers of reference to Chinese verse, to Buddhist theology, topical events, etc, and Dr Arntzen illustrates them with judicious notes.

This excellent book is attractively written and produced, and readers at many levels of knowledge will derive benefit from it. For those willing to take the author's linguistic achievement on trust (and she is thoroughly reliable) it can be taken as a fascinating introduction to the workings of one sort of Zen Buddhism; students and experts will also derive pleasure and profit from it. It has extremely useful lists and indexes, and the Japanese printers provide more than adequate numbers of Chinese characters, with only a few misprints, which will not lead the reader astray. It is, in short, a book worth having.

CHARLES DUNN

CIRCLES OF FANTASY: CONVENTION IN THE PLAYS OF CHIKAMATSU. By C. ANDREW GERSTLE. (Harvard East Asian Monographs No. 116.) pp. xvii, 248, front., 21 illus. Cambridge, Mass. and London, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University. Distrib. by Harvard University Press, 1986. £16.95.

Dr Gerstle has added a new dimension to the study of Japanese drama in the early XVIIIth century, in particular that of the puppet plays of the great Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725). This new dimension is that of the interpretation of the notations included in the libretti of the plays and which indicate to the chanters and *shamisen* players the structural units, musical patterns, styles of delivery, pitch and voice technique; these are all set out in three "glossaries" which form part of the 50 pages of appended material which adds considerably to the usefulness of the book. These notations derive from those that were developed for guidance in the performance of *nō* plays, and their value in these puppet plays arises from the fact that in the years following their composition many of these plays disappeared from the theatres, either forgotten because their topicality disappeared or replaced by adaptations that suited contemporary audiences better. Most of the texts survived as part of the popular reading matter of the time, and can be translated as such, but with Dr Gerstle's help, or that of the Japanese experts whom he studied during his prolonged period in Japan, we can penetrate further into the intentions of the playwright.

The layout of the book is such that, after an introductory chapter in which appear general remarks on Japanese theatre, with special reference to the connections between *nō* plays and *jōruri* (i.e. puppet plays), there appears Chapter 2 ("Musical Conventions") in which Dr Gerstle introduces writings by *jōruri* performers such as Uji Kaganojō and Takemoto Gidayū, and indeed, gives translations of significant examples in his appendixes. The remaining four chapters, each with a slightly fanciful title inspired, no doubt, by the writings of theorists of drama, are 3 "Mosaic Form", 4 "Cyclical Imagination", 5 "Descent to Paradise", and 6 "Circles of Felicity". Chapter 3 demonstrates the role of notation in dividing the text into

dramatic units (*jigoto*), which move the action of the play along, and song units (*fushigoto*) which comment by song and dance on the state of the action and depict the emotions of the characters. Chapter 4 deals with historical plays, which are notoriously complicated in structure, and which, as Dr Gerstle shows by means of charts, can be unravelled by the use of notations introduced in Chapter 3. Chapter 5 analyses the structures of the plays describing love suicides (*shinjū-mono*), which are of so much importance in depicting the emotional life of the inhabitants and frequenters of brothel districts. Chapter 6 looks into plays which reflect the contemporary world, but have a happy ending, unlike most *shinjū-mono*.

This book is not an easy one to read, and would probably have been improved by a more leisurely treatment. Those interested in dramatic theory, especially dramatic structure, will find it valuable, although it can scarcely be recommended to readers with no previous knowledge of theatre written in Japanese. In fact it is advisable to have modern printed texts available when studying this book, for although the majority of the translations which are quoted as examples are from the various works of Professor Donald Keene, when Dr Gerstle uses his own versions, it is better to check these for linguistic accuracy even though such errors as are to be found are not important enough to spoil his argument. It is obviously helpful to have it available, for its glossaries and charts, when one is studying any of the plays which he analyses. It is also clear that it will prove an invaluable reference aid in the study of puppet plays of the period just after Chikamatsu.

CHARLES DUNN

SOCIAL PROTEST AND POPULAR CULTURE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN. By ANNE WALTHALL. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, No. XLIII.) pp. xviii, 268. Tucson, Ariz., published for the Association of Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1986. US\$19.50.

DEFERENCE AND DEFIANCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN. By WILLIAM W. KELLY. pp. xvi, 322, 12 figs., 3 maps. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1985. £22.60.

We must congratulate the authors of these two interesting, complementary studies for their rigorous research in an aspect of Japanese history which is only vaguely understood in the west. It must be a coincidence that these studies of popular, collective protest should be published so close to each other, Walthall dealing with the Temmei period (1781-8) and Kelly dealing with the four decades after 1840. Both fall within the category of local history but are based on wider evidence than would ordinarily be used by a political historian, Kelly being avowedly an anthropologist. Each is a useful supplement to histories of Japan, written from the centre through the eyes of those in power. There are remarkable similarities also in their conclusions, though Kelly, as his title indicates, emphasizes the deferential approach of the peasantry, whereas Walthall seems to suggest that peasants "found it difficult to return to being submissive and deferential after their uprisings" (p. 206).

Professor Walthall is concerned with the riots and uprisings of the 1780s which broke out after a century of tranquillity. In her view the commoners were neither illiterate nor incoherent. Nor were they passive; they were often engaged in marches and secret meetings, drawing up collective appeals to their superiors who often regarded them as outrageous and discourteous in language. Geographically her study is broadly based, though the majority of her case-studies probably come from the Kantō plain. The up-and-coming towns and cities also had their disturbances and Edo, Osaka, Kyoto and Kumamoto all get a mention: "In addition to the widespread rural disorder, towns and cities became the scenes for rice riots unequalled in size and scope until the 1830s" (p. 205).

By contrast, Professor Kelly is narrower in geographical scope and much longer in chronological range. He concentrates on the Shōnai plain on the Japan Sea coast in northern Honshū, a remote area hemmed in by mountains and the sea. His theme is four sustained moments of popular, collective protest in this rice-growing area. The first of these was in 1840-1 when an organized protest by cultivators, merchants and domain élite scored a success in overturning a shogunal order in the aftermath of the fiscal crises of the 1830s. In 1844 sake brewers of the towns joined with residents of 72 villages to protest against administrative arrangements but without success. Then from the late 1850s when Japan was involved in a struggle between the shogunate and the larger domains, the Shōnai region chose to throw in its lot with the shogun. When in 1869 the new Edo government despatched its new administrators, they encountered in Shōnai protracted resistance which goes by the name of the Tengu disturbances. Later in the 1870s disturbances broke out again and involved marches, petitions, court cases and calls for reform. It is perhaps to this last phase – where Tokugawa society meshes with Meiji society – that the greatest interest attaches. Kelly finds that the disturbances reveal that there was a high level of literacy and education at the end of the Tokugawa period. It seems to emerge that, so far from the town merchants and the rural merchants being in contention, they generally made common cause against the village officers and local lords. This study is a polished piece of work and is, like Professor Walthall's, a significant guide to the politics and government of Japan in a transitional period. Whether or not the deference and defiance shown in Shōnai are representative of the country as a whole or not, can only be assessed in the light of further ventures into local history.

IAN NISH

SIX HIDDEN VIEWS OF JAPANESE MUSIC.. By WILLIAM P. MALM. pp. xxii, 222, 28 figs., 54 musical examples. Berkeley etc., University of California Press, 1986. £27.25.

"Hidden views" refers to the discussion of six aspects of traditional music that would be so evident to the Japanese as to require no description or comment. The first two are devoted to drum-making and drum lessons, after which Professor Malm provides us with an "interlude" on the basic principles of Japanese music before embarking on the first of four more views which examine the music itself. The six were first delivered as the Ernest Bloch lectures at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1980, and oral presentation no doubt helps to account for the exemplary clarity of their exposition, suggesting not only their author's love of his subject but also his care for the use of the English language. Plentifully supplied with nicely printed musical examples and illustrations (but unfortunately not with Japanese characters), the book is a pleasure to handle as well as to read. One caveat is necessary: the accompanying cassette, on which are recorded 54 examples to which frequent reference is made in the text, must be bought separately. It was not supplied with the review copy of the book, and I can only affirm its indispensability if the reader is to appreciate fully much of the content of the work.

From the detailed examination of *Shakkyo*, *Kanda matsuri*, *Horai* and *Sumidagawa* – the form and choreography of the latter being closely compared with Britten's *Curlow River* but without thereby adding to our insight into the *Nō* play – two general points frequently recur: first, that as in other East Asian countries, music in Japan has close affinities with other arts. As one example of this we are reminded of the mental preparation required of the drummer before a performance and of a calligrapher before he brushes an inscription; as another, the comparison between the constructive use of silence in music and of space in a painting. Second, that a recognition of relativity is essential to a full and proper understanding of Japanese music. Malm points to the relativity of two musical lines performed together con-

secutively so as to overlap with one another, as the panels of a Japanese sliding door overlap when it opens; to the relativity of rhythmic relationships between instruments within a piece, of sound and silence, of pitches within scale, of modes of interpretation and even of the musical repertoire played by the guild musicians of different sociological groups. Throughout the book the reader is constantly made aware of the sophistication of Japanese music, of being sensitively initiated into what will be, for many, the previously unsuspected subtleties of a great musical tradition. The view that fascinated me the most was the fourth, the description and analysis of a nagauta composition, *Kanda matsuri*, describing and celebrating the annual festival at a Shinto shrine in the Kanda district of Edo (Tokyo). It is a modern piece (1911), integrating XXth century developments from the concert hall with traditional festival music and kabuki dance forms, combining the tone colour of the *shamisen* with that of the folk ensemble, and picturing the passing of floats, dancers, bands, and all manner of popular entertainers. In Professor Malm's words, "the composer" (there were in fact two of them) "and his self-expression have been subsumed into a guild-created event." Not only was the procession guild-created, but the piece itself is "open to different orchestrations in different performances or recordings", thereby illustrating "the maintenance of traditional compositional attitudes during a historical period when pressures to compose in a western manner were strong." Malm will not commit himself as to whether or not it is "a masterpiece", but there is no doubting his enthusiasm for this and all the features of Japanese music examined in the *Hidden Views*.

KEITH PRATT

TWO CENTURIES OF OVERSEAS TRADING: THE ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF THE INCHEAPE GROUP. By STEPHANIE JONES. (Studies in Business History.) pp. xxi, 328, illus., 7 maps. Basingstoke, Macmillan in association with the Business History Unit, University of London, 1986.

Those interested in commerce and in the growth and expansion of international trade over the last 150 years, especially that between Europe and East of Suez and that across the Pacific, and in the British way of having the flag follow trade rather than of the reverse, will find much of value in this book.

Dr Stephanie Jones writes in her preface that the Business History Series does not usually publish "biographies of individual Companies" but has exceptionally included this account of the Inchcape Group because it seeks to examine a vital but neglected subject – the marketing overseas of consumer goods mainly exported from Britain.

In fact this is not what the book does. Rather it recounts the founding, workings, development, successes and failures of a number of British partnerships established in the East and engaged there in very wide commercial activities. Importing consumable goods from Britain, usually selling the goods of manufacturers whose agencies they held, was only one facet of their operations; and no great attention is in fact given in the book to the ways and means and skills employed in importing and distribution.

The partnerships whose affairs are closely examined are those which were finally merged together to form the Inchcape Group, and those which subsequently joined, or were joined to the Group. What a litany of famous business names it is – British India, Mackinnon Mackenzie, Smith Mackenzie, Gray Dawes, Gray Mackenzie, Caldbeck Macgregor, Gilmans, Dodwells, Gibb Livingstone, Assam Tea Company, Gellatly Hankey, Anglo Thai, Borneo Company, they roll off the tongue, names known so well in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea, in Calcutta, Bombay, Bushire, Madras, Muscat, Foochow, Canton, Shanghai, Singapore, Hong Kong, Yokohama, Zanzibar – all names that evoke memories of the very sight and smell of commerce in the East.

The book shows us firstly where the principal support and impulses for these Eastern trading partnerships came from; it was Scotland; secondly it emphasises the core activity that sustained most of them; after early merchanting days it was shipping agency work and ship-owning; thirdly it covers the question as to why they survived and prospered; it was skill and determined application.

The businesses were owned and staffed predominantly by Scotsmen, from the Binny family in the late seventeen and early eighteen hundreds, through Mackinnons, Mackenzies, Macgregors, Ewarts, Reids and Macneills between 1830 and 1860, and then many other Scots names up to and after the arrival in 1874 of the giant among them all, James Lyle Mackay from Arbroath, who would rise to be the first Baron Inchcape and to dominate the scene as he put together the partnerships, the mergers, the shareholdings, that ultimately formed the core of the Inchcape Group when in 1958 it was founded by his grandson. Many of these Scotsmen prospered greatly (and deservedly) and retired home as rich men, perhaps to play the laird.

While the greater number of these Eastern Houses began as merchants among the fairly numerous sahibs in Eastern sea ports who so called themselves, merchants for import and export, the core activity that marked most of the businesses that survived was a connection with shipping, as agents or owners through sailing vessels on to steamers, helped by the mail subsidies granted to them by the British and Indian Governments.

The reasons for the survival and success of the firms whose fortunes are followed in the book were the same as those relating to any business that survives – the hard work, skill, enterprise and business acumen of their managements, coupled with a readiness to seize on the possibilities of the day – the Spanish American War, the need for khaki cloth in World War II (Binny's meeting an increase in the annual military demand for khaki from 4 to 1,400 million yards of cloth), and, as a small but characteristic example, the choosing for King Mongkut of Siam of a school mistress for his children – the famous Anna.

Prudence also played its part in seeing to the building up of reserves in good times against days of loss and disaster, whether from trading conditions, misjudgement or misappropriation. All was not smooth, Dodwells, for example, losing 30% of their capital in the 1920's and 30's and only paying a dividend in three of the years from 1920 to 1938. Dr Jones writing of the survival of these firms says "The element of luck has been powerful". That is an academic view of business; luck, beyond the normal share, had not all that much to do with it.

The book suffers from the fact that versions of the middle four of its ten chapters had separate formulation as articles in learned journals, or as lectures, or as presentations to seminars. Their cobbling together produces a certain disjointedness in the narrative – the stitchwork either showing or there being a lack of it. Editing and proof reading have missed many mistakes in actual words, either in transcribing dictation or in typing – shiploads for shipments, subsidiaries for subsidies and one that produces a nice picture – "Officework tended to be concentrated round midday leaving little to do in the intervals". It was mailday that produced the rush. There are perhaps too many rather dull statistical tables which do not contribute much to understanding and on pp. 303 and 304 the table column headings are quite wrong. Table 10.4 seems to have serious faults.

The most striking feature about the picture given to the readers is that all that is recounted, the whole exciting and absorbing story of the coming together into the Inchcape Group of these varied and old established business houses, with all their fascinating entrepreneurs, accounts of success and misfortune, details of purchases, mergers and sales, ships and mail contracts, trade in tea and rice, might well seem to have taken place, judging from the book, somewhere no more foreign or different from London than Aberystwyth. No background is provided for all these activities. There is no mention of it all happening in the quite different ambience of the Orient, in places as varied as Muscat, Siam and Hong Kong, no talk of the heat of the Persian Gulf, or the monsoon in Bombay, the magic of Agra, the poverty of Calcutta, the beauties of Ceylon.

There is virtually nothing about the political conditions, the Indian Mutiny, the Boxer Rebellion, the Japanese in Manchuria, the Independence movement in India, revolution in China, all of which must have profoundly affected the conduct of business (riots are mentioned once – and then in Chile!), the heat, the rains, the epidemics, the difficulties of food, the primitive houses (even of the sahibs), the dangerous journeys, explorations up

country, all having important effects on work done, are scarcely mentioned. Think of life in Bushire and Bunder Abbas in 1865 or Baghdad in 1841.

And what about the people? There is nothing said about the differences between business men in Bombay and in St Mary Axe, nothing mentioned about the clerks on the local staffs, who helped the foreign sahibs and who must have been as necessary as the furniture, and nothing even about the senior men, like the compradores, who were absolutely indispensable, and whose loyalty to their foreign employers was really remarkable. In this book, covering 150 years of business activity in the East, the index only includes a dozen names of oriental people. This gives a sense of unreality to the whole work making it more a distillation of account books, minute books and merger arrangements than an account of most remarkable human enterprise. Even when recounting the pouring away of 36,000 bottles of drink in Singapore in 1941, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Japanese, only two British employees are mentioned as doing it. By themselves?

World War II is mainly dealt with in a chapter entitled "Conflict and Profit" and profit is mainly emphasised. Dr Jones writes "Companies operating in enemy occupied territory suffered considerable dislocation". Considering what happened in the East during the fighting, this is the language of the account book, not of actuality. Her consideration of conditions after the war is limited and not always well informed. She writes: "the transformation of the economy of the Gulf led to almost continuous unrest" whereas in truth the Gulf was quietly making money and suffered scarcely any commotion at all.

The actual formation of the Inchcape Group in 1958 was a most "complex legal and financial manoeuvre"; it linked the various companies together and secured a Stock Exchange quotation. Share swaps and sales, leading or backing companies into each other, converting partnerships into limited companies, the percentage of shares in and out, here and there, minority and majority holdings, are all covered efficiently by Dr Jones in a bewildering tapestry. "The minutiae of financial and legal details involved which had to be investigated and considered in bringing the companies into the Group cannot be exaggerated". The Group of 17 companies and their subsidiaries was finally launched.

Dr Jones does not explain why the Group subsequently made a precipitous retreat from India, virtually its birthplace. No reference is made to the long political process leading to Independence. The Quit India Movement is only mentioned once – to observe that trouble on the railways led to greater business for the steamers. Little is said about post independence conditions. On the formation of the group 37% of the assets were in India earning 27% of the income, by 1965 it was still 37% of the assets but yielding 59% of the income; after such success, what happened? It must have been "all hands on deck" for by 1985 India held only 3% of the assets (but still gave 16% of the profits). There is no explanation of why this retreat took place when other nationalities were entering into much partnership business in India. Was something easier sought?

It may have been this, because by 1985 marine related business only gave 13% of the profit. General Merchandising gave 14%, Tea 16% but Motor Vehicle distribution gave 39%. This was after the Group had been completely revamped since formation; 30 new businesses with their subsidiaries had joined and remained in the group, 67 companies had been sold and 114 had been liquidated.

We are told that the philosophy of the growth of Inchcape has been to venture into new areas with traditional activities or to attempt new activities in old areas, but in the last ten years (to 1985) profits have not improved, have indeed been very much up and down, and market capitalisation has fallen in real terms. All this is presented in the book, as previously mentioned, in mainly counting house and account book terms, ignoring the human background and political and business conditions. We do not learn what has really happened to the business and why.

This may not just be a defect in the book but may in fact signal a change in the style of some British businesses in the East – a change from identifying with the countries where they are in business, with their hopes and fears, progress and setbacks, to a short term, in and out, acquire and sell, cut and run attitude, with the enterprise thought of exclusively as a profit making machine. Such a change may have come about because British businesses in the East were so protected before World War II by British colonial control of most of the countries in

which they operated, that, with the general arrival of independence, some of them found the heat in the kitchen too hot. In either case Dr Jones's book successfully demonstrates a change but does not explain it.

G. A. CALVER

CORRECTION

It is very much regretted that in our review of *Muhimme Defteri: dokumenti o našim krajevima*, by Kovačević Esref (J.R.A.S., vol. 1, 1987, pp. 127-128), it was stated that the *Muhimme Defteri* was in Ankara. It is, of course, in Istanbul.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- AHLSTRÖM, Gösta W.: Who were the Israelites? Winona Lake, Indiana, Eisenbrauns, 1986.
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MEETINGS AND LECTURES AT THE SOCIETY

General Meeting, 12th June, 1986. President in the Chair.

The President welcomed The Hon. Mrs M. Lyttleton who lectured on "The towns of the Spice Road" with illustrations.

General Meeting, 9th October, 1986. President in the Chair.

The President introduced Mr J. Leach who lectured on "H. G. Farmer (1882-1965), a pioneer of Arabian music", with three musical interludes: 1) A piece on the Nahawand, played on the *qanun* by the lecturer; 2) An improvisation, played on the 'ud by George Weigand; 3) A short suite for 'ud and *santur* played by George Weigand and the lecturer.

Henry George Farmer was born in Ireland in 1882 and died in Scotland in 1965.

It was during a visit to London when he was 13, that he heard the Royal Artillery Band and this experience so impressed him that he decided to become a musician. At this time the R.A. Band was very highly thought of and it was the R.A. Band that led Queen Victoria's funeral cortège. Farmer joined the band first as violinist and clarinet player and later became its principal horn. After leaving the band, he spent several years in London conducting and as a teacher for the L.C.C.

In 1914 he was offered the musical directorship of the Glasgow Empire Theatre and remained in that post until 1947, a period of 33 years.

It seems that the spark that set Farmer on a lifelong study of Middle Eastern music was started by the London bookseller, William Reeves, who commissioned him to translate Salvador Daniel's *La musique arabe*. Later while working as the Theatre's musical director, Farmer studied at Glasgow University and graduated successively M.A., Ph.D. and D.Litt.

Farmer joined the R.A.S. in 1921 and was a contributor to the Journal over a period of 40 years. His most important work is *A history of Arabian music* (1929). During the 1931 Congress of Orientalists, Sir Denison Ross suggested to Farmer that he should unravel the technical musical expressions in *The Arabian Nights* which to him were quite incomprehensible in the Arabic original. Thirteen years later, the results of Farmer's research were published in the Journal for 1944. At the 1932 Cairo Conference on Arabian Music, Farmer was elected President of the Commission of MSS and History.

The lecturer met Dr. Farmer in 1956, when as a touring musician he spent three weeks in Glasgow and was looking for unpublished works for the flute. A few months later, he was appointed professor of flute at the Beirut Conservatoire

and studied Arabic and Arabic music. The lecturer stayed in the Lebanon for three years. From 1956 until Dr. Farmer's death they corresponded and Farmer was a most helpful man in many ways.

(J.L.)

General Meeting, 13th November, 1986. President in the Chair.

The President introduced Professor E. H. S. Simmonds and Dr. U. Kratz who lectured jointly on "Francis Light, first Superintendent of Penang, 1786; some unpublished documents in Malay and Thai concerning trade".

After the lecture, the President made a presentation on behalf of the Society to Miss E. V. Gibson, the retiring Secretary.

The Meeting was followed by a reception for Fellows and their guests.

General Meeting, 11th December, 1986. President in the Chair.

The President introduced Dr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville who lectured, with illustrations on "The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: history and future". Dr. Freeman-Grenville's lecture is published in this volume of the Journal, pp. 187-207.

General Meeting, 8th January, 1987. President in the Chair.

The President introduced Mr. B. Hephrun who lectured on "A history of Chinese culinary art". Mr. Hephrun's lecture was followed by "samplings" of Chinese cooking, prepared by the lecturer, which were much appreciated by Fellows and their guests.

General Meeting, 12th February, 1987. President in the Chair.

The President welcomed Dr. L. I. Conrad who lectured on "The methodology of early Islamic history: problems and prospects".

Western scholarship's general acceptance of the traditional Muslim accounts of early Islamic history has been disturbed within the past fifteen years. J. Wansbrough has argued on text-critical lines that the lateness of the traditional material (including the Qur'an) casts grave doubts on its historical reliability, while M. Cook and P. Crone's examination of independent evidence, e.g. contemporary non-Arabic sources and archaeology, leads in the same direction.

Dr. Conrad welcomed these critical approaches, pointing out that they were already largely implicit in earlier German scholarship, and acknowledged their importance. At the same time he argued that they are not immune to counter-attack. The reliability of non-Arabic sources can equally well be called into question, while new art-historical, manuscript, archaeological and numismatic evidence tends to support the traditional picture rather than to destroy it.

General Meeting, 12th March, 1987. President in the Chair.

A Special General Meeting was convened at 4.15 p.m. to consider amendments to the Society's Charter. The President described the circumstances which had brought the defect in the Charter to light and Dr. L. L. Ware explained the need for a supplemental Charter and the procedure by which he was petitioning for it on the Society's behalf.

Three resolutions were put before the Meeting:

- 1) That drafts of the petition and supplementary Charter produced to the meeting and for the purposes of identification signed by the President be and the same are hereby approved.
- 2) That the President or failing him the Director be and is hereby authorized and empowered on behalf of the Society to assent to any modification in the terms of the draft supplementary Charter which Her Most Excellent Majesty in Council may authorize or require.
- 3) That the President or failing him the Director be and is hereby authorized together with the Secretary to sign the petition when the Common Seal of the Society has been affixed thereto.

After a short discussion, the resolutions were passed without opposition.

The Special General Meeting closed at 4.30 p.m. and was followed by the General Meeting. The President introduced Professor J. B. Segal who lectured, with illustrations, on "The St. Thomas Christians of Kerala and their neighbours".

General Meeting, 9th April, 1986. President in the Chair.

A Special General Meeting was convened at 4.15 p.m. to consider the purchase by the Society of 60, Queen's Gardens, W.2. The President explained the background to the proposed purchase and invited questions and discussion from the floor. Fellows were asked to vote on the resolution "that the Council be, and is hereby, authorized to contract to buy the freehold building known as 60 Queen's Gardens, W.2 for a price, net of expenses, within the resources of the Society and with a view to its future commitments". The motion was carried with two opposing votes.

The General Meeting followed the Special General Meeting. The President welcomed Miss R. E. Scott who lectured on "Sir Percival David and the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, 1935-36".

Miss Scott outlined the art-collecting career of Sir Percival David, who was born into a banking family in Calcutta. The International Exhibition of 1935-6 at Burlington House included exhibits from 14 different countries, including many loaned by the Chinese Government. Slides prepared from many photographs of the preparation of the Exhibition were shown. Finally Miss Scott showed a representative sample of slides of pieces from the David Collection which is now under her curatorship in the University of London.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 14th May with the President, Professor Sir Cyril Phillips, in the Chair.

The report of the Council for 1986 was laid before the Meeting.

The Council continued its efforts to secure new premises for the Society while giving its attention also to current maintenance requirements and promoting the Society's publishing and other activities.

Library. – Steps are well under way towards reorganising the collection and weeding out many out-of-date or irrelevant works.

The Library has continued to provide services to Fellows and visiting scholars, and has answered many postal and telegraphic enquiries on bibliographic and oriental matters. Loans to other libraries were carried out through the British Library's Lending Division, and microfilms of manuscripts have been made available to libraries and scholars in many parts of the world. The repair and rebinding programme has continued, priority being given to rare books and manuscripts.

Publications. – The two 1986 issues of the Journal were 75 pages longer than in 1985 and reflected the policy of expanding the Journal and devoting extra space to reviews.

During the year Mrs J. M. Jacob's book, *Reamker*, was published by the Society with a subvention from SOAS.

Other Activities. – The Society sponsored a two-day international conference on the history of Ethiopian art, organised by the Librarian, and held at the Warburg Institute in October.

The Annual Memorial Lecture honoured Professor G. H. Luce and was delivered by Professor H. Tinker.

Members. – The Council regrets to report the deaths of the following: Dr R. D. Barnett, Professor A. L. Basham, Professor T. Burrow, Rev. Sydney Howard, Dr N. S. Junankar, N. M. Lowick, Rev. Ralph Mortensen, Rev. J. S. Trimmingham.

Thirty-two Fellows were elected: Dr N. Anantharaman, Mr C. Aslet, Mr Isam Awwad, Dr Basil Bayati, Professor R. C. Craven, Mr R. Divall, Dr H. Durt, Mr A. D. H. Faridi, Mr A. M. Galloway, Dr C. J. Heywood, Professor C. Higham, Mr G. Hintlian, Mr A. V. M. Horton, Professor C. B. Howe, Mrs W. J. Ingham, Dr J. Janhunnen, Dr I. J. Leslie, Mr E. D. Liu, Mr A. A. Lutter, Dr G. S. Nayar, Dr P. G. Padiyar, Rev. Robert Pitt, Dr M. J. Rolles, Miss Delphine Saba, Dr K. T. S. Sarao, Professor J. B. Segal, Miss S. Selwyn, Mr S. Sen, Dr. R. K. Sharma, Mr C. Tadgell, Dr Doreen Wainwright, Mr M. H. Winfield. One Library Associate, Mr I. Chakraborty was elected.

There were six resignations.

Grants and Donations. – A gift of £10,000 from Mrs Elizabeth Samson, in honour of her late husband's memory, to finance research in the fields of anthropology or

archaeology relating to Asia or to enable the Society to arrange study groups or seminars on some aspect of the study of these fields, was gratefully received.

Corporate subscribers. – Corporate subscriptions were received from the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation £500, The British Bank of the Middle East £500, Pauling and Co. Plc £247.50, John Swire and Sons Plc £250, Matheson and Co. Plc £200, Lloyds Bank Plc £100, Shell International Petroleum Co. Plc £100, Steel Brothers Holdings Plc £100 and Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co. £100.

Lectures. – The following lectures were delivered: Mrs C. Roden lectured on "Middle East Cooking – Early Culinary Manuals – The Development of a Cuisine" followed by "Tastings" co-ordinated by Mr N. Saidi; Dr R. Pankhurst on "The Ethiopian painting of the Battle of 'Adwa (1896) and its place in the history of Ethiopian Art", Mr G. Goodwin on "The Palace of Topkapı in Istanbul", Dr D. Taylor on "The Indian National Congress in Retrospect, 1885–1985", Professor H. Tinker on "Gordon Luce: his impact on scholarship and higher education in Burma in the last decades of British rule", the Hon. Mrs M. Lyttleton on "The Towns of the Spice Road", Mr J. Leach on "H. G. Farmer (1882–1965), a pioneer of Arabian music" with musical contributions, Professor E. H. S. Simmonds and Dr U. Kratz on "Francis Light, first Superintendent of Penang, 1786; some unpublished documents in Malay and Thai concerning trade", Dr G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville on "The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: history and future".

Voluntary Help. – The Council greatly appreciated the voluntary help which Mr W. H. Cooper, Mrs H. Wright and Miss L. Ingrams continue to give to the Society.

The Society owed grateful thanks to its Honorary Professional Auditor, Mr J. H. Gaunt.

The Council recommended the following for election as Officers for 1987–1988:

As Vice-Presidents:	Mr G. A. Calver Professor W. Watson
As Honorary Treasurer:	Mr J. B. Selwyn
As Ordinary Members of Council:	Dr Avril Powell Dr Albertine Gaur

The following Honorary Officers were re-elected:

Honorary Editor:	Professor C. F. Beckingham
Honorary Secretary:	Mr P. T. Denwood

The Council has put on record its great appreciation of the devoted service of the retiring Honorary Treasurer, Mr G. A. Calver, over a difficult period of nine years.

When the Annual Report had been approved, the Hon. Treasurer reported on the Society's financial position:

"This is the first time since 1981 that I have stood before you with any feeling of satisfaction regarding the accounts that I am to present to you.

"In the four years 1982–85, we had serious deficits amounting in all to almost

£45,000, but now for 1986 we have a surplus of £7,795. That is clearly a great improvement and a much more healthy state of affairs.

"As in past years, abridged accounts have been prepared so that you have all the important information in your hands, on both sides of a single sheet of paper. The full accounts have been audited and signed by our Honorary Professional Auditor, Mr J. H. Gaunt, to whom we are once more much indebted for his help. They will be published in full in Volume 2 of the Journal for 1987.

"How have we improved our performance? How have we achieved a startling turnround of more than £20,000 in converting a deficit of £12,339 to a surplus of £7,795. Briefly, £10,000 has been saved in so far that no publications were charged to the General Fund (the two books produced during the year were charged to Trust Funds). This is the proper course – in financing publications, the General Fund should be avoided. The Journal moved from a deficit of £2,500 to a surplus of £3,300. Our investment income was up by £5,000 due to a move out of Cash into Gilts. Savings in expenditure were around £2,000. Thus our gains totalled around £23,000 against which we had increased Administration expenditure of £3,000 odd. Thus we turned in our £20,000 improvement.

"Turning in detail to our 1986 Expenditure you will see that House Expenses were almost unchanged while the increase in Administration charges, already mentioned, arose from increased salary expenditure of around £1,400 and a retirement gratuity of £2,000. The very welcome change in the financial outcome for the Journal was achieved by reduced printing costs (from a new printer) of £1,646, by an increase in sales of old issues (by a new distributor) of £2,311, and by receipt of £3,456 from our joint venture for the sale of offprints, but, sadly, subscriptions from non-members were down by £1,333. The out turn from the Journal was most welcome since over the years 1983, 1984 and 1985 deficits totalled £17,529.

"On the Income side, subscriptions gave us £743 more, due to increase in membership. Our subscriptions only covered 16% of our expenses, making membership of our Society, as I have said before, one of the most remarkable bargains imaginable and reminding us of the debt we owe to our predecessors for passing to us so splendid a financial heritage. As already mentioned, Dividends and Interest were up by £5,450. So we ended the year with a surplus of £7,795.

"Next we should look at our Balance Sheet. The General Fund is up by almost £70,000 at £351,774 benefiting from our surplus and from realised profits of £62,780 on our General Fund investments. The Storey Fund shows a happy picture at £95,714, a capital that should allow us to produce a uniform and definitive edition of Professor Storey's bio-bibliographical survey "Persian Literature" which is widely held to be a most valuable work. Presently it is presented in a mixture of hard and soft cover volumes of differing dates, and some of the volumes are almost out of print. At the end of 1981 the Storey Fund only stood at £28,464; in five years we have built it up to its present figure by care and successful investment.

"On the Assets side, our Investments are up by £120,000 odd being reinvestment

of realised profits and a switch from Cash, which is correspondingly reduced.

"The Development Fund stood at £831,648 at the end of the year, 12.8% having been earned on the opening balance. A loss on investments of £15,851 arose through a purchase of Gilts which had fallen in value by the end of the year (this fall has since been made up). £5,000 was allotted to Library Reorganisation. The Development Fund has always been held in Gilts and/or Cash and over 5 years there has been an annual gain of around 16% from Interest and Capital profits – this is a good result.

"Full details of our various Trust Funds will be published in the Journal. Nothing calls for comment by me now.

"As to the future, Mr. Selwyn will have the work and the worry of the Treasurership. I think the worry will be mainly concerned with the finance of the new premises – a favourable outcome will very much depend on our obtaining a good price for the remnants of our lease here in Queen Anne Street.

"I myself would have preferred to have spent very much less on new premises than the sum at present in view. I would have settled for a less good address, like Elephant & Castle or King's Cross Road, where we could have obtained suitable premises for about half the sum now contemplated. This would have left a goodly sum to develop our activities on the back of ample and available financial resources. The Council has preferred a more upmarket area and this may mean a much tighter financial position in the future".

After the Accounts had been approved, the President addressed the Meeting:

"As with all institutions, learned societies if they are to remain healthy and survive must adjust to the often searching demands of contemporary change. On our Society continuing cost-inflation has imposed and continues to impose unprecedented internal strain, threatening to undermine our future. Moreover, inner city areas are not only becoming less tranquil and attractive as a natural context for a permanent home but increasingly expensive for our somewhat scattered membership to reach.

"New programmes introduced in recent years into polytechnics and universities in the study of Asia have undoubtedly opened new vistas and have attracted a growing number of serious students, but at the same time have often created especially for the younger generation attractions in the form of lecture programmes, seminars, libraries and common rooms which it is difficult for the Society to match or compete with.

"A decade ago it was becoming evident that the Society could not long survive unless it reviewed and refreshed its purposes and offerings, and equally important, actively sought the means to purchase its own freehold home and by so doing cut its recurrent costs. In the interval since then, the energies of the Council have largely been directed towards doing precisely this, which has required an exploration of the many choices of area, building style and cost in order to achieve an acceptable resolution and balance between the wishes of Fellows and the long-defined purposes and customs of the Society. After so much effort and argument, and frequent

frustration, it is pleasing to report that we have been able to purchase No. 60, Queen's Gardens as our future home; and must now get it ready for occupation.

"This quite spacious Victorian building is centrally situated in London and offers easy access by rail and bus and provides economical and what should prove to be appropriate accommodation for our main needs; that is primarily for our Library and art collections, for lectures, seminars, Council Meetings and for our small secretariat. As a building it has been well maintained, is secure and should relieve us from the necessity of providing for a caretaker in residence, which we have long found to be increasingly an onerous, anxious and sometimes expensive responsibility. Completing the removal is likely, we believe, to occupy some twelve to eighteen months.

"Not the least of the Society's accepted obligations is the maintenance of a Library capable of being made generally useful to Fellows and attractive to serious students. However, it is beyond our resources and in our new home it would be quite improvident to seek to keep and accommodate the overlarge and somewhat miscellaneous collections which we have gradually accumulated. The Council readily accepts that a nucleus of unique and valuable materials, often acquired through gift, must be maintained; but beyond that thinks that the book collections should be refined by reducing their size initially by about one-quarter. It should then be feasible after re-cataloguing to produce an attractive Library for serious students and readers, kept alive by modest regular additions of new published works with an emphasis on the period down to 1950. There exists, too, a need to mount a programme of re-binding, which is certain to be a heavy, annual expense.

"A notable success which we have scored in the last few years, especially bearing in mind the continuing rise in the cost of printing, has been the gradual enlargement of the Journal both in the range and number of articles and reviews. For this we are primarily indebted to the initiative and work of the editor, Professor Beckingham, and his colleagues, who in this way render a special and widely welcomed service to our Fellows both in the U.K. and abroad. Gradually, too, the annual monthly lecture programme is being extended in scope of subject and diversified by the addition of seminar conferences. A beginning was made in 1986 with the widely enjoyed conference on Ethiopian Art, organised by the Society's Librarian, Dr Pankhurst, and it will be followed in 1987-88 by a seminar on Muslim Fundamentalism. It is possible that a publication series will arise from the seminars.

"In the context of these developments, the Council is also seriously examining the feasibility of introducing a student membership scheme. Our fellowship list happily remains buoyant and with the exciting prospect before us of a new, permanent home, we have every reason to feel optimistic about the Society's future in the years which lie immediately ahead".

The President then called upon Dr C. J. Heywood to deliver the Dr Paul Wittek Memorial Lecture, "Wittek and the Austrian tradition". Dr Heywood's lecture will be published in full in Volume 1 of the Journal for 1988.

**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
ACCOUNTS
31 DECEMBER 1986**

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF
GENERAL
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

1985

1986

1985		1986	
	HOUSE EXPENSES		
350	Rent	350	
1,022	Licence Fee	1,224	
5,634	Rates	5,655	
1,011	Water Rate	1,081	
1,180	Electricity	1,915	
1,366	Gas	1,506	
650	Telephone	800	
1,537	Insurance	1,646	
13,751	Repairs	2,273	
897	Management Fees	345	
3,949	Caretaker	4,452	
203	Sundries	259	
	31,550		21,506
	ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES		
11,078	Salaries & Wages	12,473	
489	National Insurance	326	
740	Pensions	740	
109	Photocopying	113	
692	Printing & stationery	1,068	
651	Office postage	473	
-	Retirement gratuity	2,000	
144	Sundries	283	
	13,903		17,476
	LIBRARY		
7,495	Salaries	8,610	
649	National Insurance	571	
816	Rebinding Books	1,297	
132	Purchase of New Books	-	
215	Postage	217	
290	Equipment	169	
175	Sundries	102	
	9,772		10,966
	JOURNAL		
	Honorarium		
1,054	Asst. Editor	1,099	
15,965	Printing & Postage	14,319	
345	Envelopes	338	
396	Postages	582	
77	Sundries	65	
	17,837		16,403
	SUNDRY EXPENSES		
72	Lectures	359	
6	Teas etc. at Lectures	271	
9	Sundries	353	
	777		983
	PUBLICATIONS		
10	'Julfar' by Dr J. Hansman	-	
18	Work on 'Prints and Drawings'	-	
	10,638		-
	PROFESSIONAL FEES		
6	Charities Aid Fund	291	
14	Bank	53	
17	Solicitors	1,564	
	3,077		1,908
5,000	PROVISION FOR DILAPIDATIONS (Note 2)		5,000
-	PROVISION FOR DEFERRED REPAIRS		10,000
167	AMORTISATION OF LEASEHOLD PREMISES (Note 3)		167
-	EXCESS INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR		7,795
	£92,721		£92,204

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FUND
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 1986
1985

1986

	SUBSCRIPTIONS (Note 1)		
4,858	Fellows - UK	4,974	
3,071	Fellows - UK by Covenant	3,401	
1,391	Income Tax recoveries (Covenants)	1,305	
3,677	Fellows - Abroad	4,065	
12	Library Associates	7	
13,009		13,752	
	CORPORATE SUBSCRIBERS		
500	The Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corpn.	500	
500	The British Bank of the Middle East	500	
250	Grindlays Bank Plc.	-	
250	Pauling Plc.	247	
250	John Swire & Sons Ltd.	250	
214	Richard Costain Ltd.	-	
200	Matheson & Co. Ltd.	200	
100	Midland Bank Plc.	-	
100	Lloyds Bank Plc.	100	
100	Shell International Petro Co. Ltd.	100	
100	Steel Bros Holdings Plc.	100	
100	Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co.	100	
2,664		2,097	
	LIBRARY		
816	Transfer from Development Fund	1,297	
	GRANTS & DONATIONS		
65	Government of Pakistan	55	
-	Government of Hong Kong	80	
40	Others	437	
105		572	
	JOURNAL		
14,384	Subscriptions from non-members	13,051	
543	Sales of old issues	2,854	
-	Sales of off prints - joint venture	3,456	
415	Advertising revenue	340	
15,342		19,701	
	RENTS		
9,230		9,257	
	DIVIDENDS & INTEREST (Note 1)		
5,459	Interest	3,260	
29,315	Dividends	37,730	
3,494	Income Tax recoveries	2,628	
38,268		43,618	
	SUNDRY SALES & RECEIPTS		
205	Fees charged	65	
225	Microfilms - Royalties & Fees	720	
313	Royalties - Publications	516	
106	Profit on Receptions	96	
-	Sales of 'Julfar'	449	
99	Sales of Publications	53	
-	Sundries	11	
948		1,910	
12,339	EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME FOR THE YEAR	-	
<u>£92,721</u>		<u>£92,204</u>	

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF
BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES

1985		1986
	GENERAL FUND	
250,454	As at 1 January 1986	281,199
43,084	Add Profit on sale of investments	62,780
293,538		343,979
(12,339)	Add Surplus (Deficit) on Income and Expenditure Account for the year	7,795
281,199	Balance of Fund 31.12.86	351,774
	LIBRARY REORGANISATION FUND	
-	Transfer from Development Fund	5,000
	Less expenses in 1986	193
	Balance of fund 31.12.86	4,807
	RYLANDS FUND	
2,665	As at 1 January 1986	2,717
52	Add Royalties	-
-	Less Transferred to Trust Funds	2,717
2,717	Balance of Fund 31.12.86	Nil
	BOOKBINDING FUND	
5,275	As at 1 January 1986	4,459
-	Donation	20
816	Less Transfer to Income A/c Library	1,297
4,459	Balance of Fund 31.12.86	3,181
-	Provision for deferred repairs	10,000
30,000	Provision for Dilapidations	35,000
26,823	Current Liabilities and Accrued Expenditure	11,860
345,198		416,622
	STOREY FUND	
43,819	As at 1 January 1986	82,841
1,256	Add Royalties	1,862
7,723	Investment Income	9,948
31,659	Profits on sales of Investments	4,021
(607)	Less C/o Storey Publication Work	(588)
(1,009)	Less Depreciation in value of Investments	(2,370)
82,841	Balance of Fund at 31.12.86	95,714
	DEVELOPMENT FUND	
720,699	As at January 1986	762,908
1,420	Add Profit on Sales of Investments	1,900
85,964	Add Investment Income	97,706
808,083		862,514
(40,003)	Less C/o Buying out Tenant	-
(2,300)	Expenses	(15)
-	Transfer to Library Reorganisation Fund	(5,000)
(2,872)	Depreciation in value of Investments	(15,851)
762,908	Balance of Fund at 31.12.86	841,648
£1,190,947		£1,353,984

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

31 DECEMBER 1986

ASSETS

1985		1986
	FIXED ASSETS	
9,364	Leasehold premises at cost	9,364
5,633	Less Amortization to date	5,800
3,731		3,564
100	Library, furniture & fittings at nominal value	100
3,831		3,664
272,752	QUOTED INVESTMENTS (Note 4)	
	As per schedule of investments	397,934
104	STOCKS	Nil
	CURRENT ASSETS	
5,262	Debtors and prepayments	11,201
63,249	Balances at bank and cash in hand	3,823
68,511		15,024
345,198		416,622
	STOREY FUND	
	Investments (Note 4)	
66,994	As per schedule of Investments	80,002
14,591	Balance at Bank	15,712
1,256	Sundry Debtor	-
82,841		95,714
	DEVELOPMENT FUND	
	Investment (Note 4)	
630,485	As per schedule of Investments	782,425
132,423	Deposit A/cs	59,223
762,908		841,648
£1,190,947		£1,353,984

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

TRUST FUND BALANCE SHEETS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 1986

	1985	1986	1985	1986
				MONOGRAPH FUND
			3,887	Balance as at 1 January 1986
5,000		6,611	107	Add Royalties
1,219		911	334	Interest
392		565		
			4,328	Balance as at 31 December 1986
6,611		8,087		Being:
—		4,307	330	Balance with Society
			3,998	Balance at Bank
			4,328	

Less New Publication

Balance as at 31 December 1986

Being:

Balance with Society

Balance at Bank

1,923	(592)
4,688	4,372
6,611	3,780

JAMES G B FORLONG FUND

Balance as at 1 January 1986

Add Royalties

Investment Income

Interest

12,646	6,294
281	420
325	360
619	363
13,871	7,437

Less

Scholarship
c/o Publication

—	300
7,577	—
6,294	7,137

Balance as at 31 December 1986

Being:

Investments (Note 4)

Balance with Society

Balance at Bank

2,380	2,380
51	171
3,863	4,586
6,294	7,137

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

Balance as at 1 January 1986

Add Interest

1,533	1,669
136	
1,669	1,781

Balance as at 31 December 1986

Being:

Balance with Society

Balance at Bank

44	44
1,625	1,737
1,669	1,781

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
SCHEDULE OF INVESTMENTS
VALUATION 31 DECEMBER 1986

	Holding	Book Value 31.12.86 Pre-closing £	Middle Market Price £	Market Value 31.12.86 £	New Book Value 31.12.86 Book or Market Value whichever is lower £
GENERAL FUND					
9% Treasury Loan 92/96	£12,000	10,830	92.00	11,040	10,830
Sunderland & South Shields Water Co 4.2% RED PREF. 86/88	£3,500	2,255	90.00	3,150	2,255
M & G Charities Narrower Range Common Inv. Fund (Charibond)	300,000	316,233	1.06	318,000	316,233
The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Cor- poration HK\$2.50 ord. shares	73,800	29,953	0.79	58,302	29,953
Inchcape Plc Ordinary £1 shares	4,000	10,600	5.10	20,400	10,600
Saatchi and Saatchi Ord. 10p shares	245	1,727.25	7.18	1,759.10	1,727
Steel Brothers Holdings Plc Ord. 25p shares	3,000	5,498	6.40	19,200	5,498
M & G Equities Investment Fund for Charities (CHARIFUND)	5,000	9,771	4.143	20,715	9,771
Rea Bros Group PLC 8.6% Con Pref Shrs	10,000	11,067.25	1.17	11,700	11,067
		<u>£397,934.50</u>		<u>£464,266.10</u>	<u>£397,934</u>
DEVELOPMENT FUND					
10% Treasury Stock 1987	£50,000	49,000	99.50	49,750	49,000
10½% Treasury Stock 1989	£8,785	8,410	99.1/8	8,708.13	8,410
13½% Exchequer Stock	£75,000	67,125	111.1/8	83,343.75	67,125
9% Treasury Stock 1994	£50,000	44,750	91.3/4	45,875	44,750
10½% Exchequer Stock 1997	£50,000	47,990.60	98.7/8	49,437.50	47,990
13% Treasury Stock 2000	£75,000	62,250	116.5/8	87,468.75	62,250
13% Kingdom of Denmark Loan Stock 2005	£50,000	46,250	112.1/2	56,250	46,250
BOC Group Plc 12¼% Unsecured Loan Stock 2012/17	£10,000	9,500	110.50	11,050	9,500
Burmah Oil Co Plc 8½% Unsecured Loan Stock 1991/96	£10,000	6,950	84.50	8,450	6,950
Rank Organisation 10 3/8% Unsec. Stock 1997/02	£10,000	8,250	94.	9,400	8,250
Reed International 10% Unsecured Loan Stock 2004/09	£10,000	7,950	92.	9,200	7,950
Municipal General Charities Narrower Range Common Investment Fund (Charibond)	400,000	439,850	1.06	424,000	424,000
		<u>£798,275.60</u>		<u>£842,933.13</u>	<u>£782,425</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
SCHEDULE OF INVESTMENTS
VALUATION 31 DECEMBER 1986

	Holding	Book Value 31.12.86 Pre-closing £	Middle Market Price £	Market Value 31.12.86 £	New Book Value 31.12.86 Book or Market Value whichever is lower £
STOREY FUND					
12% Treasury Stock 1995	£10,000	10,001	106.3/4	10,675	10,001
M & G Charities Narrower Range Common Inv. Fund (Charibond)	£50,000	55,325	1.06	53,000	53,000
Caparo Ind. Plc 8¼% Conv Cum. Red Pref. Shares £1	2,000	1,900	1.20	2,400	1,900
Capital & Counties Prop Co. Plc 8¼% Con Unsec Loan Stock 99/04	£800	800	130.	1,040	800
Hanson Trust Plc 5¼% Con. Cum Pref Shares £1	2,000	2,000	1.13	2,260	2,000
Saatchi and Saatchi Co Plc 6.3% Con. Red. Pref Shares £1	2,000	2,285	1.12	2,240	2,240
Woolworth Holdings Plc 8½% Con Unsec Loan Stock 2000	£5,000	5,995	160.00	8,000	5,995
Burmah Oil Co Plc Ord £1 Stock Units	2,400	3,740	3.87	9,288	3,740
Glaxo Holdings Plc 50p Ord Shares	600	326	10.48	6,288	326
		<u>£82,372</u>		<u>£95,191</u>	<u>£80,002</u>

J G B FORLONG FUND

M & G Equities Inv Fund for Charities (Charifund)	1,500	2,380	4.143	£6,214.50	£2,380
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BARWIS-HOLLIDAY FUND

Vantona-Viyella Plc 5.6% Cum Pref £1 Shares	£2,500	1,375	0.68	£1,700	£1,375
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DR B C LAW FUND

Government of India 3% Conv Loan 1946	Rps12,000	£413	Not available		£413
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Prices and Market Values as at 31 December 1986 verified for
The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation

OIC Securities

NOTES ON ACCOUNTING POLICIES

1 *Basis of recognising income and expenditure*

Subscription and investment income, including income tax recoverable on investment income and covenanted donations, is credited to the income and expenditure account when received. All other items of income and expenditure are accounted for on an accruals basis.

2 *Provision for dilapidations*

Under the terms of the lease, the Society is required to make good any dilapidations to the property at the termination of the lease. An amount is set aside each year to provide for the liability, should any arise.

3 *Amortisation of leasehold property*

The cost of the leasehold premises is amortised on a straight line basis over the life of the lease.

4 *Valuation of investments*

Quoted investments are valued individually at the lower of book and market value at 31 December 1986.

5 *Books and manuscripts; prints, drawings and pictures; and miscellaneous objects of Asian interest are owned by the Society. No value is placed on these items (and they are not included) in the Balance Sheet. Although their aggregate value must be counted as considerable their nature is such that sure figures can only arise if there are actual sales. The financial position of the Society is only affected if there are sales. Some items are lent to museums, and records are kept of their locations and the terms on which they are lent.*

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In my opinion the foregoing accounts which have been prepared under the historical cost convention give, under that convention, a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society at 31 December 1986 and of the income and expenditure for the year then ended.

J H Gaunt
Chartered Accountant
HONORARY AUDITOR
London

Auditor for the Council Dr A D H Bivar

Auditor for the Society Dr L L Ware

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